

THE
WESTMINSTER
REVIEW.

JULY AND OCTOBER,
1883.

"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.

NEW SERIES.

VOL. LXIV.

LONDON:
TRÜBNER & CO., LUDGATE HILL.
MDCCCLXXXIII.

OS 2 WFS
101.12.1.1.2. 64

Ballantyne Press
BALLANTYNE, HANSON AND CO., EDINBURGH
CHANDOS STREET, LONDON

Starpara JaiBrahma Public Library
Acq. No. 7834 Date 31.7.75.

THE
WESTMINSTER
AND
FOREIGN QUARTERLY
REVIEW.

JULY, 1883.

ART. I.—BLASPHEMY.

1. *A History of the Criminal Law of England.* By Sir JAMES FITZJAMES STEPHEN, K.C.S.I., D.C.L., a Judge of the High Court of Justice, Queen's Bench Division. 3 vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1883.
2. *The Summing up in the case of Regina v. Foote and others.* Revised, and with a Preface. By the Lord Chief Justice of England. London: Stevens & Sons, 119, Chancery Lane. 1883.
3. *Report of the Trial of George William Foote, William James Ramsey, and Henry Arthur Kemp, before Mr. Justice North, at the Central Criminal Court.* "The National Reformer," March 11, 1883.
4. *The Second Trial of Messrs. Foote, Ramsey, and Kemp.* "The Times," March 6, 1883.
5. *The Queen v. Bradlaugh.* "The National Reformer." Special extra numbers, April 5 and April 22, 1883.
6. *Full Report of the Trial of G. W. Foote and W. J. Ramsey for Blasphemy, before Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, April, 1883.* London: Progressive Publishing Company, 28, Stonecutter Street, E.C.

THE recent prosecution of the *Freethinker*, and the sentence of the editor to twelve months' imprisonment, followed as it was by the trial and acquittal of Mr. Bradlaugh, and the vindictive and happily abortive second prosecution of Messrs. Ramsey and Foote, have given rise to much controversy and correspondence with regard to the law of Blasphemy. The questions

raised are—(1) What is the actual state of the law at the present time? and (2) What ought it to be in the future?

Now, upon the application for a *certiorari* to remove the trial of the editor, printer and publisher of the *Freethinker* from the Central Criminal Court to the High Court of Justice (an application most unfortunately refused) a learned judge stated from the bench that “the law of blasphemy is as well understood as the law of murder, embezzlement, or false pretences.” This statement somewhat surprised those who remembered that, in his “Digest of the Criminal Law,” Mr. Justice Stephen has placed side by side in parallel columns alternative definitions of blasphemy, for each of which, as he tells us, there is authority.* These alternatives may be thus expressed:—(a.) Does the fact that publications, otherwise “blasphemous,” are “intended in good faith to propagate opinions on religious subjects, which the person who publishes them regards as true,” exempt the publisher from the pains and penalties of blasphemy, and is it lawful for anybody to argue against the truth of Christianity, provided he does so in a decent way, and with regard to the feelings of others? Or (b.) Are the intention of the publisher and the manner of publication immaterial, and does blasphemy consist simply in a denial of the truth of Christianity in general, or of the existence of God, in whatever terms it may be couched?

A review of the authorities has led Mr. Justice Stephen to the conclusion that the limitations of the law suggested in the first of these questions cannot be maintained, and that “to say that the crime lies in the manner and not in the matter” is “an attempt to evade and explain away a law which has, no doubt, ceased to be in harmony with the temper of the times.”†

According to this view, therefore, Strauss’s “Leben Jesu,” Renan’s “Vie de Jésus,” and the works of Auguste Comte, are by the common law of England blasphemous libels, and “every bookseller who sells a copy of any one of them, every master of a lending library who lets one out to hire, nay, every owner of any such book who lends it to a friend, is guilty of publishing a blasphemous libel, and is liable to fine and imprisonment.”‡ Now it is plain, that, if this statement be correct, neither Mr. Baron Huddleston, upon the application for a *certiorari* in the *Freethinker* case, nor Mr. Justice North at the first trial, fully defined the law of blasphemy. They shrank apparently from laying down the broad proposition which, according to Mr. Justice Stephen, contains within its four corners the whole of the

* “Digest of the Criminal Law,” Article 161.

† Stephen’s “History of the Criminal Law,” vol. ii. p. 475.

‡ *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 476.

law upon this subject, and explained to the jury one particular species only of the offence. Mr. Baron Huddleston, referring to Blackstone,* defined blasphemy as consisting in "contumelious reproach of our Lord and Saviour, Christ, or in profane scoffing at Holy Scripture, or exposing it to contempt and ridicule." Similarly, Mr. Justice North laid it down that the offence consists in "any contumelious reproach or profane scoffing against the Christian religion or the Holy Scriptures, and any act exposing the Holy Scriptures and the Christian religion to ridicule, contempt and derision."

It is clear that each of these definitions is utterly inadequate, if the law is as Mr. Justice Stephen has stated it to be—namely, that all arguments against the truth of Christianity in general, all denial of the Divine authority of the Scriptures (whether the Old Testament or the New), are, upon publication, blasphemous libels, however decent in expression, however honest the intention of the publisher.

Here, however, we are confronted with Lord Coleridge's recent summing-up to the jury in the second *Freethinker* trial. Both on that occasion, and at the trial of Mr. Bradlaugh, the Lord Chief Justice expressed his dissent from the view of the law taken by Mr. Justice Stephen, and adopted the words of Mr. Starkie, who many years ago laid it down that "a wilful intention to pervert, insult and mislead others, by means of licentious and contumelious abuse applied to sacred subjects, or by wilful misrepresentations or artful sophistry, calculated to mislead the ignorant and unwary, is the criterion and test of guilt."† In so doing Lord Coleridge followed the example set him by his father, Mr. Justice Coleridge, who thus laid down the law at the trial of Pooley for blasphemy in 1857. Now everybody must admire the dignity and impartiality with which the Lord Chief Justice presided at these two latest trials for blasphemy, in such marked contrast to the demeanour which, a few weeks before, had characterized one of his learned brethren, recently elevated to the Bench; and everybody must admit that, whether his view of the law be right or wrong, it is the one which a Judge of wise and liberal mind, and, we might add, of ordinary common sense, would desire to take, and which he certainly would take unless he found himself absolutely precluded by authority. Lord Coleridge naturally revolted against the monstrous proposition, to which we shall allude again further on, that "Christianity is

* See "Commentaries," book iv. ch. vi.; vol. iv. p. 63 in the 1823 edition. This limited definition was, of course, rather in favour of the prisoners than otherwise; except that, if the law had been exhibited in its naked deformity, the jury might possibly have revolted against it!

† Starkie on "Slander and Libel," vol. ii. p. 147, edition 1830.

part and parcel of the common law." If this proposition is true, and if we are bound to deduce from it the conclusion that to argue against Christianity is a crime, then arguments against any other part of the common law ought to be criminal also, "which is absurd." Again, we have made great advances since the days when the old cases on this subject were decided. For example, a Jew may now sit upon the Bench, and might be any day called upon to preside at a trial for blasphemy. The late Master of the Rolls, said Lord Coleridge—

"might have sat here, and tried this very case, and he might have been called upon to say—at least if the law be correct that Christianity is part and parcel of the law of the land—he, a Jew, might have been bound to lay down, according to that view, to a jury in which there might have been half a dozen Jews, that it was a breach of the law, subjecting a man to twelve months' imprisonment, to deny that Jesus Christ was the Messiah—a thing which he himself did deny, which every Jew in the land must deny, which Parliament has deliberately allowed them to deny, and which it is just as much now, under the law of the land, their right to deny, as it is your right and mine, if we believe it, to assert. Therefore, to base the prosecution of an aspersion of Christianity *per se*—I shall, I hope, be taken to mean no more than I exactly express—to base a prosecution for an aspersion of Christianity *per se*, on the ground that Christianity is, in the sense of Lord Hale, Lord Raymond, or Lord Tenterden, part of the law of the land, is, in my judgment, to forget that law grows like other things, that though the principles of law remain, yet that the law grows. And it is one of the inestimable advantages of the common law that it is so; that the principles of law have to be applied to infinitely changing circumstances and to growth—some people would say towards retrogression, but I should venture to say, towards progression, of human opinion. Therefore, merely to discover that Christianity is denied, or the truth of Christianity is denied, on general grounds, and to say, therefore, that a man may be indicted for a blasphemous libel, is absolutely untenable; and I, for one, will certainly never, until I am bound to do so—of course I should be happy to obey the law like a dutiful subject, if it is expressed in a way I cannot fail to understand; but, until it is so expressed, I shall not lay down the law in a way which cannot be historically justified. . . . If Parliament has passed laws which make the *dicta* of the old judges no longer applicable, it is no disrespect to those judges to say that laws made under one state of things are no longer law under another state of things which Parliament has altered."*

So far Lord Coleridge: and it is impossible to deny that his view

* We take this from the Progressive Publishing Company's Report of the trial. It is a little inaccurate in places, but in substance it is correct. This article was in print before the publication of Lord Coleridge's revised (and condensed) version of his summing up, to which we have made reference in the head-note.

is in accordance with good sense and natural inclination ; and certainly, seeing that the law of blasphemy is, and was from the beginning, "judge-made" law, we see no reason why a Lord Chief Justice of the present day should not take it upon himself to modify it so as to bring it a little more into harmony with the spirit of modern times. But, we venture to ask, is it certain that the law will henceforth be taken to be as Lord Coleridge has laid it down ? Is it certain that his learned brethren will follow him in his preference (as it seems to us) of expediency to authority, of "the reason of the thing" to the decisions of other judges, both of ancient and modern times ? For, in spite of some observations made by the Lord Chief Justice upon the old cases, and with all deference to his high authority, we cannot help thinking that any one who will take the trouble to go carefully through the reports, will be brought to the conclusion that, unless the law may be considered as altered merely upon the ground that it is inconsistent with the spirit of recent Acts of Parliament, it must be taken to be as stated by Mr. Justice Stephen ; and further, he will find that there are certain modern decisions, which have never been expressly overruled, but which can hardly co-exist as law with the opinion expressed by the Lord Chief Justice.

Now the first thing that strikes us as peculiar in this controversy respecting the law of blasphemy, is that Mr. Justice Stephen has been spoken of throughout as though he had claimed to make some new discovery, or, at any rate, as though he were the first writer of authority who had formulated the law to this effect—viz., that blasphemy consists in the *matter*, and that the *manner* is not material to the offence. Mr. Justice Stephen has even been made the subject of ridiculous attacks in the newspapers, by persons who seem to regard him as some pedantic professor, with no knowledge of the world, and with an inability to see beyond old cases ; instead of as an able and laborious law reformer, extremely hostile to a law which he has exhibited in all its naked deformity, in order that it may be the sooner reformed, a careful consideration of the authorities having convinced him that it is as he has stated it to be. But if we turn to the sixth report of the Commissioners on Criminal Law, which does not seem to have been alluded to in this controversy, we shall find that, as long ago as 1841, certain learned lawyers, including Mr. Starkie himself, appear to have been brought by the authority of the cases to almost the same conclusion as Mr. Justice Stephen, fortified by more recent decisions, has arrived at ; and as Mr. Starkie published the last edition of his treatise on Libel, cited by Lord Coleridge, in 1830,* it would seem

* His present editor, Mr. Folkard, in the preface to his 1869 edition, tells us that thirty-nine years had elapsed since the previous edition—alluding to

that he was subsequently induced to modify his opinion : at any rate the Commissioners, of whom he was one, after referring to Woolston's case, of which we shall presently speak, proceed as follows :

“ It is impossible to contend that this case does not carry the rule to the full extent to which it is stated by Hawkins, Blackstone, East, and other writers—namely, that *the common law of England punishes as an offence any general denial of the truth of Christianity, without reference to the language or temper in which such denial is conveyed* ; and if this is the rule of law with reference to revealed religion, these writers are fully justified in assuming as a consequence, though without any express decision upon the point, that a denial of the truths of natural religion, such as the being and attributes of God, which form the basis of Christianity, must likewise be a crime.”

They, however, point out that Woolston's “ Discourses on the Miracles ” was a book “ of ribaldry and sarcasm,” and that it was, therefore—

“ Unnecessary for the decision of this particular case that the judges should lay down the rule *so broadly as they have done*, and, consequently, the opinion stated by Lord Raymond, that ‘ to write generally against Christianity was an offence at common law,’ was extra judicial. It was certainly” (they proceed) “ unsupported by any previous decision or judicial opinion which we have been able to discover. We may remark also that all the recorded instances of prosecution for blasphemy, subsequently to Woolston's case, have been publications of indecent and opprobrious language against natural or revealed religion ; and that in all such cases, the judges, in the remarks they have made upon the offence, have founded their reasons for punishment entirely upon the offensive *manner* of writing in the particular instances, and have cautiously avoided laying down any general prohibitory rule.”*

Deferring any further allusion to the Commissioners on Criminal Law, whose sixth report, we must remember, bears date 1841, since which time we have had several other decisions upon the subject, we now propose to review the authorities to which the law of blasphemy, in whatever light we are to regard it,

Mr. Starkie's own edition in 1830. Even in that edition he intimates (vol. ii. p. 144) that any general attack upon Christianity is criminal. “ It would be inconsistent,” he says, “ to inflict penalties for any general attack upon the system of Christianity, and yet to allow its foundations to be generally sapped and undermined with impunity”—as by the denial of the existence of God. As to ridicule, since the idea was that Christianity was the very foundation of our Constitution, and must on no account be impugned, there was, obviously, even greater reason to guard it against the grave arguments of philosophers than against the scoffs and jeers of less serious assailants.

* Parliam. Reports, vol. 130 A., p. 83.

must appeal for its support; for the cases to which we have referred are full of interest, not only legal and historical, but also to the public generally.

It has been on many occasions judicially affirmed that "Christianity is part of the common law of England;" and the case which is invariably cited as the earliest authority for this proposition is *Rex v. Talyer*, which was tried before Sir Mathew Hale, in the year 1676, during the reign of Charles II. The defendant, besides making use of some monstrous expressions against Christ, had said, amongst other things, "that religion is a cheat." Hale observed: "These words though of ecclesiastical cognizance, yet that religion is a cheat, tends to dissolution of all government, and therefore (is) punishable here, and so of contumelious reproaches of God, or the religion established; which," says the report, "the Court agreed and adjudged," and it then proceeds: "An indictment lay for saying the Protestant religion was a fiction, for taking away religion, all obligation to Government by oaths, &c., ceaseth, and Christian religion is a part of the law itself; therefore injuries to God are punishable as to the king or any common person."*

Now upon this we may observe, first, that Hale was the judge who presided at the trial of the two old women who were found guilty and executed for witchcraft in the year 1665;† and upon this occasion he thus expressed his opinion to the jury: "That there were such creatures as witches he made no doubt at all; for the Scriptures had affirmed so much;" in which, we may remark, he is at one with Blackstone, who tells us that "to deny the possibility, nay, actual existence of witchcraft and sorcery, is at once flatly to contradict the revealed word of God in various passages of the Old and New Testament."‡

Therefore, to deny the existence of witches is, according to Hale, to deny the truth and authority of certain parts of the Holy Scriptures, which are part of Christianity, which again is part of the common law. The reality of witchcraft, therefore, is, on this reasoning, part of the common law, and we must con-

* 3 Keble, 607. The case is also reported in 1 Ventris, 293. We observe that Mr. Justice Stephen ("Hist. Crim. Law," vol. ii. p. 470), although his note refers us to Keble, only (with further reference to Folkard's "Starkie") quotes the words of Ventris, and not those of Keble, which we have given above. The reports are not identical.

† 6 Howell's "State Trials," p. 687. We would mention that this article though subsequently modified as occasion required, was originally written immediately after the first *Freethinker* trial, before the trial of Mr. Bradlaugh, and consequently also before the second *Freethinker* trial, in which some allusion was made to Hale's belief in witches.

‡ "Comm." Book iv. ch. iv.

clude, that in Hale's opinion, to deny "that there are such creatures as witches," would have amounted to blasphemy!

Now what importance, we may ask, ought to be attached to such an authority as this? Yet Hale has been constantly appealed to in trials for blasphemous libel. Thus, in the first of the three celebrated trials of William Hone,* the then Attorney-General, Sir Samuel Shepherd, at the outset of his opening address to the jury, thus invokes the great authority of Charles the Second's Lord Chief Justice:—

"It has been over and over again said by the most eminent judges, and particularly by one who was the most learned man that ever adorned the bench—the most even man that ever blessed domestic life—the most eminent man that ever advanced the progress of science—and also one of the best and most purely religious men that ever lived. I speak of Sir Mathew Hale. It was by him in one sentence said, that 'the Christian religion is parcel of the common law of England.'"

It seems strange to find the Judge (great and eminent man though he was) who left Rose Cullender and Amy Duny for execution at Bury St. Edmunds for the crime of witchcraft, described as "the most eminent man that ever advanced the progress of science;" but is it not much more absurd to quote the *dictum* of this venerable but antiquated celebrity, to the effect that Christianity is parcel of the common law, as though it could have any binding authority whatsoever upon the very enlightened judges of the nineteenth century?

But, secondly, the quotation from Hale's judgment proves too much; for it is to be observed that in the passage we have cited from Keble's reports, he is made to say, "an indictment lay for saying the *Protestant* religion is a fiction."† Now no judge at the present day would venture to lay down that a Roman Catholic who should publish a pamphlet declaring that the Protestant religion is "a fiction" is guilty of blasphemy. It is, indeed, sometimes said that it is blasphemous to attack or ridicule the formularies of the Established Church; but this surely holds good only in those cases where a jury would be justified in finding that Christianity itself is the real object of attack, although these particular points alone are selected as most vulnerable to the assault. But a man may, of course, condemn the established form of religion, while admitting the truth of Christianity; and anybody may, we apprehend, assail and ridicule *Protestantism* as much as he chooses, without committing any legal offence, so long as he refrains from attacking Christianity

* In 1817. See the Report, printed by and for William Hone, 67, Old Bailey. 1817.

† These words are not in Ventris.

in general.* What, then, becomes of Hale's authority? It must surely be trusted, either "not at all, or all in all." But it evidently cannot be trusted "all in all." We submit, therefore, that to hang the law of blasphemy, as it has hitherto been hung, upon *Rex v. Tayler*, is to hang it upon a very rotten peg.

Leaving the times of Charles II. for those of George II., we come to the case to which we have already alluded, of *Rex v. Woolston*.† Here the defendant had been convicted for publishing several discourses on the miracles of Christ, in which he maintained that they are not to be taken in a literal sense, but that the whole life of Christ in the New Testament is but an allegory. It was argued for him, *inter alia*, that this could not be an offence against the common law, for if it was so, then to have taken the doctrine of transubstantiation allegorically, must have been an offence at common law previously to the Reformation, and must be so still, since the Reformation had not altered the common law, which, it was submitted, was a *reductio ad absurdum*. On the other side, the authority of Hale was, of course, appealed to.

"Christianity in general," said Lord Raymond, "is parcel of the common law of England, and therefore to be protected by it; now whatever strikes at the very root of Christianity tends manifestly to a dissolution of the civil Government, and so was the opinion of my Lord Hale in Tayler's case. So that to say an attempt to subvert the established religion is not punishable by those laws upon which it is established, is an absurdity. . . . I would have it taken notice of, that we do not meddle with any differences of opinion, and that we interpose only where the very root of Christianity itself is struck at, as it plainly is by this allegorical scheme!"

We would next refer to the celebrated trial of Thomas Williams, for publishing Paine's "Age of Reason."‡ This took place before Lord Kenyon, in the days of George III., A.D. 1797. We think it would interest the reader to see a specimen

* It was said by Baron Alderson, in 1838, that "a person may, without being liable to prosecution for it, attack Judaism, or Mahomedanism, or even any sect of the Christian religion, save the established religion of the country; and the only reason why the latter is in a different situation from the others is because it is *the form established by law*, and is therefore a part of the constitution of the country" (*R. v. Gathercole*, 2 Lewin's C. C., at p. 251) but we do not think such a doctrine would be upheld now in its entirety. An attack upon the established religion made by an independent Christian could hardly be held to be criminal. Of course he must not touch individual character. Baron Alderson, we may add, is another authority in favour of the rule disapproved of by Lord Coleridge, for he proceeds: "In like manner, and for the same reason, any general attack on *Christianity* is the subject of criminal prosecution, because Christianity is the established religion of the country."

† Fitzgibbon, 64, A.D. 1723. Also, 2 Strange, 834, and 1 Barnard, 162.

‡ 26 Howell's "State Trials," p. 654.

of the charges brought against the prisoner. The second count of the indictment runs as follows :—

“That the said Thomas Williams being a wicked, impious and ill-disposed person, and having no regard to the laws or religion of this realm, but most wickedly, blasphemously, impiously and profanely devising and intending to asperse, vilify, scandalize and ridicule that part of the Holy Bible which is called the Old Testament, on the day and year aforesaid, at Westminster aforesaid, in the county aforesaid, with force and arms did publish and cause to be published, a certain false impious and blasphemous libel, containing therein, among other things, as follows, that is to say—‘Did the book called the Bible’ (meaning that part of the Holy Bible which is called the Old Testament) ‘excel in purity of ideas and expression all the books that are now extant in the world, I would not take it for my rule of faith, as being the word of God, because the possibility would nevertheless exist of my being imposed upon ; but when I see throughout the greatest part of this Book’ (meaning that part of the Holy Bible which is called the Old Testament) ‘scarcely anything but a history of the grossest vices, and a collection of the most paltry and contemptible tales, I cannot dishonour my Creator by calling it by His name’ (meaning and intending thereby that throughout the greatest part of that part of the Holy Bible which is called the Old Testament there is scarcely any thing but a history of the grossest vices and a collection of paltry and contemptible tales); to the great displeasure of Almighty God, the great scandal, infamy and contempt of the Holy Bible, to the evil example of all others, and against the peace of our said lord the King, his crown and dignity.”

The conclusion is peculiar, and reminds one of a story of Doctor Keat, highly characteristic of that self-importance which was perhaps excusable in a master who had flogged half the nobility of his time. Having observed an Eton boy talking and laughing in chapel, he rebuked him in these terms : “It is most disrespectful—not *only* to your God, but also to *me* !

Williams was convicted and sentenced to twelve months’ hard labour, and then to give security on his own recognizances in the sum of £1,000 for good behaviour during life. The prosecution had been conducted by Erskine, who, however, refused to appear to pray judgment, and cancelled the retainer which he had received from the “Society for carrying into effect His Majesty’s Proclamation against Vice and Immorality.” His reasons for this course he stated at length in a letter to Mr. Howell,* in which occurs the following passage :—

“Having convicted Williams, as will appear by your report of his trial, and before he had notice to attend the court to receive judgment,

* 26 Howell’s “State Trials,” p. 714.

I happened to pass one day through the Old Turnstile from Holborn, in my way to Lincoln's Inn Fields, when, in the narrowest part of it, I felt something pulling me by the coat; on turning round, I saw a woman at my feet, bathed in tears, and emaciated with disease and sorrow, who continued almost to drag me into a miserable hovel in the passage, where I found she was attending upon two or three unhappy children in the confluent small-pox; and in the same apartment, not above ten or twelve feet square, the wretched man I had convicted was sewing up *little religious tracts* which had been his principal employment in his trade, and I was fully convinced that his poverty and not his will had led to the publication of this infamous book. . . . I was most deeply affected with what I had seen, and feeling the strongest impression that it offered a happy opportunity to the prosecutors of vindicating and rendering universally popular the cause in which they had succeeded, I wrote my opinion to that effect, observing (if I well remember) that mercy being the grand characteristic of the Christian religion which had been defamed and insulted, it might be here exercised, not only safely, but more usefully to the object of the prosecution, than by the most severe judgment, which must be attended with the ruin of this helpless family."

"The quality of mercy is not strained;" but, alas! as corporations, it is said, have no souls, so societies, however religious, have no heart, and the prosecutors, headed by "that most excellent prelate," Bishop Porteus, were by no means disposed to intervene between the law and its victim. "I trust," said the miserable man, after sentence had been passed upon him, "it will not be too great an indulgence that I may have a bed." "I cannot order that," replied the Judge. And so the prison walls close upon him, and of the fate of the helpless woman and the children with confluent small-pox, we know no more, but can conjecture much. "*Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.*"

In passing sentence in this case, Lord Kenyon thus laid down the law:—

"All offences of this kind are not only offences against God, but crimes against the law of the land, and are punishable as such, inasmuch as they tend to destroy those obligations whereby civil society is bound together: and it is upon this ground that the Christian religion constitutes part of the law of England; but that law, without the means of enforcing its precepts, would be but a dead letter. Whenever those infamous works appear they are the proper subjects of prosecution; for if the name of our Redeemer were suffered to be traduced, and His holy religion treated with contempt, the solemnity of an oath, on which the due administration of justice depends, would be destroyed, and the law stripped of one of its principal sanctions, the dread of future punishments."

In these remarks, and in those of Lord Raymond in Woolston's case (*ante*, p. 9.), and in many others of a like nature, to which,

if space permitted, we might refer, we see revealed the theory of our law of blasphemy, and the meaning of the proposition that "Christianity is part of the common law." It was supposed that the entire fabric of our constitution, our government, and our laws rested upon the religion revealed in the Old and New Testaments; and from this it followed that the Courts would lose their jurisdiction, and the laws their sanction, and, in the words of Lord Raymond (in Woolston's case), "a dissolution of the civil Government" would ensue if the Divine origin of that religion were to be brought into question. Well may Mr. Justice Stephen say, that a law based upon such a theory is out of harmony with the spirit of modern times, and, he might have added, of modern legislation, seeing that, in the words of the Prime Minister, "an absolute separation has been drawn in the spirit of the law of the land, and, as I believe, in the letter of it, between secular duty and religious belief."* "The strength of this argument, says a learned writer of the present day,† advverting to the words of Lord Kenyon, "is now seriously impaired by the Acts recently passed, permitting even atheists and persons who do not believe in a future life to give evidence in our law courts." And we may add, that if it be true that "Christianity is part and parcel of the law of England," Parliament has done, to say the least, very strangely in allowing persons who deny the binding authority of that part of the law, to become members of the Legislature. For is not Parliament now open to "Jews, Turks, infidels and heretics," and even unto atheists?—except, of course, Mr. Bradlaugh!

Take the case of the trial of Eaton before Lord Ellenborough, in 1812, for publishing the third part of Paine's "Age of Reason."‡ What was the argument of the then Attorney-General, Sir Vicary Gibbs? "What reasons have you," he asked the jury, "to believe that the witnesses will speak the truth, except from the operation of those religious principles which I have already described to you? On what are they sworn? Are they not sworn on that sacred volume, which the author of this vile publication has designated as the wicked invention of man?" and so forth, and so forth. What becomes of any cogency such arguments might once have possessed, in days when any witness may give his evidence on simple affirmation, and we believe he will speak the truth none the less?

* Speech of Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons upon Mr. Bradlaugh's claim to take the oath.—*Daily News*, June 23, 1830. Lord Lyndhurst had laid down this principle many years before.

† "A Digest on the Law of Libel and Slander." By W. Blake Olgers, M.A., LL.D. Stevens & Sons. 1881. ‡ 31 Howell's "State Trials," p. 927.

In point, here, are some further remarks of the Commissioners on Criminal Law, who in their sixth report,* to which we have already alluded, express themselves as follows :—

“The common law of England respecting blasphemy, as stated by Mr. Sergeant Hawkins,† declares that ‘all blasphemies against God, as denying His being or providence, and all contumelious reproaches of Jesus Christ, as well as all profane scoffing at the Holy Scriptures, or exposing any part thereof to contempt or ridicule’ are misdemeanors punishable with fine and imprisonment, and formerly with the pillory. This definition is intended to include *oral* as well as written blasphemy. It is worthy of remark that, although numerous authorities are cited by Mr. Sergeant Hawkins, and other text books, in support of the rule as above stated, all the cases referred to, with a single exception, are cases of written libels. The only adjudged case respecting *oral* blasphemy to be found in the books of English law, as far as we have been able to discover, is that of *the King v. Taylor*, which occurred in 1676 . . . ; and as *this case has formed the groundwork of all the recent decisions on the subject, both of oral and written blasphemy,*‡ it may be useful briefly to state its effect. The defendant in that case was prosecuted by the Attorney-General, *ex-officio*, for having publicly uttered words reviling God and Christ, and the Christian religion, in terms so outrageous and insulting, and at the same time so unmeaning and absurd, that they could hardly have been used by a person who had the use of his reason. And as it appears from the record that he was brought by habeas corpus from Bedlam, to plead to the information in the Court of King’s Bench, the first impression upon his apprehension seems to have been that he was a madman. Nevertheless, he was found guilty by the jury, and sentenced by the Court to stand in the pillory at three several places, to pay a fine of 1,000 marks, and to find sureties for his good behaviour during life.”

The Commissioners then refer to the remarks of Lord Hale, as contained in the reports of the case, which they say are obviously imperfect. They then proceed as follows :—

“The meaning of the expression used by Lord Hale, that ‘Christianity was parcel of the laws of England,’ though often cited in subsequent cases, has, we think, been much misunderstood. It appears to us that the expression can only mean either that, as a great part of the securities of our legal system consist of judicial and official oaths sworn upon the Gospels, Christianity is closely interwoven with our municipal law; or that the laws of England, like all municipal laws of a Christian country, must upon principles of general jurisprudence, be subservient to the positive rules of Christianity. In this sense

* Report dated 1841, p. 82.

† Hawkins, “Pleas of the Crown,” book i. c. 5, ss. 1 and 2. 1 East P. C. p. 3.

‡ The italics in this quotation are our own.

Christianity may justly be said to be incorporated with the law of England, so as to form parcel of it; and it was probably in this sense that Lord Hale intended the expression should be understood. At all events, in whatsoever sense the expression is to be understood, it does not appear to us to supply any reason in favour of the rule; for it is not criminal to speak or write either against the common law of England generally, or against particular portions of it, provided it be not done in such a manner as to endanger the public peace by exciting forcible resistance; so that the statement that Christianity is parcel of the law of England, which has been so often urged in justification of laws against blasphemy, however true it may be as a general proposition, certainly furnishes no additional argument for the propriety of such laws."*

They then refer to Woolston's case, upon which they make the observations that we have already quoted. The Commissioners, it is to be observed, remark that the rule of our law applies to words spoken as well as to words written and published, but they state that there is only one reported case, as far as they were able to discover, in which the law had been actually so applied—viz., the constantly cited *R. v. Tayler* in 1676. There had, indeed, only twenty years before the date of their report, occurred an instance of oral blasphemy, for which the offender was summarily punished by the infliction of a fine of £40, but they were, perhaps, justified in not taking notice of it, since the nominal offence in that case was not blasphemy but contempt of court. Nevertheless, the judges evidently held that the words amounted to a contempt of court, solely on the ground that they were blasphemous words. We allude to the case of *Rex v. Davison*,† which was tried before Mr. Justice Best, in 1821, and affords a good illustration, both of the law of blasphemy and of the summary jurisdiction of the judges in cases of "contempt of court." Davison was indicted for the publication of a blasphemous libel, and conducted his own defence, in the course of which he used the following expressions:—

"The Deist is anathematized because he cannot believe that some traditions handed down among the Jews and the Christians are a Divine revelation, and not only superior to the several and respective revelations possessed by the Turks, the Brahmins, or the Hindoos, and many others, but the only genuine or authentic revelation in existence. Now it so happens that the Deist considers this collection of ancient

* Similarly, Archbishop Whateley remarks: "What is the precise meaning of the above legal maxim I do not profess to determine, having never met with any one who could explain it to me; but evidently the mere circumstance that we have religion by law established, does not of itself imply the illegality of arguing against that religion." Preface to "Elements of Rhetoric."

† 4 Barnewall and Alderson, 329.

OS 2 WE 2
Vol. 120 (NS. 64)

Blasphemy.

tracts to contain sentiments, stories, and representations totally derogatory to the honour of a God, destructive to pure principles of morality, and opposed to the best interests of society."

Will it be believed that for these perfectly decent and temperate expressions a prisoner pleading his own defence from the dock was, in the nineteenth century, fined £40 by the presiding judge? Such, however, was the fact, and, moreover, the conduct of Mr. Justice Best was subsequently upheld and approved by the Court of King's Bench. The prisoner having been convicted and imprisoned, applied by counsel for a new trial on the ground that he had been "intimidated and confounded" by this and similar interpositions of the judge. Lord Chief Justice Abbott, however, said that it was "utterly impossible that the law could be administered if those who were charged with the duty of administering it had not power to prevent instances of indecorum in their presence." But why were these words indecorous? Let the learned Chief Justice supply the answer. Alluding to the summary and unrestricted power possessed by the judges in cases of "contempt," he says: "If the publication of blasphemy and irreligion cannot in any other way be prevented, in my opinion, a judge will betray his trust who does not put it in force. . . . Is a judge to sit and hear a man maintain his right to assert or publish blasphemy?" So, too, Mr. Justice Holroyd justifies the fine on the ground that, unless he had imposed it, or imprisoned the party, the judge would have permitted a breach of the law. Plainly, therefore, the learned judge held that oral blasphemy, *though couched in the most decent language*, amounts to a breach of the law of England!

We must be content with the passing reference already made to the celebrated case of *R. v. Eaton*, in 1812, merely adding that this poor bookseller was sentenced by Lord Ellenborough to be imprisoned for eighteen months in Newgate, and to stand in the pillory between the hours of twelve and two once within a month,* a sentence that called forth from the poet Shelley, then scarcely eighteen, his indignant "Letter to Lord Ellenborough," which Mr. Forman calls "the first really good thing he published in prose."

In 1840, Shelley's own "Queen Mab" was found to be a blasphemous libel. Lord Denman appears to have asked the jury: "Were the lines indicted calculated to shock the feelings of any

* Richard Carlile was also heavily fined and imprisoned for three years for the publication of the same book in 1819 (See 3 Barnewall and Alderson, 161). "The Age of Reason" may now be purchased of any bookseller, and owes its notoriety to those who so constantly prosecuted its publishers.

Starbora Jankrishna Public Library
7834 Date 31.7.75.

Christian reader? Were their points of offence explained, or was their virus neutralized by any remarks in the margin, by any note of explanation or apology? If not, they were libels on God, and indictable.*

In the *Queen v. Hicklin*† (the "Confessional Unmasked" case) Lord (then Mr. Justice) Blackburn says, in giving judgment: "In *Moxon's case* the publication of Shelley's 'Queen Mab' was found by the jury to be an indictable offence; I hope I may not be understood to agree with what the jury found, that the publication of 'Queen Mab' was sufficient to make it an indictable offence." We find it difficult to understand this, as the book seems to come within our law of blasphemy, and the fact that the prosecution was vindictive and vexatious cannot of course affect the legal question.

In 1822, one Waddington was tried for publishing a blasphemous libel.‡ During the trial one of the jury asked Lord Chief Justice Abbott, "whether a work which denied the Divinity of our Saviour was a libel." The Lord Chief Justice, instead of answering the question, replied that a work speaking of Christ "in the language used in the publication in question was a libel, Christianity being part of the law of the land" (again that well-worn dictum!) and the prisoner was convicted; and rightly so, according to our law, since he had stated that "Jesus Christ was an impostor, and a murderer in principle, and a fanatic." It was therefore unnecessary to answer the juryman's rather inconvenient question, since, as remarked by Mr. Justice Best, the prisoner had not "argued from the Scriptures against the Divinity of Christ," but had "argued against the Divinity of Christ, by denying the truth of the Scriptures."

We will refer to only two more cases in further illustration of the law. The first is *Reg. v. Hetherington*,§ which was tried in 1841. The indictment was for a blasphemous libel on that part of the Holy Bible called the Old Testament. Lord Denman told the jury that, if they thought the publication tended to *question* or cast disgrace upon the Old Testament, it was a libel. In arguing for a new trial, after the prisoner's conviction, his counsel urged that "the offence laid in the indictment is not punishable at common law, and there is no case of an indictment for a publication discussing matters contained in the Old Testament." Mr. Justice Littledale, however, replied that "the Old Testament, independently of its connection with, and of its prospective reference to Christianity, contains the law of Almighty God; and,

* *R. v. Moxon*, 2 Townsend's "Modern State Trials," 356.

† L. R. 3 Q. B. 371.

‡ 1 Barnewall and Cresswell, 26.

§ 5 Jurist, 529.

therefore, I have no doubt that this is a libel in law, as it has been found to be in fact by the jury."

The last case which we must notice is *Cowan v. Milbourn*,* which was decided so recently as the year 1867. The defendant had contracted to let certain rooms to the plaintiff for the purpose of having lectures delivered there. Subsequently the lectures were advertised by placards as "*The Character and Teachings of Christ; the former defective, the latter misleading;*" and "*The Bible shown to be no more Inspired than any other Book.*" Thereupon the defendant refused to allow the plaintiff to have the use of the rooms, and it was held that he was justified by law in this breach of contract. "It would be a violation of duty," said the late Lord Chief Baron Kelly, in giving judgment, "to allow the question raised to remain in any doubt. That question is, whether one who has contracted to let rooms for a purpose stated in general terms, and who afterwards discovers that they are to be used for the delivery of lectures in support of a proposition which states, with respect to our Saviour and His teaching, that the first is defective and the second misleading, is nevertheless bound to permit his rooms to be used for that purpose in pursuance of that general contract. *There is abundant authority for saying that Christianity is part and parcel of the law of the land;* and that, therefore, to support and maintain publicly the proposition I have above mentioned is a violation of the first principles of the law, and cannot be done without blasphemy. I therefore do not hesitate to say that the defendant was not only entitled, but was called on and bound by the law, to refuse his sanction to this use of his rooms."

And of the same opinion were Lord Bramwell and Baron Martin. "This last decision," says Mr. Justice Stephen,† "is strong to show that the true legal doctrine upon the subject is that blasphemy consists in the character of the matter published, and not in the manner in which it is stated. The propositions intended to be expressed in the placards which were thus held to be blasphemous could hardly have been expressed in less offensive language." Indeed, if we are to suppose that the opinion of Lord Coleridge is to be henceforth upheld as the law, we are brought to the conclusion that this case of *Cowan*

* L. R. 2 Ex. 230. The Lord Chief Justice, in his recent summing up, intimated his dissent from the judgment of the late Lord Chief Baron in this case; and as to Lord (then Baron) Bramwell's judgment, pointed out that it is based not upon the Common Law, but upon the statute 9 & 10 William III. c. 32. It can, however, we think, be shown that Lord Bramwell's reasoning on the statute does not hold. See *The Law Journal* for June 16, 1883, at p. 332.

† "History of the Criminal Law," vol. ii. p. 474. We may remark, too, that this case is an additional authority to show that there is such a misdemeanour as *oral* blasphemy, as well as blasphemous libel.

v. Milbourn was wrongly decided, and would not be followed at the present time. Similarly, other cases like *Reg. v. Davison* (1821) and *Reg. v. Hetherington* (1841), to say nothing of older decisions, and the directions of various judges at sundry trials, must be considered to be overruled.

Thus then, judge-made but by judges doubted of, like some monstrous fossil concerning which the geologists do wrangle, stands or sprawls our law of blasphemy. How much longer shall it so stand or sprawl? We have seen that it had its origin in the days of the Stuarts, in times when lunatics were dragged to the pillory; when old women were hung for witchcraft and it was rank heresy to deny the possibility of their crime. We have seen further that it is based upon a theory of our Constitution and Government which the Legislature, as shown by its Acts, has long ago discarded, and which is entirely out of harmony with the spirit of modern times.

In truth, the law as it stands now was made by the judges of the Court of King's Bench, upon whom descended part of the *damnosa hereditas* of the Star Chamber,* and we take it for granted that nobody, in this latter half of the nineteenth century, will be found to defend it, at any rate in the form in which it exists according to Mr. Justice Stephen, the late Lord Chief Baron, and the Commissioners on Criminal Law in 1841. It is nothing to say (even though it should be admitted) that, however objectionable in theory, in practice it only reaches cases which ought to be punished—viz., cases of indecent and outrageous disregard of the religious feelings of the majority. If it be part of our Common Law, as some judges have declared it to be, that anybody who, with the utmost propriety of language and with the most perfect good faith, denies the divine origin of the books of Moses or other parts of the Old Testament, is guilty of a blasphemous libel, and liable to fine and imprisonment at the discretion of a judge (for in the case of a common law misdemeanour there is no limit assigned to the punishment), then certainly the statute law should be invoked to reform and expurgate the common law.† And even if the law is to follow only the more moderate rule laid down by Lord Coleridge, any foolish or malicious person might at any time set it in action against some of the foremost writers and thinkers of the day. If it be said that no jury would convict them, we answer, first, that so much can by no means be taken for granted; secondly, that they would none the less be exposed to all the

* See Sir C. Sedley's case in 1663. 17 Howell's "State Trials," 155.

† The obsolete statute 9 & 10 William III. c. 32, must be repealed at the same time. This Act may probably be taken as a mirror of the common law at the time it was passed; but it is directed against *apostacy*, not blasphemy in general.

pain, annoyance, and expense of a criminal prosecution ; thirdly, that (taking Mr. Justice Stephen's view of the law, and possibly in some cases according to Lord Coleridge's) a jury could only acquit by returning what is called a "perjured verdict;" and although perjured verdicts have very materially assisted in the reformation of the criminal law, they are not exactly to be encouraged; and, fourthly, that those who are prosecuted under the existing law, may fairly complain of injustice if it be not enforced with strict impartiality against all classes of offenders.

We are brought therefore to the second of the two questions which we propounded at the outset—viz., what ought the law to be in the future?

Now there are, as it seems to us, two, and only two, methods of dealing logically and rationally with this question. We may (1) enact by statute that insults against any religion whatever shall, if written and published (for surely *oral* blasphemies may be disregarded) be criminal offences; or (2) we may abolish the law of blasphemy altogether.

Let us take these propositions in their order. The first has of late found many advocates. It is based upon the same principle as is embodied in section 298 of the Indian Penal Code, which is as follows:—

"Whoever with the deliberate intention of wounding the religious feelings of any person, utters any word or makes any sound in the hearing of that person, or makes any gesture in the sight of that person, or places any object in the sight of that person, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description (viz., with or without hard labour) for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both."

This provision, it will be observed, is of such a stringent character as to make its adoption in this country utterly impossible. The governing principle, however, as stated by the authors of the code—viz., that every man should be suffered to profess his own religion, and that no man should be suffered to insult the religion of another, is an excellent one, and no doubt some such law may be necessary in India, owing to the peculiar conditions which exist in that country. No doubt, also, a law, framed on the same lines, but adapted to the circumstances of our own country, would be infinitely preferable to that which at present exists. It is highly inexpedient, to say the least of it, that the criminal law should protect from insult the religion of one portion of the community, and at the same time allow all other forms of religious belief to be ridiculed and outraged at will. True it is that the great majority of the nation profess the Christian faith, but we legislate, or *ought* to legislate, for the good of the community at large; and the majority have long

ago recognized that it is not only perfectly consistent with their interest, but also directly to their advantage, to allow those who differ from them in religious opinions the same civic rights and privileges as they themselves enjoy. In accordance, therefore, with the great principle of religious equality, it is proposed that the law should "be so amended as, on the one hand, not to include the expression and defence in decent language of any religious opinion whatever, and, on the other hand, to include insults against any religion whatever (the Religion of Humanity as well as Catholicism) as punishable offences."*

This sounds plausible; but is it feasible? The more we consider the proposition the more are we impressed with the difficulties which will beset the application of any such law in this country. In the first place, it is impossible to protect the religious feelings of all classes from insult and outrage. There are, for instance, men who honestly and *bonâ fide* believe that certain portions of the Old Testament—say the Books of Moses—represent the Deity as commanding or sanctioning acts of the grossest cruelty and immorality. According to the belief of such men (the mistaken belief, if you will, but the real sincere *religious* belief nevertheless) to allege that these books are the mirror of divinely inspired truth is nothing short of absolute blasphemy against the Creator; and to thrust, as is often done, what are called "Bible-stories for the Young" (to take an example) copiously embellished with pictures illustrative of the divine vengeance, and, as such thinkers would say, *ferocity*—into the hands of their children, amounts to an outrage on their religious feelings certainly as great as that inflicted upon such of the orthodox as chose to look at Mr. Foote's ill-advised caricatures. Again, Lord Shaftesbury declares that the proceedings of the Salvation Army are distinctly blasphemous, and traces their source, as Mr. Justice North ascribed the action of Mr. Foote, to the direct inspiration of "the devil." The feelings, the *religious* feelings of Lord Shaftesbury and of the many who agree with him, are certainly outraged by the conduct, and, what is more to the point, by the *publications* of the Salvation Army. Yet in neither of these two typical cases is it easy to see how any law can interfere, although the complainant classes are certainly as much entitled to protection as any other.

But, passing by such cases as these, we are confronted by another and still greater difficulty. How are we to draw the line between propriety and impropriety? By what definition and according to what principle are we to distinguish between

* Editorial note appended to a letter from Mr. Frederic Harrison to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, March 12, 1883. I presume that *written and published* insults are alone intended.

legitimate argument and "insult"? Are we to deny altogether to disputants the use of that powerful, though much abused, weapon, ridicule? And who is to decide whether the bounds which we would assign have been overstepped, and to lay his finger upon the point beyond which irony and sarcasm become offences cognizable by the criminal law? If it be answered that these are matters to be decided in every case according to circumstances—by a jury, after hearing the direction of the judge—we would ask what security have we that the prisoners would obtain a fair trial before an impartial tribunal? Has recent experience at the Old Bailey made it clear that we can count upon a judge to be free from the *odium theologicum*? Is a common jury likely to be uninfluenced by sectarian passion and prejudice? If not, how can we feel assured that insult, outrage, and indecency will not be found, where men of more breadth of mind, greater tolerance, and what Mr. Matthew Arnold would call higher *culture*, would see only the legitimate expression of free and unfettered reason?

The mention of Mr. Arnold and Lord Shaftesbury suggests yet further difficulties. If we are to have a newly defined crime of blasphemy, much narrower with regard to Christianity, much broader with regard to all other forms of belief—and if we are to make applicable to that crime the old maxim of our criminal law *actus non facit reum nisi mens sit reus*—we must in each case, before deciding upon the question of the prisoner's guilt or innocence, examine the *intention* with which he acted. But in estimating that intention, we must, as the *Spectator* not long ago pointed out, have regard to the position of the accused in the social scale. It would be most unfair to judge the poor, unrefined, uneducated man by the same standard as we apply to the man of "culture." We cannot expect an assailant who has never been exercised in the use of the rapier to fight with any other weapon than the bludgeon to which he has always been accustomed; and it would be gross injustice to infer evil motives in such a man simply because he does not, and indeed cannot, carry on the contest after the manner of the refined and educated duellist. Thus, to use the instance supplied by the *Spectator*, Mr. Arnold may compare the first person of the Trinity, as he exists in the minds of some persons, to a sort of infinitely magnified and improved Lord Shaftesbury,* and

* "Literature and Dogma," Ed. 5, p. 119. Mr. Arnold might urge in defence, and with perfect justice, that he was not arguing against Christianity, but against that false *aberglaube*, which is really no part of Christianity, but, on the contrary, the source of its greatest peril. Lord Raymond or Lord Ellenborough, however, would have made short work with such a plea. We wonder how it would fare at the hands of Mr. Justice North!

nobody thinks of inferring therefrom that he wrote not for the purposes of legitimate argument, but in order to insult and outrage the feelings of others. Foote, on the other hand, suffers twelve months' confinement within the four walls of a prison cell, because he suggests much the same sort of thing by means of caricatures, which, however gross, ought by no means to be taken to prove an absence of honesty of purpose and belief, considering the position of the man who made use of them*. Are we then to have one law for the refined, another for the vulgar disputant? Are we to consecrate to our use the saying of Isabella—

“Great men may jest with saints; 'tis wit in them.
But in the less, foul profanation;”

to recognize her doctrine—

“That in the captain's but a choleric word,
Which in the soldier is flat blasphemy!”

Again, if we are to adopt and enforce the proposed new law, we must be prepared to forbid the use of many classic works of the very highest merit. Assuredly, many of Voltaire's essays and novels transgress the prescribed limits, if ridicule and insult to any religion are to be made criminal. But would it not be something worse than an absurdity to make the publication of Voltaire a criminal offence in these latter days, which, we are told, are days of an enlightened tolerance?

Such are some of the objections which suggest themselves when we consider in its prospective application our first proposition of reform, and to us they seem, without going further into detail, fatal to its chances of success. We turn then to the other alternative. It is a very simple one—that we should agree to do without any law of blasphemy at all. Why not? What good has the law ever done? It has aroused many evil passions; it has broken many hearts. Can it be alleged that it has ever been of real service to the cause of true religion? On the contrary, it seems to us that if Christian ministers and Christian laymen understood their own interests as religious men, they would unite in demanding the abolition of such a law. It is asserted by the prosecutors of what are called blasphemous libels, in their in-

* We must say, however, after reading what the Lord Chief Justice himself characterized as Mr. Foote's “very striking and able speech,” that the editor of the *Freethinker* is very far from being the vulgar and uneducated disputant which the *Spectator* appears to have supposed him to be. Those who wish to read the speech can do so in the report of the trial published by the Progressive Publishing Company, 28, Stonecutter Street, E.C. Price 6d.

dictments, that such things bring Christianity into hatred and contempt; but it has always seemed to us that it is not the thing complained of, but the prosecution of it in a criminal court, which brings into hatred and contempt—we will not say *Christianity*, if by that expression is meant the religion and morality taught by its founder, but that system of dogmatic theology which has appropriated the name of one whose spirit and teachings it has, as we venture to think, signally failed to understand. For many who condemned the offender in the court of morals, when he has been dragged from the dock to the gaol; have felt rise within them an indignant feeling of “hatred and contempt,” not now for him or his work, but rather for the creed of those who can teach that such things are rightly done in the name and for the religion of Christ. *O miseræ hominum mentes, O pectora cæca!*

We venture, therefore, to think that these prosecutions are opposed both to the spirit and the interests of Christianity itself; and in support of this opinion we are happy to be able to cite the authority of one of the most learned, devout, and eminent of Churchmen. The celebrated Dr. Lardner had published an able answer to Woolston, whose case we have already more than once alluded to, and previously to the trial of this offender, he wrote a letter to Dr. Waddington, then Bishop of Chichester, respecting Woolston’s work and the probability of his being prosecuted for it, in which occurs the following passage:*

“I suppose if he should be punished it will be for writing *against* Christianity, and not for his *manner* of doing it. I am far from thinking that Mr. Woolston has written in a grave and serious manner; and I have strongly expressed my dislike of his manner. . . . Your lordship freely declares he ought not to be punished for being an infidel, nor for writing at all against the Christian religion, which appears to me a noble declaration. If the governors of the Church and civil magistrates had all along acted up to this principle, I think the Christian religion had been before now well-nigh universal; but I have supposed it to be a consequence from this sentiment, that if men have an allowance to write against the Christian religion, there must also be considerable allowance as to the manner likewise. This has appeared to me a part of that meekness and forbearance to which the Christian religion obliges us, who are to reprove, rebuke, and exhort with all long-suffering. The proper punishment of a low, mean, indecent, scurrilous way of writing, seems to be neglect, contempt, scorn, and general indignation. Your lordship has observed

* We take this quotation from the “Sixth Report of the Commissioners of Criminal Law,” p. 84, note. The reference is to Lardner’s works, vol. i. Appendix i.

extremely well, that this way of writing is such as may justly raise the indignation and resentment of every honest man, whether Christian or not. This punishment he has already had in part, and will probably have more and more, if he should go on in his rude and brutal way of writing. And if we leave all further punishment to Him to whom vengeance belongs, I have thought it might be much for the honour of ourselves and our religion; but if he should be punished further, the stream of resentment and indignation will turn, especially if the punishment should be severe; and it is likely that a small punishment will not suffice to engage to silence, nor to an alteration in the manner of writing."

So wrote Dr. Lardner in the early days of the eighteenth century. May we not learn something from him in the latter part of the nineteenth? In accordance with his opinion, and in the interest both of Christianity and of the community at large, we submit the proposition that the law of blasphemy may be altogether omitted from our new penal code. Every right-minded man will, of course, heartily condemn all outrageous and insulting attacks upon the opinions of others. But is it wise to treat as a crime what, after all, would be better described as an offence against good taste? No doubt feelings may be outraged by such attacks, but feelings may be outraged in many ways, and it is impossible to invoke the criminal law to prevent it. A man's "feelings" (using the term in its popular sense) are the result of, and depend upon, his constitution, temperament, education, habits, and surroundings, and what is an outrage to the feelings of one man is viewed with absolute indifference, or possibly with approval, by another. Further, there does not seem to be any good reason why the law should protect either the feelings of any particular class of men, or any particular set of feelings, without extending its protection to all classes of men, and all sets of feelings, which it is obviously impossible to do. If an individual is personally attacked, we have a stringent law of libel to protect him; and if the bounds of actual decency are overstepped, the law of obscene libel is of still greater severity. After all, nobody need look at these "blasphemous" publications unless he chooses, and it may be expected that if their authors, instead of being punished with a severity out of all proportion to the offence, and so being allowed to figure as martyrs for opinion, were simply treated as Dr. Lardner suggested, attacks of this nature would either cease altogether or be left unnoticed as they deserve to be. *Nititur in vetitum semper, cupimusque negata.* But remove the prohibition, and take from these men all pretence for saying that they are contending for the liberty of the press and of opinion, and they will soon discover that they would be only damaging their own cause, and

bringing upon themselves the scorn and contempt of all classes by persevering in this species of warfare.

Here then we think that liberty, the amplest, most unrestricted liberty, will be found, as it has been found in so many other cases, the best, as it is the simplest policy. *Magna est veritas et pravalibit*, and nowhere does truth flourish with such sturdy and indomitable growth as in an atmosphere of perfect freedom.

ART. II.—LORD CHANCELLOR HATHERLEY.

A Memoir of the Right Hon. William Page Wood, Baron Hatherley, with Selections from his Correspondence. Edited by his Nephew, W. R. W. STEPHENS, M.A., Prebendary of Chichester, and Rector of Woolbeding, Sussex, Editor of "The Life and Letters of Dean Hook," &c. 2 vols. London: Richard Bentley & Son. 1883.

WHEN we saw the publication of this memoir announced, there was irresistibly borne in upon our mind the well-known line in Canning's "Needy Knife-grinder,"—"Story! why, bless you, sir, I have none to tell." We watched Lord Hatherley through the whole of his public career, from the time he was called within the bar to his death. He was not a striking or an interesting man, and he travelled along a dead level of commonplace prosperity until he reached the highest place in his profession, but his career after all was nothing more than that of a mere successful lawyer. He had not the multiform experience and the idiosyncrasies which lift the life of Lord Campbell out of the regions of commonplace. He had not the striking abilities and eccentricities which raised Lord Westbury far above the level of his cotemporaries; but Lord Hatherley's career of uninterrupted prosperity was not darkened by a mist of misfortune and prejudice, such as overshadowed Lord Westbury's closing years. Well is it said by a reviewer of this book: "The stream of Lord Hatherley's life was less ruffled or disturbed while doing the business of his great legal and political functions than can often have been the case with men filling similar posts of consequence in public life."* The editor of this memoir truly describes him as "one who by great ability, persevering industry, and

* *Saturday Review*, April 7, 1883, p. 441.

singular purity of goodness, steadily found his way to one of the highest official positions in the country, although he never made it the object of ambitious pursuit.* The study of such a career is no doubt, as the editor says, "profitable," but it can hardly, certainly not in any high degree, be as he also says "interesting;" but until we read this book, we did not think it possible for the memoir of any man who had been successively a member of the House of Commons, a Law Officer of the Crown, nearly twenty years a Judge, and then Lord Chancellor and a Peer, to contain so little of general interest. The natural dulness of the story is, however, increased by the way in which the editor has performed his task. His clerical character has led him again and again to 'quote the same reviewer, to give "greater prominence to inner thoughts and religious questions than might have been the case if the work had fallen into the hands of one more fully concerned with law and politics;" but the defects in the work are in a large measure due to the errors of two gentlemen in no way concerned in its editorship.

"I believe," says the editor, "memoirs of great and good men to be fruitful sources of instruction as well as of entertainment, if executed upon sound principles, but at the present day the interests of biography seem to be at stake. If the publication of inaccurate reminiscences, and the reckless abuse of editorial power with which the world has lately been favoured, were to become the prevailing fashion, good biography would before long become an impossibility—and this for two reasons. On the one hand, the taste of the reading public would become so vitiated that they would pronounce all biographies to be vapid, incomplete, or insincere, which were not seasoned with the piquant sauce of idle gossip and mischievous scandal. On the other hand, men whose lives were worth recording would become more reserved in all their communications, or they would destroy all the most interesting materials for their own history, lest it should fall into the hands of inaccurate, indiscreet, or unscrupulous editors.

"In the case of one illustrious person a large destruction of letters has already been the result of the publications to which allusion has been made."†

The editor, therefore, having before his eyes the fear of the bad examples of Mr. Thomas Mozley and Mr. Reginald Wilberforce, has not done that which he says was possible, added "a few letters to and from eminent persons, written during Lord Hatherley's tenure of office as Lord Chancellor: but they would have been comparatively devoid of interest unless supplemented by others which it would not have been desirable to publish."

* Vol. i. preface, p. 7.

† Preface, pp. 9, 10.

The result of the editor's desire to execute his work on "sound principles" and his superabundant caution in keeping clear of the vices of the authors to whom he refers, is that we must apply his own words to his own book. It is "vapid and incomplete." "Lord Hatherley's letters," says the editor, "will be found replete with wise and instructive observations upon religious, philosophical, political, and social questions;"* but the letters are with few exceptions selected from the correspondence of Lord Hatherley with his lifelong friend, the late Dean Hook, and the latter, which is also the greater portion of the selection, relates mostly to theological and ecclesiastical questions, and there is therefore a sameness in its tone which becomes wearisome to the general reader. It has been said that this memoir may "to some extent be said to form a kind of supplement" to the editor's "Life of Hook." Certainly, to form a correct idea of Lord Hatherley it is needful to be acquainted with his letters to Hook, which will be found in the first volume of the Dean's Life, one of which inadvertently† and others by design are omitted from this memoir; the editor coolly observing "that a few of these letters have already appeared in the Life of Dr. Hook, published a few years ago, and others should be read in connection with letters from Dr. Hook and Lord Hatherley's letter to the editor printed in the same work."‡ We have done what the editor tells us ought to be done, but both as readers and reviewers we protest against this method of writing biography. It is most inconvenient when reading the life of A. to be told "it should be read" in connection with the life of B., which you may not possess, or have at hand, or care to undertake the labour of reading. Notwithstanding all the editor's caution, he has, we think, in one respect been indiscreet. He has given to the world what he had better withheld—Lord Hatherley's poetical remains. We are told by Macaulay of Warren Hastings that in the closing years of his life

"the first thing which he did in the morning was to write a copy of verses, when the family and guests were assembled; the poem made its appearance as regularly as the eggs and rolls; and Hastings' biographer requires his readers to believe that if from any accident Hastings came to the breakfast-table without one of his charming performances in his hand the omission was felt by all as a grievous disappointment. Tastes differ widely. 'For ourselves,' continues Macaulay, 'we must say however good the breakfasts at Daylesford may have been—and we are assured that the tea was of the most

* Vol. i. preface, p. 7.

† See p. 5 to preface, p. 10.

‡ Vol. i. p. 104.

aromatic flavour, and that neither tongue nor venison pasty was wanting—we should have thought the reckoning high if we had been forced to earn our repast by listening every day to a new sonnet or madrigal composed by our host.’”

And Macaulay, by a reference to the example of Frederick the Great and his poetical effusions, consoles the admirers of Hastings “for the affliction of seeing him reduced to the level of the Hayleys and Swards.”* Lord Hatherley’s muse was not so prolific as that of Hastings, but he regularly every year wrote sonnets on the anniversaries of his marriage and of his wife’s birth, and at different times composed other poems. To judge from the given specimens,† they are as good or as bad as the productions of amateur versifiers generally are. The occupation and the customary diction of an Equity draftsman and conveyancer are, to say the least, little favourable to the “divine afflatus” necessary to the poet, and the friends and admirers of Lord Hatherley must endure the affliction of seeing this excellent man and great lawyer—for such undoubtedly he was—reduced by himself to the level, if not below it, of the Hayleys and Swards.

The plan of this book is disconnected and therefore confusing. It is threefold in form. We have first an autobiographical sketch written by Lord Hatherley, at the request of Mr. Foss, which is in substance the memoir of its writer in the “Judges of England.” We know not when it was written,‡ but it was before its author became, and when he had no expectation of becoming, Lord Chancellor.§ It was hurriedly written, and breaks off abruptly with the words, “I really can write no more,” and it is evident it had not the benefit of its author’s revision. We have next a Supplement to the sketch in the editor’s jejune memoir, and lastly intermixed with the memoir we have the letters. From these three sources, with the aid of the editor’s “Life of Dean Hook,” we will endeavour to give our readers a connected sketch of a life which the editor truly describes as “one of great activity, but also great regularity and serenity.”

William Page Wood, the fourth son of Matthew Wood, by Maria his wife, was born in the City of London, November 29, 1801. A Londoner by birth, he was by descent, on either side, connected with those two parts of England which are as far

* “Essays,” p. 656, edit. 1874.

† Vol. ii. p. 285 *et seq.*

‡ Some time prior to 1864, when the last volume of Mr. Foss was published; the memoir of Lord Hatherley will be found vol. ix. p. 316.

§ *Vid.* his letter to Dean Hook of July 6, 1861, vol. ii. p. 153.

asunder as is "the East from the West." His father was a Devonshire man, one of Tiverton, where also he was educated. He began a business career in Exeter, but before he attained his twenty-second year he removed to London. At the age of twenty-eight he married Maria, daughter of John Page, of Woodbridge, in Suffolk, surgeon. The business in which Matthew Wood engaged was that of a hop merchant, and he continued in it until his death in 1843. He early gave attention to public affairs; he became common councilman, and afterwards alderman of his ward, then one of the joint-holders of the office of sheriff of London and Middlesex, and in two successive years filled the office of Lord Mayor, an honour thitherto enjoyed by no man since the time of that somewhat mythical person, Dick Whittington. For twenty-eight years he uninterruptedly represented the City of London in Parliament.

Devon was one of the strongholds of the older form of Protestant Nonconformity—viz., English Presbyterianism, which in course of time developed into Unitarianism. In earlier times the aristocracy and squirearchy of Devon were mainly Presbyterian, and so within the memory of men recently living were the mass of the manufacturing and trading classes.* Matthew Wood's parents were Presbyterians, and his early training therefore was that of a Nonconformist. Canning had not then formulated his dogma of "Civil and religious liberty all over the world," but it has ever been held implicitly by English Nonconformists from the time of the earliest Puritans. When William Page Wood was made a peer he first assumed the motto "Defend the right;" it expresses far more accurately than heraldic mottoes usually do the principle of action of both the father and the son. Matthew Wood was a Radical, as men were accounted Radicals in the times before 1832, and for many years he enjoyed the distinction of being "the best abused man in the kingdom." To the Tories of the Regency and the reign of George IV. he was all and more than all that Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright were to the Protectionists, and Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain now are to the Conservatives and the *Saturday Review*. The head and front of his offending was his manly and generous championship of the unfortunate Queen Caroline. The dislike and even contempt unjustly felt for him by aristocratic politicians and their adherents, extended to some of the Whigs. Even Brougham,

* *Vide* "The Autobiographical Recollections of Sir John Bowring," p. 37 *et seq.*; and "Our English Presbyterian Forefathers," by the Rev. Henry Solly.

his close associate in the defence of Queen Caroline, thought it worthy of himself to speak of Wood "as that ass and alderman whom they call Thistlewood;" and if Mr. Percy Fitzgerald be to be trusted, and the story is quite consistent with Brougham's habitual insincerity, he suggested to one of the king's friends that the Carlton House newspapers should open on the alderman a shower of squibs and ridicule.* The hatred and contempt in which he was held by the Court and aristocracy† and their vulgar-minded followers, did not prevent Alderman Wood from rendering essential service to another member of the Royal Family. The popular sympathies of Edward Duke of Kent led to his proscription at the Courts of his father and his brother. The income settled on him by parliament was not adequate to the expenditure necessarily consequent on his rank and station, and it was not eked out by salary attached to any office such as were held by other members of his family. He became embarrassed. His income was vested in Lord Darnley and Alderman Wood, as trustees for his creditors, a small portion only being reserved for the Duke himself. On that he retired, to live at Brussels. Alderman Wood hearing there was a prospect of the Duke having a family, wrote to him to suggest his returning to England before the birth of the expected child who might probably become sovereign of this country. The Duke replied that to enable him to change his residence a considerable sum of money was necessary, which he had not. The trustees had no funds in hand. Alderman Wood, therefore, proposed to Lord Darnley that they two should give their personal bond to a banker for an advance to the Duke, taking their chance of his living long enough to enable them to repay themselves out of his income. The Duke and his Duchess were by this means enabled to return to England, and the advance was only just repaid at the time of the Duke's premature death. Soon after Queen Victoria's accession, Lord Melbourne, in her name, offered Alderman Wood a baronetcy, stating that Her Majesty was aware that she owed her birth in this country to the suggestions of Alderman Wood. The offered honour was accepted. To the close of Sir Matthew Wood's life he continued to enjoy the esteem and confidence of his fellow-citizens of London. Nearly twenty years after his death, his youngest surviving son‡ sought to succeed Lord John Russell as one of

* "Life of George IV.," vol. ii. No authority is given for this statement.

† See further as to this "Lord Colchester's Diary," vol. ii. p. 435; vol. iii. pp. 121-136.

‡ The late Mr. Western Wood, M.P.

the members for the City ; he avowed that his principal recommendation to the electors was that he was the son of their "old member." The electors showed their remembrance of and respect for their old representative by returning his son, by a considerable majority over the then Lord Mayor.*

Sir Matthew's connection with the Duke of Kent led to William Page Wood, at the age of nineteen years, having an interview with the Duchess, at which she desired the Princess Victoria, at that time about a year old, to be brought in, and the future Chancellor had the "honour of kissing her hand." Fifty-two years later, Lord Hatherley, compelled by daily increasing blindness, the progress of which was quickened by his exact and scrupulous discharge of his duties as Lord Chancellor, resigned that office to the widowed Queen whose hand he had kissed when an infant, the Queen extending to the disabled keeper of her conscience, and his wife, "such warm kindness and tender sympathy as deeply touched their hearts."†

While such were the paternal influences operating on William Page Wood, on the other hand his mother was a member of the Established Church, and as the mother is generally all-powerful in the religious education of her children, he was brought up under "Church" influence, and became, though never *eo nomine* a Puseyite or Tractarian, a Churchman of the highest school. Like many children of Dissenters, he was unmindful of the injunction: "Look unto the rock whence ye were hewn, and the hole of the pit whence ye were digged." Throughout his life he cherished towards Dissenters feelings in which much of ignorant prejudice was mingled with still more of dislike and contempt.‡ The compound of High Churchism and advanced Liberalism is his chief characteristic. "His position," says the reviewer we have before quoted, "was a singular one, uniting as it did the profession and practice of a strong Churchman with the opinions of a Liberal politician of the most advanced description, to which he never ceased endeavouring to give effect."

His maternal rather than his paternal connections had altogether more influence over his life. He and his brothers and sisters passed much of their time at the house of their grandmother at Woodbridge. His first school was the Free School of that town, one of the educational foundations of Elizabeth's reign. The settlement of a scheme for its extension and improvement was one of his judicial labours when a Vice-Chancellor. He married

* The late Mr. Alderman Cubitt. † *Vide* vol. i. p. 36 ; vol. ii. p. 241.
‡ *Vide* vol. ii. pp. 152-165.

a Suffolk lady in a Suffolk church. In Suffolk, especially towards the end of his life, he enjoyed much of the scanty leisure he could snatch from his constant and strenuous labours, and in a Suffolk churchyard he and his wife lie buried. With his father's county of Devon, so far as these volumes show, he had little if any intercourse, but we trace him to have been at least once in his later life in Cornwall.* After a year spent at Bow, in the school of Dr. Lindsay, "a highly respected Presbyterian minister," Wood went to Winchester, then as ever, "a hard working school where accuracy was insisted on; work was not slurred over, nor was brilliancy considered any compensation for indolence."† In his autobiography he remarks, "On looking back to my career at Winchester, I have always acknowledged the immense advantages of a public school education."‡ Winchester was then under the rule of Dr. Gabell, a schoolmaster of that class, specimens of which have lately been gibbeted by Mr. Thomas Mozley and Mr. Serjeant Ballantyne. Wood gained a character "for extraordinary industry, ability, good temper, and good conduct;"§ but this did not prevent him coming into collision with the school authorities. Dr. Gabell, is Wood's testimony, was pre-eminent as a teacher, though defective in his management as a master, owing to his bad habit of mistrusting the boys, and leaving nothing to their sense of honour. "Moreover," he writes to his friend Hook, "he inflicted corporal punishment on the college prefects, which I should esteem a disgrace that I would rather be expelled forty times. . . ."

Dr. Gabell was also guilty of—to the minds of school boys of every generation—the still more heinous crime of being illiberal in granting holidays.

Wood says of himself that he had been brought up by his father in the principles of what was then thought to be the Radical school, and even in childhood he was a very constant reader of the *Morning Chronicle*, then the leading Liberal paper, and of "Cobbett's Register." While still a schoolboy he frequently attended the House of Commons, and under "the shadow of an original portrait of Milton," used to study in Dr. Williams' library in Red Cross Street, "the chief library of the Dissenters."||

* *Vide* sonnet dated Cornwall, Sept. 12, 1854, vol. ii. p. 298.

† Lord Hatherley in the "Life of Dean Hook," vol. i. p. 313.

‡ Vol. i. p. 15.

§ *Vide* letter of Archbishop Howley to Sir Matthew Wood, vol. i. p. 14, note.

|| Vol. i. p. 25.

Through Dr. Gabell's fault "a want of confidence had sprung up between him and the head boys, and the conduct of one of the tutors which assumed too much—as the boys thought—the character of espionage, led to a rebellion." Wood acted like his father's son, and on the principle of his motto: "Defend the right." Some of the leading rebels were expelled, on which Wood left the school, taking with him his younger brother; by his departure, as Dr. Gabell himself testified, "Winchester lost one of its brightest ornaments." To his friend Hook, who had expressed his disapproval of the rebellion, Wood writes:—"I must confess, upon cool thought, it does not appear to me that any boys are justified in using violence against their masters, but surely if any were we were."

The masters "most erroneously," according to Wood—in our judgment rightly—attributed his conduct to his Radical propensities and his study of the *Morning Chronicle*.*

It was at Winchester that Wood formed his friendship with Hook. Hook's father was one of the Royal chaplains, and his uncle one of the Royal physicians, and he had "been imbued from childhood with High Church notions as they were then understood, and with the genuine doctrines of the old Tory party."†

"At school," wrote Lord Beaconsfield, "friendship is a passion. It entrances the being, it tears the soul. All loves of after-life can never bring its rapture or its wretchedness; no bliss so absorbing, no pangs of jealousy or despair so crushing or so keen! What tenderness and what devotion—what illimitable confidence; infinite revelations of inmost thoughts; what ecstatic present and romantic future; what bitter estrangements, and what melting reconciliations; what scenes of wild recrimination, agitating explanations, passionate correspondence; what insane sensitiveness, and what frantic sensibility; what earthquakes of the heart and whirlwinds of the soul are confined in that simple phrase a schoolboy's friendship."‡

This overcharged description was never realized in the experience of any two human beings; but probably the nearest approach to its realization was in the case of William Page Wood and Walter Farquhar Hook. Both were warm-hearted and of eager temperament; but while Hook was naturally impetuous and frascible, Wood was invariably sweet-tempered, and kept his enthusiasm under the control of a calm and sober practical judgment.

* Vol. i. pp. 13, 14, 106, 113.

† "Life of Dean Hook," vol. i. pp. 338-9.

‡ "Coningsby," book i. chapter ix.

"Speaking generally, it would be true to say," continues the editor, "that of the two friends, my uncle* had the more powerful intellect, was more widely read, and more evenly balanced in temperament; but the other had a certain fire of energy, a depth of human sympathy, a fund of peculiar humour, and a touch of eccentricity, which enabled him to exercise an extraordinary influence over other men."†

Wood's letters to his friend are certainly specimens of Lord Beaconsfield's "passionate correspondence." The early letters are dated "A. N. A." signifying "*anno nostræ amicitie*," the year of our friendship. Hook is addressed as "My most beloved Walter," "My dearest dearest Hook," "You are a true dear dear friend;" and the letters close in this style "God bless you! from your adoring friend, William."

While both were still quite young, the spirit of prophecy fell upon Hook, who wrote to Wood, "You will be Lord Chancellor . . . and we shall find you to be the same good, dear, affectionate, unaffected creature as before,"‡ and towards the end of their days he writes: "For fifty or nearly years, I have considered you the *facile princeps* of your generation in all respects."§

Wood on his part, after Hook's death, expressed his obligation to him for his assistance in the perusal of our English classics, and adds:—

"He did me the yet greater service of forming my mind to a genuine delight in reading for its own sake, whereas the desire of excelling rather than a delight in excellence, had been my motive to exertion. And, even now, looking back on our long course of life side by side, I own his mental superiority in that respect"||

And in his autobiography he says:—

"A far greater blessing 'was derived from his friendship.' It was through his 'invaluable counsel,' that Wood, then just fifteen, was induced to prepare himself for confirmation, and for participating in the ordinance of the Lord's Supper—which, as years after he wrote to Hook, 'seems as though it had been an anchor to my soul when tossed by more storms than even you can tell.'¶ My first communion, he elsewhere says, 'was the special cement of our life-enduring friendship, and a foundation was laid on which, notwithstanding every difference of opinion in matters less grave, we could rest *às* on a rock.'***

At the abrupt termination of Wood's Winchester career, he

* The editor is a nephew of Lord Hatherley.

† Vol. i. pp. 102-3. ‡ "Life of Dean Hook," vol. i. p. 360.

§ *Ibid.* vol. ii. || *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 340. ¶ Vol. i. pp. 15, 269.

*** "Life of Dean Hook," vol. i. p. 345.

was too young to go to Cambridge, and on the strong recommendation of Mr. Dumont, the friend of Romilly, and editor of Bentham, it was decided that as a preparation for the University he should in preference to going to a private tutor pass two years in the Geneva University, called the *Auditoire*. Here he assiduously attended lectures by Decandolle on botany, by Pictet on natural philosophy, the sound and interesting lectures of Prevost on moral philosophy, and those of Lhuillier on mathematics; he also took private lessons in mathematics and in Italian. He enjoyed besides—

“The very great advantage of attending two courses of lectures on the history of the Roman Law, by the eloquent Rossi.* . . . Rossi,” wrote Wood to Hook, “is a great sceptic. He believes scarcely a word of the history of the first five hundred years of Rome, thinks it probable that Romulus never existed, certain that he did not give a name or a constitution to Rome, which, in the first case, would have been called Romula (a circumstance which has often struck me), and as to the second, he shows clearly that all the first institutions of Rome were derived naturally from the state of primitive society. He thinks that the Romans were probably a colony from Caere, since, as you may remember, their wonderful respect for that town, against which they always hesitated to declare war, and to which they sent their gods after the burning of the city, has never been satisfactorily explained; of course he treats as fabulous the arrival of Æneas; he disbelieves the account of the origin of Rome from a set of robbers, and the story of the ‘Rape of the Sabines.’ He thinks that Numa is perhaps only an allegorical being, as his name signifies Divine inspiration. All this is founded on many plausible, not to say good, reasons. . . . His style is very luxuriant, as the Italian style at present generally is.”†

Hook, who had all the unreasoning hatred and contempt of everybody and everything foreign, natural to one brought up as a genuine old Tory, was alarmed lest Wood should be corrupted by his sojourn among foreigners. He accused Wood of swerving from his allegiance to Shakespeare, of whom Hook was an idolater, and in whose supreme and universal excellence Wood was a firm believer. Wood calmed Hook’s fears by assuring him that he

“liked Shakespeare ten million times better than all the French poets put together. . . . I honour, adore, and love Shakespeare. . . . I consider him, as I always did, a model of every English writer; and would that I could imitate in the slightest degree the grand model. I consider him as perfect as a human author can be.

* Vol. i. p. 30. Rossi was afterwards murdered while First Minister of Pope Pius IX.

† Vol. i. p. 138.

But as I see there always has been some fault in every great building, some defect in the best government, and some sin in the most virtuous man, so I think there must be some fault in the best author.*

At Geneva, Wood bore the same good character which distinguished him at Winchester. The Queen's half-brother, the late Prince of Leiningen, was then studying at Geneva. His tutor wrote to the Duke of Kent:—

“Of all his countrymen here, Mr. Wood is a most distinguished example, and I consider that his becoming intimate with my young charge would be a most important benefit to him; but unfortunately the strict rules of the *pension* to which Mr. Wood belongs, prevent the possibility of our meeting nearly as often as I could wish. In short,” he continues, “he is a perfect pattern for a young man to copy, and I earnestly entreat your Royal Highness to use your good offices with Mr. Wood's father, so as to give every possible effect to my anxious wishes that he may be a great deal with my pupil.”

The Duke complied with this request, and in consequence the Prince and Wood were much thrown together.† The students at Geneva, however young, were freely received at the evening parties of the Genevese. The shadow of Calvin still hung over the Republic, for these parties were by law compelled to close at midnight.‡

Wood at this time trod in the footsteps of the Chancellor of another female sovereign, Sir Christopher Hatton.§ “I now,” he writes to Hook, who no doubt was inexpressibly disgusted—“have become a famous waltzer, and begin to show off in the Russian or quick waltz, which is the principal dance here. We also dance several German and Italian dances, which are very pretty. I find the French *contré danses* very easy.”||

Wood never ceased to regard his training at Geneva as one of the most satisfactory portions of his education.

“It enabled me,” he says, “to acquire sufficient mathematics for my Cambridge career, and at the same time to master the French and Italian languages, whilst it greatly enlarged my knowledge of, and interest in, the general departments of science, and promoted a healthy appreciation of the advantages of intercourse, not only with men of high intellectual power, but also with ladies of natural and simple tastes and kind sympathies, at an age when in England a youth is rarely permitted to enjoy such opportunities.”¶

Wood was about to be examined for his degree of Bachelor of

* Vol. i. pp. 126, 130.

† *Ibid.* pp. 31, 32, and notes.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 11.

§ *Vide* Campbell's "Chancellors," vol. ii. p. 159.

|| Vol. i. p. 133.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 33.

Arts when his career at Geneva was abruptly closed, and a remarkable episode in his life occurred. Queen Caroline passed through Geneva on her way from Italy to England. Wood, at the request of his father, returned to England in her suite. When the Bill of Pains and Penalties was brought into Parliament, it became necessary to send some one to Italy to collect evidence on the Queen's part. She sent for that purpose a member of her Italian suite, and at her request Wood accompanied him. He visited Lombardy and Venice; he spent some time with Bergami, of unhappy fame, at his villa at Pezaro, and he acted as interpreter of the Italians, whose statements were taken with a view to their being called as witnesses for the Queen's defence. These Italians were afraid to go to England on her behalf, for fear of persecution by the Austrian Government after their return. Only those of the poorer class would make the venture, and much negotiation with the Court of Vienna was needed before they were allowed to go.

"It took," Wood says, in his biography, "a month to send over the first set, whilst the king's witnesses were sent at twenty-four hours' notice. As a specimen of the difficulty of inducing witnesses to give evidence in London, I may mention the case of a jeweller in Venice who was prepared to swear positively that the Queen never entered his shop, in contradiction to one of the king's witnesses, who said she bought a gold chain and threw it round Bergami's neck; but when I asked him if he would go to England and repeat the statement there on oath, he replied that he dare not, for it would be utter ruin to him to do so."*

Wood at the time came to the conclusion "that never was any trial against the meanest prisoner so shamefully conducted † as the trial of the Queen," and from the evidence he obtained in Italy, the evidence actually given in the House of Lords, and his knowledge of the Queen, with whom on the journey to England and afterwards he had frequent interviews, he was convinced, and he held unshaken the conviction to the very end of his life, that "the wicked charges against that persecuted woman were false." ‡

"It was a great satisfaction," he records in his autobiography to me a few years ago, "to hear a barrister of great ability, who had large experience in Crown prosecutions, and who was highly conservative in politics, say that he had read the whole of the Queen's trial through, and was not only satisfied that the charges were not proved, but that he was convinced that she was

* Vol. i. pp. 38-9.

† *Ibid.* p. 33.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 33. Conf. Lord Hatherley's letter to the editor in the "Life of Dean Hook," vol. i. p. 355.

innocent.* We may add that a very eminent judge, the late Mr. Justice Bayley, told Lord Campbell that "if the Queen had been tried before him, he would have directed the jury to acquit, and declared that he believed in his conscience that she was not guilty."† The learned judge's sentiments being known, Lord Campbell adds, "Lord Eldon kept him away from the House of Lords as much as possible."

The editor, in his "Life of Dean Hook," tells us that "party spirit ran so high in reference to the Queen's case that Hook was not permitted by his father to meet his friend Wood, a privation to which he submitted, but with resentment, which he did not attempt to conceal."‡ Wood no doubt shared Hook's feelings. If, however, he paid for his connection with this notorious episode in our history by the interruption of his intercourse with his friend, he, although his connection with the Queen's case cannot be called professional, like all the lawyers engaged in the case, was rewarded by the high legal honours he gained.§

Alderman Wood's championship of Queen Caroline placed him in a relation not altogether friendly with Brougham. According to Lord Campbell,|| Wood suspected Brougham's sincerity. Brougham, we have seen, disliked and despised Wood. The prejudices of the elder Wood do not seem to have affected his son. In December, 1830, soon after the formation of the Grey Ministry, Wood wrote to Hook the following fair and candid estimate of Brougham, his position and his diffi-

* Vol. i. p. 39.

† "Life of Lord Campbell," vol. i. p. 387. Conf. WESTMINSTER REVIEW, N.S., No. CXII., Oct., 1879. Article, "Lord Brougham."

‡ "Life of Dean Hook," vol. i. pp. 31, 49, 355.

§ It is noteworthy that all the counsel engaged in the Queen's case rose to high honour, several to the highest place in the law—viz :

Counsel for the King.

The Attorney-General (Giffard), Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and afterwards Master of the Rolls, and a peer (Lord Giffard). The Solicitor-General (Copley), Attorney-General, Master of the Rolls, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, a peer (Lord Lyndhurst), and four times Lord High Chancellor. Parke, a Baron of the Exchequer, afterwards a Privy Councillor and a peer (Lord Wensleydale). Tiudal, afterwards Solicitor-General and Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

Counsel for the Queen.

Her Attorney-General Brougham, a peer (Lord Brougham and Vaux) and Lord High Chancellor. Her Solicitor-General Denman, Attorney-General, a peer (Lord Denman) and Lord Chief Justice of England. Wilde, Solicitor-General, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, a peer (Lord Truro), and Lord High Chancellor. Lushington, a Judge of the Admiralty Court, Dean of Arches, and a Privy Councillor. Williams, one of the Justices of the Queen's Bench.

|| "Lives of the Chancellors," vol. viii. p. 301. Conf. WESTMINSTER REVIEW, *ubi supra*.

culties, and shrewdly forecast the destruction which the most brilliant but erratic member of the new Ministry would bring on it:—

“I have little doubt that Lord Brougham had sense sufficient to foresee the difficulties to which the new administration will be exposed. I seriously think that he has acted most honestly in taking office. In fact, as I believe, I have often said to you I do not consider that Brougham was ever dishonest, in the worst sense of the word; but with a sincere desire to promote many useful objects, he at the same time is beset by no slight degree of what the American Channing calls ‘self-exaggeration;’ added to this defect, he is frequently the servant of sudden impulses, for lack of sufficient fixedness of character. Whatever want of confidence may have been evinced by his associates towards Brougham has arisen rather from his independence than his servility, and he certainly has never been guilty of an actual breach of political principle. His conduct in taking office was marked with his usual faults and precipitancy. He refused the Seals, and then must immediately make a speech to let the world know that he had declined office* (for nobody of course would have supposed that it had been offered to him); he is then told, that an administration cannot be formed without him, and he has in my judgment acted rightly in accepting office, believing of course, as he does, that a Whig administration will be beneficial to the country, and that he himself (an advantage he certainly will not underrate) will thus be enabled to realize many of his own schemes for the public benefit and his own renown. The latter object he is, I think, anxious, as most men are—and he perhaps more than many—to attain, but he fortunately couples it with the best method of attainment. He will, I think, in all probability overthrow the Ministry by endeavouring to take the lead of them; and his splendid speech on the establishment of local courts, the peroration of which I think as magnificently eloquent as any remains of ancient didactic eloquence, furnished a specimen of his probable course; the bill being brought in, as he stated, independently of any communication with the Ministry.”†

While referring to Brougham we cannot refrain from quoting a most characteristic anecdote of him in his later days. It illustrates his habit of making out that all legal promotion and patronage originated with him, his habitual insincerity, and his equally habitual overstrained or even mock politeness. Wood, referring to a report current in 1858 that he was to be made one of the Lords Justices, writes to Hook:—

“You will have seen the Lord Justice story going the round of the papers, like your numerous bishoprics, and with the same foundation.

* *Vide* “Lives of the Chancellors,” vol. viii. pp. 371–3.

† “Life of Dean Hook,” vol. i. pp. 211–12.

I met Lord Brougham, as my lady and I were taking a holiday at the British Museum on my birthday, and he at once congratulated me and claimed the merit of the whole, apparently much astonished when I told him it was not true. I introduced him to Charlotte, when he bowed and kissed her hand, standing uncovered till he had obtained her permission to put on his hat—to the great amusement of numerous bystanders—and patting me on the shoulders.”*

In October, 1820, Wood went to Trinity College, Cambridge. There he became well acquainted with Lord Macaulay, but the acquaintance does not seem to have been continued in their later lives. Lord Romilly was in the year above Wood, and with him Wood did not become acquainted till later in life, when a warm friendship existed between them. Wood served as Solicitor-General under Romilly, then Attorney-General. Afterwards they sat in the Lords together. Airey, the Astronomer-Royal, and Mackworth Praed, of brief and evanescent fame, were also men of his time. So also was Charles Austin, “whose fame would now be more in proportion to his extraordinary abilities, had not his unparalleled success at the Bar induced him wisely to leave it at an age when he could live to enjoy the wealth he had earned.” All these are gone, but two of Wood’s contemporaries yet survive him. Earl Grey, with whom he was afterwards associated in Lord Russell’s Administration, and Charles Villiers, “who still delights our generation by showing us how his distinguished contemporaries talked.” Wood obtained a scholarship in his first trial for that honour in 1822. He was placed in the first class in each year in the college examination, but on taking his degree in 1824 he was mortified to find himself only twenty-fourth wrangler. He went again into the senate house to the examination for honours in classics then first held, but was compelled by illness to withdraw. In his second year, 1822, he obtained what Macaulay failed to gain, one of the three silver cups given as prizes for the best English declamation of the year. This success was likely to have proved a disaster. The theme he and his opponent selected was, “Whether the Revolution or the Restoration had conferred the greater benefit on England.” In 1824 Macaulay gained the prize of £10 given annually on the foundation of an old Whig Cambridgeshire squire to the junior bachelor of Trinity who shall write the best essay on the conduct and character of William III. Macaulay’s essay was of course an exposition of “plain Whig principles.” In

* Vol. ii. p. 156. “The scene at the Lord Mayor’s dinner (Nov. 9, 1833) was exquisite, the mischievous air of over-politeness with which Lord Brougham handed in the Lady Mayoress.”—Haydon’s “Memoirs,” vol. ii. pp. 383-4.

it he spoke of Louis XIV. "as a perfect master of all the mysteries of the science of royalty, of all the acts which at once extend power and conciliate popularity, or most dexterously conceal the deficiencies of a sovereign." Macaulay and Wood were elected, in the same year, fellows of Trinity. The election was then by the master and eight fellows, but the master and one fellow could, irrespective of the results of the examination of the candidate, veto the choice of the other fellows. Spite of the Whiggism of Macaulay's essay, no objection was made to his taking the fellowship he had won, but Wood had quoted in his declamation of 1822 the line, "The right divine of kings to govern wrong." The then master of Trinity was Dr. Wordsworth, a Tory of the old school; he professed to be alarmed by the supposed Radicalism of Wood's declamation as proved by Wood's hackneyed quotation, and he hinted an intention to exercise his veto, and of course found a fellow mean enough to follow the example of the college; wiser counsels, however, prevailed, and the veto was not exercised. Wordsworth's avowed was not his real reason for his objection to Wood. There was nothing more radical in Wood's declamation than in Macaulay's essay; but Wood was his father's son. Every one knows the feelings of unrelenting revenge with which George IV. regarded the advocates and supporters of his wife, "to calumniate whom"—such were her own words—"was the shortest road to royal favour, and to betray whom was to lay a sure foundation of riches and titles of honour;" and it was only human nature that the head of a college, not unmindful of the existence of bishoprics and deaneries, should wish not to give academical honours to the son of one who was an object of hatred and scorn to the head of the Church and the dispenser of its patronage.*

Wood, when Lord Chancellor, dined at Trinity, and in replying to the toast of his health, said: "The day on which I became a fellow of Trinity was the proudest and happiest day of my life, except one, and that was the day on which I ceased to be a fellow of Trinity." He alluded to his marriage, on which he vacated his fellowship.†

Twenty years after Wood left Cambridge he expressed to Hook the opinion that it was in his time "a dangerous place for a young inquiring mind, and the philosophy 'falsely so called'

* Vol. i. pp. 41, 44-47, 113. Conf. Trevelyan's "Life of Macaulay," vol. i. pp. 75, 81, 85, and the political memoir of Charles Villiers, prefixed to his "Free Trade Speeches," vol. i. p. 13.

† Vol. i. p. 143.

would have been singularly dangerous to me had I not, from a boy, been imbued with Berkeley's spiritual views." We know not whether he refers to the "Utilitarian philosophy," which, in his time, had at Cambridge not a few adherents;* but in a letter to Hook he calls it "the dictates of an unregenerate heart dignified with the title of philosophy." He admits, however, that—

"Bentham is an acute logician, and like Spinoza, from whom he borrowed largely, you must attack his first principles or you will find his deductions unassailable. It is true there is a moral *reductio ad absurdum* in some of his conclusions on legislation, as where he considers the murder of an infant by the consent of both parents a trifling error; but, although you may say at once the principles must be wrong which lead to such a result, you will find the result correctly deduced from them, and as *ad absurdum* is not considered the most satisfactory refutation, it is better to attack the principles *per directum*."†

Wood, when he studied under the shadow of Milton's portrait in Redcross Street Library, read a book which made an impression upon him for life, Bishop Berkeley's "Dialogues," and subsequently his "Principles of Human Knowledge."

"It was," he says, "the first opening to me of the metaphysical

* *E.g.*, Charles Austin, *vide* Trevelyan's "Life of Macaulay," vol. i. pp. 76-77. "The sect of Benthamites or Utilitarians included many of Macaulay's contemporaries, who had quitted Cambridge at about the same time with him." Mr. Ellis's preface to Macaulay's "Miscellaneous Writings and Speeches," p. 9, edition 1871. *Vide* also J. S. Mill's "Autobiography," p. 103.

† "Life of Dean Hook," vol. i. p. 248. The letter is dated July 3, 1833. In reference to Bentham and his philosophy we venture to point out what appear to us to be two errors in this work.

In vol. i. pp. 171-2 we read:—"However difficult the doctrine of the atonement may appear to some, it will not be denied by the *Unitarian himself* that it produces a beneficial effect by tending to subdue that pride which irresistibly follows the contemplation of our own worth. Yet that school would refer all notions of worth to the securing to ourselves the enjoyment of the greatest and most durable pleasures, and thus perpetually turn our thoughts to the complacent contemplation of our superior abilities, inasmuch as virtue becomes mere talent and vice miscalculation." Is not *Unitarian* a misprint for *Utilitarian*? We do not enter into the question whether this statement represents the Utilitarian doctrine, but we venture to affirm that though the opinion here stated may have been or be held by some Unitarians, yet it neither has been nor is held by Unitarians univcrsally, or even so generally that it may be considered one of the tenets of the Unitarian Church. (Conf. Dr. Martineau's Essay on John Stuart Mill, "Miscellanies," vol. ii. p. 63.) The other error we refer to is also in vol. i. p. 183. Wood in his Diary for February 11, 1828, says: "Read a good review on Bentham's 'Rationale of Evidence' in the *Edinburgh* by Macaulay: 'The first part rather pedantic and puerile, but the latter part worked in a very masterly manner.'" We cannot discover in the *Edinburgh* the review referred to, but we believe

field, and has been my guide in many a metaphysical and theological inquiry. . . . I am glad," he writes to Hook, in 1833, "you are about to read Berkeley. There was never, I think, any man since Plato who was gifted with imagination and reasoning power in so high a degree; and if he, like Plato, occasionally let his imagination run wild, yet I question whether Plato ever, like Berkeley, practically acted on the views which were deemed visionary, and thus gave evidence of sincerity and singleness of heart. I am always in love with Berkeley, when I think of his proffered resignation of the bishopric to ameliorate the condition of the unhappy Bermudians. . . . You will feel the great value of Berkeley as giving a sound resting-place for the mind amidst the bewilderments of metaphysics. It is quite false to say that Hume has demonstrated that there is no such thing as spirit; on the same principle Berkeley had shown that there was no such thing as matter.

"In the first place, Berkeley makes no such assertion, but simply that matter considered *independently of mind* is a nonentity. That all those sensations we daily experience from objects termed external, are *real*, Berkeley, who is eminently an experimental or Baconian philosopher, was never absurd enough to deny. For external read independent of *us* or *our* minds, and you will have Berkeley's notion of matter as regards man; but he boldly asserts that matter cannot be conceived of by us as independent of *a mind*. The Scotch metaphysicians to a man, either wilfully or stupidly, jumble *a* mind with *the* mind, meaning each individual's mind, whilst by *a* mind Berkeley means *some* mind or other, and admitting that the table at which I am now writing will exist when I do not think of it, the question is, can it exist if there be no mind to limit out its nature, which is but an aggregate of sensations? Berkeley says No; and experience, I think, demonstrates that what can only be known as an object of sensation owes its existence to a sentient power; not mine or yours, because experience shows the sensations to exist independently of your will or mine, but to the external sentient power by whose will our minds perceive it as that which is created or willed by him. This is always to me the most beautiful demonstration of a God, and most satisfactory refutation of the eternity of matter, which is, according to Berkeley, an absurdity, matter being but the stage in which certain volitions of the Supreme Mind are exhibited to man. The resurrection of the body also becomes thus at once intelligible, because he who wills us to perceive the efforts of his will in a certain manner now may cause us

that Macaulay did not write on Bentham or his philosophy until March, 1829, when he began in the *Edinburgh Review* his memorable controversy with the WESTMINSTER REVIEW on Utilitarianism. It was conducted on our part by our then editor, the late General Perronet Thompson. In none of Macaulay's three papers in the controversy does he mention the "Rationale of Judicial Enquiry," the book referred to by Wood. Macaulay's papers are republished in his "Miscellaneous Writings and Speeches," p. 160 *et seq.* of the edition of 1871. See also Trevelyan's "Life of Macaulay," vol. i. pp. 136-7. General Thompson's papers will be found in his "Exercises," we think in the first volume.

to perceive them in a similar manner at any future time, blessing us probably with additional pleasure by a more thorough perception of the beauty of his work. By us you will see I consider the mind alone, regarding the materials *about us* as no other than a combination of God's impressed thoughts (if I may so say) which affects our minds with various impressions, such as pain and pleasure, and their infinite varieties."

To the end of his life Wood held the same opinion as to the merits of Berkeley, and was ever astonished at its being supposed that Reid had confuted him. He wrote for Hook the article on "Berkeley and his Philosophy," published in his "Dictionary of Biography." It is said by Mr. Stephens to be "very admirable."* Wood was destined by his father for the bar. It does not appear whether the father's determination was formed before his son's quasi-professional connection with the Queen's case, or was the result of an aptitude for legal pursuits shown by the son on that occasion; but before Wood obtained his fellowship he began his legal studies, and on the recommendation of Henry Brougham and Thomas Denman was entered at Lincoln's Inn in Trinity Term, 1824. He was called November 27, 1827. Lord Lyndhurst had just begun to lounge through his first chancellorship. Sir Lancelot Shadwell, an amiable though weak-minded man, but of whom we heard a distinguished judge say, "he was great by his knowledge of the law which he administered," had succeeded Sir John Leach as Vice-Chancellor. Leach, through the failure of the Queen's trial, which he had instigated,† and in which he was the King's confidential adviser, failed to attain his anticipated reward, and the object of his ambition, the Great Seal, and was fain to be content with succeeding Lyndhurst as Master of the Rolls. Leach, "moderately learned in his own profession, beyond it was one of the most ignorant men that ever appeared."‡ In his early days he had been one of Thurlow's associates after his fall, and Leach imitated Thurlow's judicial demeanour.

"There was, according to the testimony of an eye-witness, something significant in his mode of dispensing law. Two large fan shades were placed in such a position as not only to secure the light from the Master's eyes, but to render him invisible to the court. After the

* Vol. i. p. 26, and note 169, 213, 302. Conf. "Life of Dean Hook," vol. i. pp. 256-7.

† Readers who have read the "Queen's Case" will remember Denman's quotation in sarcastic allusion to Leach—

"Some gagging cozening knave,
To gain some office, hath devised this slander."

‡ Brougham's "Statesmen of the Time of George III."—title George IV.

counsel, who was addressing the court, had finished and resumed his seat, there would be an awful pause for a minute or two; when at length out of the darkness which surrounded the chair of justice would come a voice, distinct, awful, solemn, but with the solemnity of suppressed anger, 'The bill is dismissed with costs!' No explanations, no long series of arguments, were advanced to support the conclusion."*

This description is verified by Wood, from his own experience:—

"I remember standing in great awe of Sir John Leach; the first brief I held before him was merely to ask for payment to executors of the small arrears of an annuity (a few pounds) when the principal sum was about to be paid out on the death of the annuitant to the parties entitled in remainder. This, at present, is a matter of course. Then in strictness, a separate petition, costing more than the money itself, was formally required. I simply asked, as instructed, that this might be dispensed with and the money paid. The answer from the bench was: 'Sir, you might as well ask me to pay it to the porter at Lincoln's Inn gate.'"

By way of contrast, on Wood's first appearance at the Bar of the House of Lords, on the conclusion of his leader's speech, the House said they did not intend to hear any more counsel; the leader said, "his friend, Mr. Wood, expected to be heard," and Lord Lyndhurst, with his usual courtesy and kind consideration for young men, said, "Oh! let us hear him."†

We have heard it said "that a Lethe flows between the bar and the bench," so that many a counsel who at the bar complained of the arrogance, the discourtesy, or the favouritism of judges after his elevation to the bench, displayed all the bad qualities he complained of in others.‡ It was not so with Wood. As to his judgments, he did not imitate Leach. It might indeed have been said of him as it was of Lord Camden: "He was a little too prolix in the reasons of his decrees, by taking notice even of inferior circumstances, and viewing the question in every conceivable light. This, however, was an error on the right side, and arose from his wish to satisfy the bar and his own mind, which was, perhaps to a weakness, dissatisfied with its first

* Taken from Mr. Percy Fitzgerald's "Life of George IV.," vol. ii. p. 222; but, as usual, Mr. Fitzgerald does not give any reference to the authority he quotes.

† Vol. i. pp. 52, 53.

‡ "It is a curious fact in the annals of our profession, that those men who, when at the bar, complained most bitterly of judicial impatience and loquacity, becoming judges themselves, have been most noted for being impatient and loquacious."—Campbell's "Lives of the Chief Justices," vol. i. p. 548, 2nd edition.

impressions, however strong."* Wood, in his demeanour to the bar, remembered the contrary examples of Leach and of Lord Lyndhurst, eschewed the one and followed the other.

"A friend," the editor tells us, "who was walking home with him one day from his court, remarked on the tedious lengthiness of the speech of a junior counsel, and the unnecessary number of cases which he had cited. 'True,' the Vice-Chancellor replied, 'it was wearisome; for he assumed that I was ignorant of the A B C of the law; but I recollected how I was once snubbed by Leach when I was a junior, and I resolved to hear him out.'"†

Before Wood's call to the bar, and afterwards until he got into great business, he laboured incessantly in the work of self-education. Contemporaneously with his legal and his theological studies, we find him reading, amongst many other books, Hartley's "Observations on Man" and Pistorius's Comments, Archbishop King's "Origin of Evil," Plato's "Phædo," "The Correspondence of Warburton and Hurd," Warburton's "Divine Legation," Bentley's "Phalaris," "Cæsar's Commentaries," Bishop Hare's tract on "The Difficulties and Discouragement attending the Study of the Holy Scriptures," Collins's "Discourse of Free Thinking," Cousins' "Lectures," and giving occasional glances at Milton and at Scott's novels. On all these books he fully comments in his letters to Hook.‡

During this period he made acquaintance with the late Basil Montagu and his wife. Readers of Carlyle will remember that he also, in his younger days, was intimate with the Montagus, and in after life repaid their kindness by freely expressing the contempt and scorn which he felt for them. It was not so with Wood, his friendship with the Montagus remained unbroken. "Yesterday," he writes to Hook (November 29, 1851), "we heard of old Basil Montagu's death, and to-day came a touching note from his widow, enclosing one from him, written in 1854, to be given to me after his death, begging me to join with others in befriending his widow. I am sure we should do so for her own sake, for she has shown herself a thoroughly Christian woman in all her heavy trials."§

At the beginning of this acquaintance Montagu was engaged on his edition of Bacon's works, the text of Macaulay's *Essay on Bacon*. At Montagu's request Wood undertook, and before his call, completed the task of translating the "Novum Organon." His translation has been more than once reprinted separately from Montagu's edition, and is, we believe, generally acknowledged to

* A writer quoted anonymously by Lord Campbell: "Lives of the Chancellors," 5th edition, vol. viii. p. 50.

† Vol. ii. p. 59.

‡ *Vide* vol. i. p. 150 *et seq*

§ *Vide* vol. i. pp. 51-52; vol. ii. p. 120.

be the best extant. He was always thankful for this opportunity of mastering that wonderful work.* At that time the Montagus spent every Thursday evening with Coleridge. By them Wood was introduced into the parlour of the Highgate sage, and there passed many an evening "of the highest enjoyment and interest." On one occasion, "young Edgeworth, a brother of Miss Edgeworth, who appeared to Wood to be a young man of some talent," formed one of the party. This was "the good little Frank" to whom we were first introduced by Carlyle in his "Life of Sterling," and of whom Mr. T. Mozley has lately told us some further particulars.† Unlike Carlyle, Wood did not make in his Diary a sketch of Coleridge such as Carlyle's, which, if lifelike, nevertheless approaches caricature, though Wood, spite of his reverence for Coleridge, sometimes can hardly repress a smile at his oddities.

"It is well known," he tells us, "that Coleridge poured out all the riches of his prodigious memory and all the poetry of his brilliant imagination to every listener. I was not only so addressed myself, but I heard the whole of the poet philosopher's favourite system of Polarities—the Prothesis, the Thesis, the Mesothesis, and Antithesis—showered down on a young lady of seventeen, with as much unction as he afterwards expounded it to Edward Irving. I was also present—he adds—at some discussions between Edward Irving and Coleridge, on subjects of higher and holier import, in which the poetical temperament of Irving shone forth, but not with the genial, all-embracing fervour that distinguishes Coleridge. Irving he thought a fine spirited enthusiast; but—he adds—enthusiasm is very dangerous; its least fatal effect is vanity, which may overcome us in our very humility and self-abasement."

On another occasion "Coleridge launched forth at some length upon Bacon's inductive method, at the request of Montagu. I think," Wood continues, "he clearly failed in his attempt to depreciate experiment."‡ Once at least Wood associated with one of very different character and reputation to Coleridge—Theodore Hook—then the editor of *John Bull*, and in its columns the lampooner of William Wilberforce, of Sir Matthew Wood, and every Liberal of the day, and who is only rescued from utter oblivion by being preserved in amber in the pages of "Coningsby" under the guise of "Lucian Gay." Wood records in his Diary having heard his friend Hook at the Chapel Royal "on the conversion of the Treasurer of Queen Candace, with an application to those who make wealth or politics the business of life."

* Vol. ii. p. 52.

† See his "Reminiscences," vol. i. p. 40.

‡ Vol. i. pp. 52, 157, 160, 175, 159.

"After church he walked with Hook and his uncle Theodore. The perpetual flow of humour in the latter—he continues—with occasional rallies of genuine wit, makes it impossible to feel any anger towards him whilst in his company, yet never was the character of one 'qui captat risus hominum famamque dicacis more completely exemplified, 'dummodo risum, excutiat sibi, non hic cuiquam parcat amico.' What then can political opponents expect? Yet is he more to be pitied than condemned. His vivacity renders him morbidly brilliant, and his keen sense of the ridiculous converts his exuberant spirit into satire. There appears to be no ill-temper in him, and I believe that for the moment he would be shocked at the idea of inflicting pain, but he would offend the next instant; and when through the medium of the press he can attack without hearing any complaint from the sufferers, and is at the same time flattered by the encouraging laugh of his own coterie, he is regardless of all consequences. I can easily imagine that he would feel great pleasure in tying crackers to the coats of the mourners at a funeral, without stopping to inquire whether they were parents following a deceased child, or undertakers' assistants merely hired for the solemnity."*

It is remarkable that a mental culture so deep and wide should have shown as Wood's so little of its results in his speeches, whether in Parliament, or at the bar, or in his judicial utterances. Of Basil Montagu Macaulay says: "Those who are acquainted with the courts in which Mr. Montague practises with so much ability and success will know how often he enlightens the discussion of a point of law by citing some weighty aphorism or some brilliant illustration from the "De Augmentis" or the "Novum Organon."† Such was not the practice of his fellow-editor of Bacon. We frequently, at one time constantly, heard Wood at the bar and on the bench, and certainly there was nothing in what he said or his manner of saying it which led his hearers to think that the speaker was a man of far higher and wider education than other counsel even of the first rank and ability.

In the first year of his practice at the bar he contributed to the *Times* a letter to Lord Goderich, the then Premier, "On the necessity of a close alliance between England, France, and the Netherlands." In his autobiography he says that in it he

* Vol. i. p. 174.

† "Essay on Bacon," p. 346, edition 1874. Mr. Montagu was for many years a leader at the Chancery Bar, and afterwards Accountant-General of the Court of Bankruptcy. Macaulay was not always so complimentary to Montagu. "Basil Montagu," he writes to his sister from the Bankruptcy Court, "is haranguing about Lord Verulam, and the way of inoculating one's mind with truth, and all this *à propos* of a lying bankrupt's balance-sheet."—"Life," vol. i. p. 215.

“advocated a union between France and England to support Turkey against Russian aggression;” but the editor remarks: “It seems rather to advocate the support of constitutional government in all parts of the world, and to express a jealousy and suspicion of a despotic power like Russia taking part in the emancipation of Greece from the thralldom of Turkish tyranny.” At that date, and for some time afterwards, he believed “that the Turks were capable of Reform, and that it was the interest of this country to protect the Ottoman Empire.” “He lived long enough,” the editor adds, “however, to become completely disabused of this fallacy, and to ridicule what he called the Russian scare as pusillanimous and ill-founded.”* As Newman’s letters of “Catholicus” in the *Times* led its conductors to solicit the future Cardinal regularly to join their staff,† so Wood’s letter to Lord Goderich led Mr. Barnes, then editor of the *Times*, to inquire of Wood whether he would be willing to undertake writing for the press, assuring him of success in so doing, but adding that it would interfere with his prospects at the bar if he really intended to make that his profession. On mature reflection Wood declined the proposal, but he says that he felt encouraged by it in his exertions for self-support, and grateful for the candid advice given him by a man of such experience.‡

A sketch of Wood which omitted to mention the religious element in his character would be not only defective but misleading. It governed every action of his private and public life. At Cambridge in his day “Religion was that science for the diffusion of which the halls and colleges of that learned university had been almost exclusively founded—the only science which Cambridge neglected, and which Charles Simeon taught.” Simeon was an Evangelical of the Evangelicals; to this day a chosen band, the “Simeon Trustees” strive, by means of securing the appointment of incumbents to hold the Thermopylæ of the Church against its Romanizing and Rationalizing foes. For more than half a century Simeon occupied every Sunday the pulpit of his parish church in Cambridge, and towards the close of that long period occasionally the University pulpit; in each place a crowd gathered around the preacher, of which fixed attention was the predominant character. At the end of each academical year, a crowd of youths, just entering into the business of life, and who had been Simeon’s pupils and grateful admirers, received his parting counsels and benediction. We

* Vol. i. p. 61.

† “Cardinal Newman: the Story of his Life,” p. 39.

‡ Vol. i. p. 54 *et seq.*

are told little of Wood's life at Cambridge, but we know that at Winchester he had received deep religious impressions, and he could scarcely have failed to come in some degree under Simeon's influence.* Although we find him writing to Hook that he had often deeply repented that he had, as a young man, "ventured to ridicule many Evangelicals when he was little able to appreciate their excellence from his own want of faith and purity."†

In a letter to his sister, he says: "To give all men their due, until the Evangelical clergy, as they are called, preached the peculiar doctrines of Christianity we were fast sinking into mere heathen morality."‡ While at Cambridge he found among his books the "Life and Remains of Richard Cecil;" he never knew how it came there. "It did me," he wrote to Hook, "infinite good at a time when I sadly needed it. I have a great love and reverence for Cecil."§ Cecil was another Evangelical leader, distinguished no less by his intellectual power than his religious earnestness.|| The influence of Simeon, if our supposition be right, and the confessed influence of Cecil, left on Wood's mind an impression, to which we venture to describe in the words of Cardinal Newman, though used by him with another application: "His imagination was stained" by the effects of the doctrine of his Evangelical teachers as to human depravity, and the stain remained with him "as a sort of false conscience."

"The deep sense of sinfulness manifested in his letters is," the editor says "very remarkable. The expression indeed of self-accusation which he occasionally employs in some of his most confidential letters far exceed in severity any to be found in those which I have thought proper to publish. Dr. Hook used to think he was at one time almost morbid on that point."¶

We agree with Hook. "God forgive me all my wickedness," he writes in his Diary on his mother's birthday. "I feel them powerfully at this moment and deplore them, but had I never known the care of a mother I might have been yet worse."

Writing to Hook, after reading Newman's sermon on "The Religion of the Present Day," he says he found it peculiarly applicable to himself, "yes, fearfully so . . . I am devoured by a fearful vanity and regard for the world's good opinion which is a root of bitterness in me."

* See Stephen's Essay in "Ecclesiastical Biography," title, The Clapham Sect, p. 574 *et seq.*, edition 1875; and Teignmouth's "Reminiscences of Many Years," vol. i. p. 51 *et seq.*

† Vol. i. p. 349.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 211.

§ *Ibid.* p. 306.

¶ He was minister of St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row.

¶ Vol. i. p. 145.

Again:—

“Do not, my dear friend, do not, I beseech you, refer to me as one who is fitter than yourself to offer up prayers to Him who is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity; such praise wounds where you intend to gratify. I am as miserably weak as any poor being can be. All that I dare to say is that I have not yet felt myself so abandoned by God’s good spirit as to be able to stifle the deep remorse which I feel for frequent offences; may I never become desperately wicked! I know my own wickedness too well to suppose this to be impossible, but yet feel such confidence in God’s mercy as not to deem it probable.”

Again to his sister he writes:—

“I find it most true, that the more our eyes are opened to things spiritual the more do we perceive the inconceivable foulness and deformity of the human heart; and not only this, for we could soon in our self-deceit flatter ourselves then with the delusion that we are no worse than others, whereas we then are only conscious of our spiritual state when we see that we really are individually most guilty—that we are conscious of sins which we cannot know that others have committed—sins against light and knowledge, not perhaps vouchsafed to others—sins of ingratitude where unusual blessings have been bestowed.”

To Hook he speaks of “his horribly wasted youth,” a self-accusation for which we can find no tittle of foundation. The evidence is all the other way. To give one more instance: visiting Winchester College Chapel, where he first received the Lord’s Supper, he writes in the letter from which we have before quoted:—

“I do not know whether I have ever had the same strength of faith and love that I then had, but assuredly for many, many sad years of a sinful and comparatively godless life I had not. It was not without deep emotion, therefore, that I looked upon that very place, that very altar, where, as it seemed, God plucked me as a brand from the burning! Would that I had never looked back from that hour!”*

“Many excellent persons,” we quote Macaulay’s sketch of Bunyan, “whose moral character from boyhood to old age has been free from any stain discernible to their fellow-creatures, have in their biographies and diaries applied to themselves, and doubtless with sincerity, epithets as severe as could be applied to Titus Oates or Mrs. Brownrigg.”

This was the case with Wood, and “like many other penitents who in general terms acknowledge themselves to have been the worst of mankind, he fired up and stood vigorously in his defence, whenever any particular charge was brought against

* Vol. i. pp. 173, 201, 211, 255, 269, 286.

him by others.* He did so at the close of his career in a very striking manner.†

"Cambridge," Dr. Martineau accurately remarks, "became the *officina* of no Tracts, and so no one talks of a Cambridge theology. There is such a thing nevertheless.‡ Wood, as he told Hook, "knew few Oxford men;" he was not in the councils of the Oxford movement, yet he was a High Churchman of a very similar, if not precisely the same, type, though he refused the Oxford party names and repudiated allegiance to the Oxford party leaders.

"My fear about the Oxford men," he writes to Hook, "is and has been that, shut up in a limited society, they will have a tendency to fanaticism, which more intercourse with our fellow-creatures softens. . . . I was amused to see you denounced in a letter in the *Morning Chronicle* as the 'real author of Puseyism;' what a pity it was not called Hookism, and what a decided 'Hookite' I should have been, whereas I am but a half-and-half Puseyite."§

On the publication of "Tract XC." he writes: "I have lately thought of it much, the less I like it. It requires one almost to know Newman personally not to feel great indignation at the sophistical explanation of subscription to the Articles, which may really mean anything if they mean what he says."||

Wood might have said of himself, in the words of David Deans, "I will be led by the nose by none. I take my name as a Christian from no vessel of clay."¶ Or, with Baxter, though assuredly in a very different sense, "For myself I will take no narrow name; I will be a Christian, a mere Christian, a Catholic Christian." "I feel daily," writes Wood to Hook, "more and more thankful that, as a Catholic, I, with God's blessing, am determined to follow no man, no one man I mean."** And again, to the same correspondent, "I have, since the publication of 'Froude's Remains,' been on my guard against Newman. I mean not as to his honesty, but his judgment. Froude, an intemperate young man, led fearfully astray in early youth, by God's grace wonderfully reclaimed, and no doubt a saint in heaven, chooses to scribble a number of crude notions about the Reformation, and leave them unpublished, and then Newman must needs fire off all these combustibles."†† In later years he writes: "If the coxcombr of Puseyites (I don't say Pusey) had

* "Miscellaneous Writings and Speeches," pp. 353-4, edition 1871.

† Vol. ii. p. 222 *et seq.*

‡ Personal Influences on our Present Theology: "Miscellanies," vol. ii. p. 384.

§ Vol. i. p. 277.

|| *Ibid.* p. 279.

¶ *Vide* "Heart of Midlothian," chap. cxviii.

** Vol. i. p. 280.

†† *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 281-2.

not interfered, much might have been done towards sound Church principles being advanced, nor do I now despair.* He was no mean theologian. "I cannot," Hook writes to him, "thank you sufficiently for your beautiful dissertation on Justification, from which I have derived more benefit than from all the writings of Knox, Faber, and Newman put together."†

Wood in early life entertained the idea, if ever he became rich, and free from the necessary drudgery of his profession, to write on what he meant to term "Christian Ethics."

"My scheme," he wrote to Hook, "would be to draw out a system, as near as possible resembling those of the heathen authors, whose heads were by no means deficient, and thus to point out more clearly in what they were really deficient in each branch of duty; for though my principles would be essentially different, and therefore the results would be correspondingly modified, yet, no doubt, the *principle* of conscience has been too strong to be, in *fact*, obliterated, and therefore the details of right and wrong in the several relations of life would not vary so much as might be at first imagined."‡

He never had the requisite leisure to set about this task.

Wood was a thoroughly consistent man. Lord Eldon, when taunted by Sir Samuel Romilly because he, the great pillar of the Church, never attended its public services, replied that he "was one of the buttresses of the Church, and upheld it from without." Such a taunt could not be made to Wood. For more than fifty years he was a householder in the parish of St. Margaret, Westminster, and for the greater part of that time he and his wife, so long as she lived, never failed to attend the early morning service in Westminster Abbey. On Sundays they were unfailing attendants at their parish church.

While still a young man he wrote to Hook :—

"I am sure a great proportion of the troubles which disturb old-fashioned governments arise from the want of sympathy between the rich and poor. I mean that real sympathy which consults the feelings, and the mental as well as bodily wants of the sufferer; that truly Christian spirit of benevolence which prompts the more favoured individual to lower himself as far as possible to the level of the poorer classes in his intercourse with them; to convince them that he regards standing before God as humbled a creature as the meanest of his brethren; and that he feels his worldly wealth only entrusted to him as a means of effecting the most extensive good, whilst after all the good which he can effect he is but an unprofitable servant."

* Vol. ii. p. 148.

† "Life of Dean Hook," vol. ii. p. 32. This dissertation was in a letter to Hook, which will be found in vol. i. (of "Lord Hatherley's Life") p. 260 *et seq.*

‡ *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 252; see also on the same subject "Lord Hatherley's Life," vol. i. p. 239.

In the same letter he expressed his contempt

“for the crowds who attend Exeter Hall Meetings for *converting* the *Continent* by ‘Sabbath Societies,’ and various other contrivances; while at a meeting for the promotion of ‘district visiting’ the only real efficacious means of bettering the temporal and spiritual condition of the poor, but a few stragglers could be collected. Those who are thus usefully employed were perhaps better engaged than in contributing to the parade of a public meeting; but where were the customary hauntings of these exhibitions?—preaching in imagination to the Chinese, or weeping tears of joy over a letter from Otaheite.”*

Acting on these principles, Wood and his wife were, during the long period from 1836 to 1877, teachers in the Sunday-schools in St. John’s parish. In middle life he founded a school in Hatherley, the Gloucestershire village whence he took his title; this school he annually visited, when “each child, without exception, was examined by him in secular knowledge, some three or four hours being given to this work. . . . He always concluded his examination with a very careful testing of the religious teaching.”† His experience as a Sunday-school teacher led him to compile and publish the well-known volume on “The Continuity of Holy Scripture.”‡ Few men, whether lay or cleric, had such knowledge. In 1875 he wrote to Hook: “To-day we”—*i.e.*, he and his wife—“have just finished our reading of the Bible together, for the forty-fourth time.” Westminster, as his home, was the object of his special care and interest. What he did for the city is summed up in an address from a meeting of “friends and neighbours” presented to him when, after forty-one years of “unbroken residence” amongst them, he was raised to “the august seat of Lord High Chancellor of England.” The spokesman of the meeting was Dean Stanley, whose inimitable style plainly appears in the address:—

“It is not too much to say, that you have been the foremost amongst the residents of Westminster, a never-failing stay to its inhabitants, whether as a judicious and munificent patron of all good works, a zealous defender against misrepresentations,§ a wise counsellor and helper in all difficulties. The Abbey claims you amongst the earliest

* “Life of Dean Hook,” vol. i. pp. 213–14; this letter was written in 1831.

† Vol. i. p. 148.

‡ Vol. ii. p. 79.

§ This letter refers to the attack on the Dean and Chapter of the Abbey by the late Cardinal Wiseman. When in 1850 he was made, by Papal Bull, Archbishop of Westminster, he made several erroneous statements respecting the spiritual destitution of Westminster, which Mr. Wood exposed and refuted in a letter in the *Times* under the *nom de plume* of “A Westminster Layman.” It will be found in: vol. ii. p. 32 *et seq.*

and most punctual of its daily worshippers. St. Margaret's owns you amongst its most faithful parishioners. St. John's has received your constant and cordial co-operation. The Free Library of Westminster, first of its kind in the metropolis, looks back to you as its founder. The Sunday-schools of our vicinity have enjoyed, week after week, the encouragement of your presence and instruction. The Westminster Spiritual Aid Fund with its important consequences was fostered in great measure by your generous interest.* But, more than all, we would acknowledge the blessing we have experienced from your personal influence and character, drawing out from each one whatever there may have been of good; uniting us by genial sympathy and neighbourly kindness; keeping alive in the most of us a constant sense of the duty of upright dealing and of unwearied continuance in well-doing. Amongst high and low, old and young, in Westminster, there is not one who may not be cheered and strengthened in the struggles and temptations of life by the bright and shining example of the humble consistent Christian walk of the noble and venerable judge whom they now delight to honour.†

When Dean Stanley, then himself on what proved to be his death-bed, heard of Lord Hatherley's death, he remarked that he felt "as if a pillar of the Abbey had fallen." In the history of the different districts of the metropolis, it is rare, indeed, so far as we can call to mind, unexampled, to find a man engaged in professional and high official duties, devoting himself so earnestly to the local duties of citizenship. But his interest and his liberality were by no means confined to Westminster. The editor tells us "that besides the many public institutions to which he was a large contributor, and the local charities in Westminster, to most of which he doubled his subscriptions when he became Lord Chancellor, his private gifts to needy and struggling individuals were so numerous that it is impossible to form any probable calculation even of their amount." In his liberality to individuals, but certainly in nothing else, he resembled his predecessor, Lord Loughborough.‡

Following the example of other distinguished laymen—*e.g.*, Earl Russell and Sir James Stephen—he gave to the "Young Men's Christian Association" a lecture on "Truth and its Counterfeits," from which the editor gives copious extracts.§ From the nature of the association to which it was given, it is very much of a sermon or homily, and has the faults of all his speeches and judgments. It is too diffuse and wordy. We can

* On this subject conf. vol. ii. p. 36 *et seq.*

† Vol. ii. p. 189.

‡ *Vide*, Campbell's "Lives of the Chancellors," vol. viii. p. 217, 10th edition.

§ Vol. i. p. 63 *et seq.* The lecture was delivered in November, 1856. The Association consists of metropolitan clerks, warehousemen and shopmen.

only afford space for one extract. He exhorted the 1,500 young men whom he was addressing to study the great models of our literature—the all but inspired divines, poets, and philosophers of the Elizabethan age; the works of the yet glowing though more cultivated genius of the succeeding period of trouble; the sharp, clear, well-defined thought, wit, and humour of the writers who flourished shortly before and in that reign. “Read,” he said, “Hooker, Bacon, Shakespear, Jeremy Taylor, Cudworth, Milton, Barrow and South, Berkeley and Addison, Dryden and Pope; but, above all, in the later period, for unexampled clearness of style, read Swift, and you will turn, as I have done, with loathing from the flippancy, cant, presumption and affectation of many a modern writer of approved reputation.”*

We turn to his career at the bar. At the time of his call a wholly new business was opening consequent on the passing, in 1827, of the Manchester and Liverpool Railway Bill. He therefore joined the Parliamentary Bar, practising also in the Court of Chancery. His first Parliamentary brief was for the promotion of an extension of the Stockton and Darlington Railway; deserted by his leader, he came into conflict with Mr. Alderson, then the leader of the Parliamentary Bar.† In this contest, Wood, with the aid of Lord Eldon, defeated Alderson. He, of course, always had the advantage of being supported by his father, whose municipal and commercial connections were widespread and influential. Through this influence he was engaged, in the Session of 1829, on a Coal Bill, promoted by the Corporation of London, and stoutly opposed by the coal-owners. It was to this measure that Lord Beaconsfield refers, when he attributes to Lord Monmouth the remark—

“If the Duke of Wellington had not quarrelled with Lord Grey on a coal committee we should never have had the Reform Bill.‡ Wood records that the Bill was only carried by the perseverance of Wellington . . . that in the course of the examination of witnesses he had frequent opportunities of observing and admiring the cool judgment and penetration of the Duke. He would examine witnesses and constantly correct their imperfect and inaccurate knowledge of the subjects to which they came to depose.”§

Later on he was counsel for the promoters of the London and Brighton Railway; when the Bill was before the Select Committee of the Lords he was called on, at a few hours' notice, to

* Vol. i. p. 74.

† Afterwards Sir E. H. Alderson and one of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer.

‡ *Vide* “Coningsby,” book viii. c. iii.

§ Vol. i. pp. 62-5.

sum up the promoters' case. He succeeded so well that members of the committee went out "of their way to compliment him personally. I am told, he adds, I made two converts by the speech, a very unusual event, and, I may add, a very improbable one."*

At the close of his second year at the bar he found his position justified in taking a step he had long ardently desired to take, and he became engaged to Charlotte, daughter of Major Moore, an Indian officer and author of many interesting works on Indian subjects. They were married on the 5th of January, 1830, and their married life extended over the unusually long period of forty-eight years. "Never indeed," says the editor, who was a frequent inmate of their home, "were the heartstrings of two human beings so completely intertwined. Neither husband nor wife was able thoroughly to enjoy any pleasure without the society of the other, and there can be no doubt that he valued her company more than that of the most distinguished or most interesting person in the world." To such an extent did he carry this preference that he shortened his parliamentary and ministerial career and retired to the comparative leisure of the bench, because the demands on his time in the evening made by the House of Commons and the Solicitor-Generalship "subjected her to too much loneliness," and on the first occasion that he was the Minister in attendance on the Queen at Balmoral, he was invited to remain for a few days beyond the term of his official attendance, he for the same reason declined the invitation; "the excuse, we are told, was one which thoroughly commended itself to Her Majesty's approval."† In his attachment to his wife he resembled Lord Eldon. In both cases this attachment seems to have prevented the couple from mixing with general society. From the time of Wood's marriage his career at the bar continued to be uninterruptedly successful. In 1811 he withdrew from the Parliamentary bar and confined himself to the Court of Chancery, and by 1815 he thought himself justified in applying for a silk gown, and was accordingly made a Queen's Counsel. The judge in whose court he practised‡ was not a popular judge. *Causæ celebrés* were taken before other judges, and we find no trace in these volumes—nor can we recall to mind—any instance of Wood being engaged in such a cause.

In the interval between his call and "taking silk," an event occurred which much affected his position. There dwelt for

* Vol. i, p. 238.

† *Ibid.* pp. 143-4.

‡ The late Vice-Chancellor Sir James Wigram.

many years in the city of Gloucester an eccentric banker and draper, known in that city as "Jemmy Wood," a man of parsimonious, if not miserly, habits. In the same city also dwelt, but not with "Jemmy," his maiden sister Elizabeth. They were not, we believe, of kin to Alderman Wood, nor had any connection with him but that bond of union "*Idem sentire de republica.*" . . . The sister wrote to the alderman "expressing her admiration of his conduct in reference to Queen Caroline." This led to his visiting her, when, for the first time, he heard of "Jemmy's" existence. At Elizabeth's death it was found that she had left her "good and substantial" house in Gloucester to the alderman for life, with remainder to his youngest son, Western, "who happened once accidentally, in his father's absence, to have answered one of her letters." To the surprise of those who knew him, Jemmy Wood expressed his great satisfaction at his sister's bequest and also his admiration of the alderman's conduct as to Queen Caroline, and a wish that he would occasionally visit Gloucester. This wish was complied with, and whenever the alderman visited Gloucester his eccentric admirer showed him every civility, and, indeed, gave in his honour the only entertainment he was known to have given in his life. In 1836 Jemmy Wood died, leaving behind him property worth about a million sterling, and divers testamentary papers. One of these was alleged to be forged, and there was at least one paper missing.* The whole property was given to four persons, who were appointed executors, one of these four lucky persons being Sir Matthew Wood. After much litigation in the Ecclesiastical Court and the Privy Council, in the Court of Chancery, and in the House of Lords, the testamentary dispositions of the eccentric testator were finally settled, and under them Sir Matthew Wood or his representatives took a large amount of property,† W. Page Wood's share of which secured to him "the independence which he had ever regarded as the chief of earthly blessings," and enabled him to enter on what had from very early times been an object of his ambition, a parliamentary career.‡

* If we recollect the facts aright, there was a codicil bequeathing £100,000 to the mayor and corporation of Gloucester on the same trusts as expressed in a former codicil concerning another large sum bequeathed to the same corporation. This former codicil could not be found, and the House of Lords decided that in its absence no effect could be given to the later codicil. This large sum, therefore, fell to the residuary legatees.

† The particulars of "Jemmy Wood's" Will Case are given in vol. i. p. 66 *et seq.* Sir Matthew Wood died in 1843, before, we think, the final settlement of the testator's affairs.

‡ Vol. i. pp. 146, 149.

It does not appear what led him to choose as the constituency which he should first woo—Oxford—where he was an utter stranger. More fortunate than some of his successors, on each of the three occasions when he solicited election, he was returned unopposed.* We have seen that he “always disclaimed the designation of Whig,” and his early studies of that eminently narrow-minded writer, William Cobbett, led him to think that the Whig party “was little, if at all, more entitled to greater admiration and respect than the Tories.” Personal acquaintance with the Whig leaders modified this unfavourable opinion. He foresaw that Lord Palmerston was the man amongst the Liberals most capable of forming a strong Government; and of Lord Russell he wrote to Hook, “I am sure, if you knew him, you would be enchanted with him; he is thoroughly frank.” In Parliament he supported free trade, the extension of the suffrage, and the protection of the vote by ballot. On two questions his ecclesiastical habit of mind separated him from the advanced Liberals of his day; he would not support either the total abolition of Church Rates, nor the Deceased’s Wife’s Sister’s Bill. With regard to freedom of election, he took such a decided action, and achieved such a surpassing success, that it deserves more than a passing allusion. So far back as 1773, it was offered to be proved at the bar of the House of Commons, that among the 153 peers who returned the majority of the House of Commons, the Marquis of Exeter returned two nominees as members for the Lincolnshire borough of Stamford. The marquis’s supremacy was not maintained by the *lene tormentum* of bribery, but by coercive measures. The General Election of July, 1830, made necessary by the death of George IV., was influenced by the general uprising of Liberalism in that year, and an attempt was made in Stamford to disturb the ancient solitary reign of the Lords of Burleigh. Two opposition candidates were brought forward and defeated. Within three months of the election, numbers of respectable tradesmen who voted against the marquis’s nominees were served with notices to quit land or houses which they had held for years, and for which they had regularly paid rent. Tenants under the marquis, who voted for both his candidates, were informed that unless they discharged their tenants who did not so vote, they should, notwithstanding their own votes, be turned out of the property they held under the marquis. Some ventured to remonstrate, saying they had no power over the votes of their tenants; that such tenants paid their rents well, and that it would be a most painful

* First, at the General Election, July, 1847; second, on his appointment as Solicitor-General, April, 1851; third, at the General Election, July, 1852.

act to obey the marquis's mandate. "Very well then," was the answer, "TURN OUT." Widows renting houses belonging to the marquis had notice that unless they married, or by some other means got the names of persons who could vote entered on the rate-books, they also must turn out.* The "Reign of Terror" thus established was maintained until 1847. At the General Election of that year, Mr. Rolt,† a distinguished member of the bar and a friend of Wood's, came forward as an Independent Conservative candidate, and was of course defeated. A petition was signed by one-third of the whole body of electors, complaining that the electors on this and every occasion had been coerced by the marquis, and they prayed that the borough might be disfranchised. At Mr. Rolt's request, the new member for Oxford, then little known to the House, presented this petition, and moved that it be referred to a select committee.‡ His speech was one of his most successful efforts in the House: it contained this pointed and powerful passage:—

"When a peer of the realm steps out of his own sphere, and not content with exercising his own rights and legitimate influence in his own House of Parliament, interferes with elections to the other House, the Commons of England have a right on their side to interfere, and to tell that peer that they will not tolerate such unconstitutional conduct. Let him confine himself to his own House—

"*Illâ se jactet in aulâ
Non illi imperium pelagi.*"

The Premier (Lord J. Russell) stated that the case was brought forward with such moderation, and was in itself so strong, that he must support the motion. Annoyed at this, Sir Robert Peel, in a speech which showed his irritation, fell into the mistake of saying that the petitioners might obtain redress in the ordinary way through an election petition. Wood, in his reply, proved that an election petition was not applicable to the case. The question, he said, "was not which of two candidates should sit in the House, but whether the marquis or the people of Stamford should elect." The motion was carried by a majority of ONE. A select committee of nine was appointed, comprising Mr. Henley, Sir John Packington, Mr. Stuart Wortley, and other equally strong Conservatives, and some rather moderate Liberals

* These facts were stated in the local press of the time; we quote them from "A Political Letter to the Duke of Wellington," by William Carpenter, formerly a well-known Radical publisher in London. Its date is Oct. 1830.

† Afterwards Sir John Rolt, M.P. for West Gloucestershire, Attorney-General and Lord Justice.

‡ On Feb. 12, 1845.

—only Mr. Horsman went heartily with Wood. Three elections were gone into, and the committee unanimously reported that, regard being had to what had previously occurred, they were satisfied the electors had voted under undue bias and constraint.* To obtain this report from a committee so constituted, was a signal and unprecedented triumph, but the report attracted little attention. We are able to affirm that it was unfortunately unknown to the Ballot Society, and to the speakers who traversed the country on its behalf. Had they known it, it would have afforded them a crushing reply to the false plea often put forward by their opponents, that it could not be shown that any voter had ever been coerced to vote against his will and judgment. “Nothing more,” says Wood, “could be done than to give this useful hint to the marquis;” but, to use Lord Beaconsfield’s well-known saying, “much has happened since then.” The Reform Bill of 1868 deprived the borough of Stamford of one of its members, but gave the vote to every householder, and gave him also the shelter and protection of the ballot—a Reform advocated by the WESTMINSTER REVIEW from its earliest days. The representation of Stamford is now a reality. At the General Election of 1880, the numbers were:—

Buszard, Liberal	601
Hay, Conservative, and the Marquis’s nominee	551
Majority	50

On the subject of parliamentary and judicial oaths he took a leading part. The Jewish phase of the oath question was then before Parliament. Of the Jewish Emancipation Bill he was a warm supporter. To facilitate its passing, he obtained a committee to inquire into precedents, as to the oaths of members, and to inquire into the mode of administering oaths in the courts of justice. Of this committee he was chairman. When Baron Rothschild appeared at the table and took the oath of abjuration, omitting the words on “the true faith of a Christian,” Mr. Wood moved that the baron be allowed to take his seat. He rested his argument on the fact, “that the baron had sworn in the only way which could bind him, that the law distinguished between the matter to which the deponent pledged his oath and the mode in which he pledged it.” The *Times* remarked that if “the view

* Vol. i. pp. 80-1; vol. ii. pp. 22-5.

† The total votes given were 1,152 out of a register of 1,210, leaving only 68 votes ungiven. The ballot certainly increases the number of actual voters.

of Mr. Wood be as sound law as it is sound sense, the point would be settled at once." The House, however, negatived the motion.* Mr. Wood also brought in and passed on two occasions a Bill for relieving scrupulous persons, who were not Quakers, Moravians, nor Separatists, from being sworn in courts of justice, and to substitute an affirmation, with the usual penalties of perjury, as in the case of Quakers and others. The Bill was rejected each time by the House of Lords, but the principle afterwards became law, as part of the Common Law Procedure Act.† "He also much desired," the editor tells us, "to see the principle of this Bill applied to the case of admitting members of Parliament;" and he expressed the most cordial approbation of a letter by the editor supporting, "in the interests of morality and religion," the application of that principle to Mr. Bradlaugh's case. This letter appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and is reprinted in the Memoir before us. We gladly call our readers' attention to it, because we have seldom, if ever, seen the doctrine on the Oath question, first put forward by Bentham, more clearly and powerfully stated.

"The natural logical effect upon the mind of the practice of taking oaths is to create a notion (or at least a feeling) that there are two kinds of truth—ordinary truth, and oath truth—and that the former is of less importance than the latter; that men are under a sacred obligation to be veracious when they speak on oath; but that they are not under an equal obligation at all times, and in all circumstances; so far as such a notion is entertained, it is clear that it must vitiate the conscience. This state of mind was, I think, eminently characteristic of mediæval times. No one can read mediæval history without being struck by the extraordinary and shameless mendacity which prevailed. Yet this disregard for ordinary truth existed side by side with the most exalted ideas respecting the sanctity of oaths. Not, indeed, that the violation of oaths was at all uncommon, but this arose not from a low estimate of the sin of perjury regarded in itself, but rather from the fact that the mediæval system of religion was skilful in devising casuistical contrivances for evading exact obedience to the oath, or means for compounding for the crime of breaking it outright. There was also in those times the notion, which may linger now amongst the illiterate, that the violation of an oath would be followed by some peculiar and probably immediate visitation of the Divine displeasure. Now, if a person holding this false and superstitious notion commits perjury, and no evil temporal consequences ensue, his faith in a Divine Being is shaken, perhaps shattered. In these two ways, I submit, that the practice of taking oaths has always had an immoral and irreligious tendency. Why then retain it? The man of faith believes that

* Vol. i. pp. 78, 79; vol. ii. pp. 17-19.

† *Ibid.*

he is under a solemn obligation to speak the truth at all times; he abhors lying in every shape, it is almost an insult to him to ask him to confirm his word by an oath. The man of honour also, whatever his religious opinions may be, will keep his word. The man who has neither faith nor honour will not scruple to break his word, whether he utters it on oath or otherwise.”*

In May, 1849, the office of Vice-Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster became vacant. Lord Campbell, then Chancellor of the Duchy, asked Wood to take the vacant office, with a view to its reform. It had, up to that time, been practically a sinecure, with the yearly salary of £600, which, in Wood's words, “was for a sinecure just that amount too much.” He took the office on condition that he must be allowed to resign it if he could not carry a Bill for its reformation. He succeeded in carrying such a measure, and the court has worked well ever since.† The tenure of this office, it has been said, has often preceded that of the highest places on the judicial bench. It was so in Wood's case, and in that of his immediate successor, Mr. Bethell. Wood resigned the Vice-Chancellorship in 1851 to take the office of Solicitor-General. Lord Russell, in offering him the office, said, “I ought to tell you at once that I intend to bring in a Bill for extensive reform, otherwise I should not have made you this offer.” Wood replied he was very glad the Premier had said this, as he should not otherwise have accepted the office.‡ In the session of 1851 his work as Solicitor-General was extremely heavy, principally on account of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill. In the August of that year Lord Chancellor Truro offered him a vacant Vice-Chancellorship, but Lord Russell feeling “more and more impressed with the public advantage of retaining in office a man in whom he could repose the utmost confidence,” wrote to that effect to the Chancellor, and added, “I shall feel it an obligation if Page Wood would waive his claim to one of the offices of Vice-Chancellor, though I do not wish to overrule a claim which is in itself so honourably supported by professional and parliamentary distinction.” Wood, for domestic reasons, would have preferred to retire to such an honourable position, but he wrote to Lord Russell: “I cheerfully acquiesce in your Lordship's decision, that my services are most required in that office I now occupy.”§ He left office with Lord Russell in 1852. In the autumn session of the new Parliament of that year he made his last House of Commons' speech. It was on Mr. Charles Villiers' motion to commit Parliament to an

* Vol. ii. pp. 17, 18, notes.

† Vol. i. p. 82; vol. ii. pp. 45, 46, 116.

‡ Vol. i. pp. 82, 83.

§ Vol. ii. pp. 46, 47.

explicit approval of the Act of 1846, establishing the free admission of corn as "a wise, just, and beneficial measure." Lord Palmerston intervened with an amendment, omitting what Mr. Disraeli termed the "three odious epithets." Sir W. P. Wood* pointed out

"that if there had been no motion before the House but the resolution moved by Lord Palmerston, containing the essential passage declaring free trade to be beneficial to every large interest of the community, then they might well have adopted and voted for that resolution; but Mr. Villiers having professed to propose a resolution declaring the Act of 1846 to be 'a wise, just, and beneficial' measure, and the House being compelled to choose between the two resolutions before it, the necessary consequence was that every one who rejected the resolution of Mr. Villiers must be taken as recording his opinion, that the measure of 1846 was *not* wise, just, or beneficial."†

Another passage in this speech is worth recalling:—

"We had almost for the first time in the history of this country, a noble lord taking high office, who would not tell the country whether he had any principles at all; while the member for Sussex told them that the principles of Lord Derby's followers were confidence in Lord Derby. He (Sir W. P. Wood) had heard of men representing principles—he had heard of Foxites, who represented the great principles of Mr. Fox; of Pittites, who supported the policy of Mr. Pitt; and of Peelites, who supported the policy of Peel; but never heard before of substituting a man for a principle. A man might be the symbol of a principle, but he could not be substituted for it. That, however, had been attempted in the present case, for no principle was submitted to them, they were simply told that the country was to have confidence in Lord Derby. He did not know what part of the noble lord's history induced his supporters to give him their entire confidence."‡

On the formation of the Aberdeen-Russell Ministry, Wood was offered his choice of two offices, the Solicitor-General or a Vice-Chancellor. Lord Russell was particularly anxious that the Vice-Chancellorship should be offered to Wood, because at Lord Russell's request he had previously declined it. Wood gladly accepted it for the domestic reason we have alluded to, though conscious that the change would be very great, as he would see comparatively little of the bar, and nothing of members of Parliament. "The Chancellor (Lord Cranworth)," as he tells Hook, "in a very kind letter told me he felt a strange loneliness in his posi-

* He had of course been knighted when appointed Solicitor-General.

† Vol. ii. p. 50; conf. C. P. Villiers' "Free Trade Speeches," vol. ii. p. 427; Morley's "Life of Cobden," vol. ii. p. 124.

‡ Vol. ii. p. 54.

tion when first made a judge, and I can quite enter into this. I shall certainly miss my talk very much ;”* and a few weeks later he says, “My solitary grandeur on the bench keeps me out of the way of hearing news.”†

At the time he was raised to the bench Dickens was publishing his story of “Bleak House,” which readers will remember turns much on the Chancery suit of *Jarndyce v. Jarndyce*. The new Vice-Chancellor, at a Mansion House dinner a few months after his elevation, crossed swords with Dickens in defence of his court. Returning thanks for the toast of “the Lord Chancellor and the Judges,” the Vice-Chancellor made a sort of defence of the Court of Chancery, not

“distinctly alluding to ‘Bleak House,’ but evidently not without reference to it; he said that the court had received a great many more hard opinions than it merited; that they had been parsimoniously obliged to perform a great amount of business by a very inadequate number of judges; but that more recently the number of judges had been increased to seven, and there was reason to hope that all business brought before it would now be performed without unnecessary delay.”

Mr. Dickens afterwards alluded playfully to this item of intelligence; he said he was “exceedingly happy to hear it, as he trusted now that a suit in which he was greatly interested would speedily come to an end.” One present (Mrs. H. B. Stowe), the accuracy of whose observations and statements is by no means always to be relied on, “fancied there was a little shade of incredulity in his manner.”‡

Wood soon became the most popular of Chancery judges. He was great in his knowledge of law and of sound judgment in determining the value of evidence and arguments. On his judgments it was said by a professional journal, “There was undoubtedly placed an amount of reliance unshared by any other living judge.” Appeals from his judgments were few and rarely successful. We have referred to his invariable patience and courtesy to the bar. This demeanour had the effect of making many first-rate men select his as the court in which they habitually practised. Contrary to the practice of many eminent judges—notably, the late Sir George Jessel—he would never look at the papers in any case to be heard before him, until it came on for hearing. “If I did,” he used to say, “I should, perhaps, be forming a prejudice before I heard both sides.”§ His judgments

* Vol. ii. pp. 133-5.

† *Ibid.* p. 157.

‡ “Speeches of Charles Dickens,” p. 112; and the extract from Mrs. Stowe’s “Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands,” there given.

§ Vol. i. p. 87.

as a rule, were not written, and therefore not polished compositions, and their verbosity and diffusiveness, joined to the nervous and hasty but yet hesitating manner of his delivery, alike at the bar and on the bench, made it difficult to hearers to follow the train of his reasoning. "From my boyhood," he wrote to Hook, in 1862, "the labour of handwriting was irksome, but the heavy toil of equity drawing made it positively loathsome, and I feel my digestive powers upset if I write long or continually. I always want to write twice as fast as I can—part of my too impatient character—and this excites me."* He thought also that the delay caused by writing his judgments would be more injurious to the suitor than could be compensated by any supposed clearness in the judgment.† It may be that his judicial style was influenced by the example of Sir James Wigram, in whose court he was long one of the leaders, and whose judgments partook largely of the nature of judicial essays. It must be confessed that Wood's judgments were open to the stringent criticisms of Lord Campbell:—

"My attention," he said, in reviewing one of the Vice-Chancellor's decisions, "has been diverted from the main question in the case by elaborate and minute disquisitions as to the bearing of contradictory evidence on subordinate points, and by following the devious paths by which the final conclusion is at length reached. Judgments of such prodigious length, instead of settling, have a tendency to unsettle the law, and instead of sending away the defeated party contented, I can say from my own experience since I have presided in this court, that they rather generate appeals. For although the decree be right, some of the various reasons given for it may be questionable, and a false hope is excited that by impugning these the decree may be reversed."‡

However just this criticism may have been, it should not have been made by the person by whom and at the time when it was made. The other equity judges protested against the Lord Chancellor's action. He defended himself,§ and Wood preserved an absolute and a dignified silence, and "on principle adhered to the practice of delivering unwritten judgments."|| With commendable discretion the biographer of Lord Campbell omits from his life all mention of this unexampled occurrence. It was one of his many *etourderies*.

When Wood accepted the office of Vice-Chancellor he wrote to Hook, "I do not mean to retire on my judgeship,"¶ and he

* Vol. ii. pp. 59, 162.

† Vol. i. p. 90.

‡ *Ibid.* pp. 91, 93. †

§ We remember a directly contrary complaint made by another Chancellor against another Vice-Chancellor. Lord Cottenham once complained that Vice-Chancellor Knight Bruce had given absolutely no reasons for his judgment.

|| *Ibid.* p. 87.

¶ Vol. ii. p. 153.

carried out his intention; he was after, as well as before, his elevation, a member of many commissions, the last being that which arbitrated on the claim of the King of Hanover to the jewels of the English Crown; he was also an active member of many Church and charitable societies. He continued Vice-Chancellor for fifteen years. In March, 1868, Lord Cairns vacated his office of Lord Justice to become Lord Chancellor. He regarded Wood as a model of judicial excellence,* and accordingly offered him the seat on the bench vacated by himself. Wood accepted the offer; Lord Justice Selwyn, who had been a short time before appointed to the other seat in the court, waived his claim to take the senior place "as a mark of respect to the greater age, experience, and high reputation of his new colleague." In 1861 he had written to Hook: "I think of having a circular printed to say that I will inform my friends when I accept the office of Lord Chancellor. It is surprising how even lawyers suppose it possible that a man who has shunted himself on to a siding, can with any justice be preferred to a man who has borne the burden and heat of the day as law officer. I think the present Chancellor† has fully won the appointment." He was therefore astonished when, in December, 1868, Mr. Gladstone, then forming his first Ministry, not only offered but strongly pressed on him to accept the Great Seal. Of the Liberal lawyers, Lord Westbury from unfortunate circumstances was ineligible, and Lord Selborne (then Sir Roundell Palmer), the Attorney-General of the last Liberal Government, was opposed to Mr. Gladstone's policy as to the Irish Church. Lord Justice Wood therefore, not without real reluctance, complied with the Premier's request, and thenceforward "bent all his energies to fulfil his new duties with his accustomed earnestness and conscientiousness of purpose."‡ In his views about the English Church Establishment he wavered. In 1834 he refused to sign an address to Archbishop Howley, got up by an association of "Friends of the Church," "on account of its strong assertion that the consecration of the State by the public maintenance of the Christian religion is the first and paramount duty of a Christian people." In the same year he wrote to Hook:—

"My objections, or rather I should say difficulties, as to establishments are several; first political, the difficulty of choosing your establishment, for I incline to think that the forcing of six millions in Ireland to pay for the maintenance of the religion of one million is almost unscriptural in the worst sense. In Scotland we have acted differently, treating Ireland as a conquered country—that is, by the rule

* Vol. ii. p. 60.

† *i.e.*, Westbury.

‡ Vol. ii. pp. 173-4.

of force. I think an establishment of our Church in India, supported by forced contributions from the natives, would be monstrous. To this I know you will answer that the tithes are a gift by Christian possessors. This may, and I think does, apply to England; but consider how the possessors acquired their property in Ireland—by nothing in fact but brutal violence done to the large majority of that nation, though a weak minority as compared with the overwhelming forces of England. My second objection to establishments, is their effect upon the clergy, but I will not enter into a long disquisition on this point; and my third objection, is the effect on the laity, who become members of a Church because it is established, and make no further inquiry.”*

His third objection will remind many readers of Lord Thurlow’s declaration: “I am for the Established Church; not that I care for one d——d religion more than another, but because it is the Established Church.” Wood, nevertheless, at that time illogically held the opinion expressed in the same letter, “that when we find a Church established, we ought not to lend any assistance towards unestablishing.” In 1852 he confesses to Hook—

“that he had been guilty of the fault of looking with indifference on a separation of the English Church from the State, which is really the error of Dissenters. As regards my comfort, I should be well content if we were a snug little body separate from the State, and having all things our own way. This, at least, is my fancied comfort; the truth being that we should soon become a small narrow section, if not a sect, and as we increased in numbers we should quarrel and split up again, which reminds me of the story of a friend of mine, who told me his relative in Scotland said to a servant—‘John, I fear you belong to the split.’ ‘No, sir!’ was the reply, ‘I belong to the split of the splitted split.’”†

The immorality of binding together mutually repulsive sects in a pretended unity, enforced by acts of uniformity, does not seem to have occurred to him. With regard to the Irish Establishment he appears to have been ever of the opinion he expressed in 1834; in fact, he advocated Mr. Gladstone’s policy of 1868. Twenty years before, Mr. Gladstone was in favour of it himself.‡ He was, therefore, specially suited for the office of Lord Chancellor in the Gladstone Ministry. Notwithstanding that it was sixteen years since he quitted Parliament, on his return he displayed unexpected excellence as a debater. His speech on the Irish Church Bill was a very powerful effort. In it he showed the influence of his youthful studies in a manner not

* “Life of Dean Hook,” vol. i. pp. 261-3.

Vol. ii. p. 131.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 173.

usual with him. He referred to his 'old object of admiration, Bishop Berkeley, who, he said, "is usually regarded with a reverence in which I fully share." From the Bishop's "Querist" he quoted two questions :—

"Is it well to apply for the benefit of the few that which was intended for the benefit of the many? Is it well to attempt to convert a people without understanding the language in which they are to be addressed? He, like most of those who have been conversant with the subject, concluded that it never was, nor could have been, the intention to apply to a small section of the people those endowments upon which reliance was to be placed for the advancement of the religion of the whole."*

From another writer, whose works he had also studied in his early days, Archbishop King, he made a quotation capable of far more extended application than to the mere case of the Irish Church: "Perhaps it will appear that the Church never gained more true friends than when the civil power gave her doctrine and worship the least encouragement, nor lost more the affections of her people than when seeming most encouraged."† On another occasion his early devotion to Shakespeare enabled him to administer a powerful rebuke to Lord Salisbury, whom he described by one of the most apposite quotations from Shakespeare which it was possible to have made :—

"A man replete with words,
Full of comparisons and wounding flouts,
Which he on all estates would execute
That lay within the memory of his wit."‡

The editor goes fully into the history of the attack on Mr. Gladstone and Lord Hatherley, on account of the appointment of Sir Robert Collier to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, but we shall not follow his example. It was a mere outbreak of party passion and prejudice. Mr. Gladstone's enemies then acted, as they have often before and since, on a principle which we will express by an adaptation from a well-known political satire :—

"Tis wrong; he can't be right who did it."

Few of those who led the attack survive, and we charitably hope they look back with shame and regret on the course they then took.

The Chancellor gave valuable aid to the Government in passing through the Lords the various measures which made their tenure of office so distinguished, and introduced various measures of legal

* Vol. ii. p. 190.

† *Ibid.* p. 193.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 208.

reform, which were advances in the direction of the Judicature Act passed in the Chancellorship of his successor, and which Lord Hatherley supported "in a speech as free from jealousy as it was replete with power." His long career of activity and usefulness now sustained a check. All through his life he had to contend with great inconvenience arising from defective eyesight. For practical purposes he had one eye only—the other was so excessively near-sighted as to be useless—and a cataract gradually formed over his good eye. He struggled with indomitable perseverance and cheerfulness against his increasing infirmity, until his inability to read official documents in the House convinced him that it was due to the public he should retire; and at Michaelmas, 1872, he resigned the Great Seal. An operation was successfully performed, but he was compelled to be prudent in the use of his restored sight. To the end of his life he continued his attendance in the House of Lords whenever his presence was requisite. Other misfortunes crowded on him. His wife, who for many years helped him by reading and writing for him, had contracted an incurable disease in her own eyes. In 1875 died his lifelong friend, Hook, to whom, in the last letter of their long correspondence, he wrote: "We have always ourselves been as much united as any beings save husband and wife can be."* By the middle of 1878, his nearest relatives, his two brothers and both his sisters, had followed his most intimate friend, and in November of that year Lady Hatherley, after a short but painful illness, was taken from him. He survived her nearly three years, but his sight again grew worse, and in 1880 an internal malady developed itself, from which he suffered much, and by which his strength visibly diminished. At length, after a few days' increased illness, his career closed in July, 1881. Lord Selborne, his immediate successor, who then again filled the office of Chancellor, paid a tribute to his memory. Lord Granville added that he felt sure that "whether remembered as Page Wood, or as Lord Hatherley, his name will remain an honour to his profession, and to both Houses of Parliament, of which he was so distinguished an ornament." But it was a political opponent who paid the strongest tribute to his character and career. Lord Cairns, who had both preceded and succeeded him on the Woolsack, did not hesitate to express his conviction, "That it is not too much to say that as a judge, as a Christian, as a gentleman, and as a man, this country has not seen, and probably will not see, his superior."†

* Vol. ii. p. 247.

† *Ibid.* pp. 265, 269, 270.

ART. III.—YOUNG IRELAND: FOUR YEARS OF IRISH HISTORY.

Four Years of Irish History, 1845-1849. By Sir C. GAVAN-DUFFY.

AT no time has it been more urgent to study all that bears upon the state of Ireland than now. For the last two years we have been almost exclusively busied about its affairs, so far as relates to our legislative action. And though, confessedly, we have done some good, and the outlook is certainly less gloomy than till quite lately it has been, yet it is still far from hopeful—not to say reassuring. What is worse, we cannot even feel sure that the signs of social improvement that we fancy are observable are not fallacious, at least as evidence of anything more than the efficiency of the means which have been adopted for grappling with actual crime and disorder. These have to a certainty been pretty vigorously repressed; the outrages have undergone marked diminution; the perpetrators of some of the worst, and seemingly the most difficult to trace—the foul murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke in particular—have been discovered and brought to justice; and we seem to be steadily, though slowly, unravelling a subtle and intricate web of criminality that may lead to other important disclosures. All this looks well; but has it brought us any nearer to the solution of the perplexing problem? Can we govern Ireland as a country ought to be governed? There is, unhappily, nothing new in this question. It has been often asked; but it has been, apparently, thought the highest statesmanship not to answer, but to evade it, and this, for the time, was done in some fashion. But neither the judgment nor the conscience of the British people will submit any longer to such evasion. They have come, at last, to recognize that Ireland is too important a part of the Empire to be suffered to continue in a state of chronic discontent; while they have also, as knowledge has permeated the community at large, come to learn that the chronic discontent is not, as they had been long persuaded, the wanton grumbling of a population, without cause for just complaint—and whose sufferings have, in the main, been occasioned by their own improvidence—but the direct and unavoidable result of systematic and enduring misrule, for which English Ministers were responsible, and the agents in enforcing which were the English nation. To redress the wrong so inflicted by their fathers, and to bring about a happier state of things, the descen-

dants of the wrongdoers believe to be for them a sacred duty ; and they are resolved to acquit themselves of it, so soon as they see clearly the course to be taken to achieve that end. They have, by recent legislation, made a serious commencement of the task, and though it has not been received by those for whose benefit it was intended in as encouraging a spirit as was hoped for, yet a confident feeling still exists that it will be attended with eventual success. But no thoughtful and well-informed man can suppose that any one measure, however well-devised or able, can restore a country like Ireland, which all the agencies of Government have for centuries been engaged in the task of disorganizing, to order and content. The Irish Land Act, great and valuable a boon as it seems to be, and much as it is believed to have done for the largest and most important section of the Irish people, must be supplemented by other legislation, conceived in the same bold and liberal spirit, before the work of the legislator can be looked on as complete. And when nothing more remains for the legislator to do in the work of reconstruction, it will still be long before the evils inherited from the past shall have been entirely obliterated, and Ireland will present to the world the aspect of a well-governed, prosperous, and happy community.

We do not believe that self-rule, worthy of being so designated, could be granted to Ireland, without long and careful preparation, save with real danger to ourselves ; indeed, we do not believe that it could be so given without immediate results of a most disastrous kind to Ireland herself. And at the bottom of our apprehensions lies the fact that the social condition of the country is so abnormally bad that it is to be feared the concession of self-rule would plunge it at once into anarchy—a savage and internecine war of rival castes and rival creeds. While for that social condition we Englishmen are held, and, unhappily, to a great extent are, responsible.

We can, however, only encounter this difficulty, like all others that present themselves, by patient consideration of all the circumstances of the case, resolved to do justice to the fullest extent in our power, absolute justice being, as in nearly all human affairs, hopeless. We cannot unmake history, and make a *tabula rasa* of the past. We must take the situation as we find it, and if we shall be unable to set everything right, we certainly may look with tolerable confidence to effecting great and durable improvement. But we shall do nothing right, if we suffer ourselves to be guided by mere abstract principles, however sacred we may hold them ; for no immutable rules can apply to the continuously mutable course of human affairs. We acted on this maxim in framing the Irish Land Act, despite the clamour against us for disregarding the laws of political economy, the

clamourers losing sight of the fact that it was in a flagrant disregard of these laws that some of the worst evils which we had to legislate for originated—one of the enactments of the Penal Code absolutely prohibiting a landowner from granting a lease of land to a Popish tenant, on which he reserved a lower rent than two-thirds of the full, improved annual value; and this at a time when seven-eighths of the agricultural class in three provinces in Ireland were Popish. And we may have similarly to disregard other ideas to which we cling with an almost superstitious attachment, before we shall have fully satisfied ourselves that we have done all that justice and political wisdom demand in regard to Ireland. Meanwhile, we shall do well to study, by the light of present events and of recent history, the character and aims of the Irish people, as all important to be known, in reference to the true solution of this Irish question.

The appearance of Sir C. Gavan-Duffy's volume, "Four Years of Irish History, 1845-1849," is timely, in connection with this study; though it is to be regretted that its publication did not follow sooner that of his "Young Ireland," of which it is strictly a second volume. It takes up the story of the Young Ireland party, at the point to which the former brought it down—namely, the death of Thomas Davis—and continues it to its disastrous termination, in the dispersion, at Ballingarry, of the handful of men who raised the banner of insurrection, only to be instantly pulled down by a few constables of police; the capture, trial, and banishment of the foremost of the insurgents; the self-exile of others; the imprisonment, under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, of all prominent members of the party until such time as Government believed they could be safely liberated; and, in fact, the extinction of Young Ireland as a political factor in the Empire. The interest in all this would certainly have been stronger and more general, had the publication of the second volume immediately followed that of the first. But, to the political thinker who wishes to study the events of the period, for a deeper purpose than mere amusement or pastime, the delay is unimportant, and the instalment now presented comes at quite an opportune moment. For the delay, so far as it has been a cause of disappointment, Sir Charles Duffy assigns a quite sufficient reason—viz., "the quantity of new materials placed at his disposal during last year." Yet it may, perhaps, be doubted if these materials have added so much as he imagines to the value of his work, which, we think, mainly depends, both for its interest and importance, on the ample store of knowledge of which he was himself possessed. It must, however, be borne in mind that Sir Charles Duffy's primary object was to vindicate his former colleagues. "Of the period which I am now about

to describe," he says, at the outset, "a fixed idea has got possession of the public mind—that certain immature politicians, of whom it is not clear, to critical persons, whether they were generous enthusiasts or only rash and contumacious youngsters, broke away from the veteran leader of the Irish people, set up a theory of physical force in opposition to his constitutional doctrines, and, having unfortunately got the lead, led the country to disgrace and disaster." And his own main object is to prove what he emphatically asserts, that "in all history there is no theory more fatally contradicted by the facts of the case when the facts come to be known."

Sir Charles Duffy's previous volume, there can be no doubt, enlisted in behalf of Young Ireland the sympathies of a large class of readers, to whom little had previously been known of them, save that they had been at one period the followers of O'Connell, and, at a later period, rebels—perhaps even somewhat ungrateful rebels—against the authority of the great Tribune. Presented to the world, as they were by their historian, as a group of young men just entering on life, all distinguished by intellectual gifts worthy of notice, and some of them conspicuous for the twofold endowments of oratory and poetry, further enhanced by wit of no common order, it was not possible that their career should fail to excite interest. And this personal interest in their story is fully kept up by the author in his present volume, in which he narrates the ruin of their hopes, the defeat of their plans, and the disappearance of not a few of them from the scene, not merely of politics, but of life.

The matter of the present volume is, however, of greater value than was that of "Young Ireland" to the political thinker. It will help to explain for him how it was that England gained so little by the seeming extinction of all the anti-English forces in Ireland by the events of 1848. Insurrection was crushed, and agitation had apparently died out; the one in the widow McCormac's garden at Ballinacorney, the other, unable to rally after the death of the great agitator in the city of palaces, by the blue waters of the Mediterranean. Yet a few years saw insurrection rear its head again, and a fiercer agitation, and in many respects more dangerous than that of O'Connell, is hardly yet yielding to legislative remedies—some ameliorative, some coercive—which it has taxed all our statesmanship to devise. This book of Sir Charles Duffy will, we think, throw light on some of the reasons.

Before the death of Davis—to whom the Young Ireland party looked up as their real leader—dissensions, as we have seen, had arisen between them and the older followers of O'Connell, and the tone taken on some occasions by the veteran chief suffi-

ciently indicated that he had grown somewhat impatient of the independent spirit of the younger men, and was ready to throw the weight of his authority into the scale against them. The death of their young and gifted leader, however, arrested the progress of the dissensions for a while. The event was the occasion of sincere and general sorrow; nor is there any reason to suppose that O'Connell himself was untouched by the cutting off, in his prime, of a young politician whose love for Ireland it was impossible for him to doubt, and whose genius he could not but admire. But he, and those whose interests led them to embroil him, if possible, with Young Ireland, would naturally have taken into account the loss to his political associates of a man like Davis, while we have seen that the event was attended by the withdrawal from their working number, almost at the same moment, of some of the ablest members—Dillon, who was ordered to Madeira for his health, O'Hagan (the present Chief Commissioner of the Irish Land Court), and Pigot, to pursue their law studies in London, and MacNevin, away also because of illness, the earliest symptoms of an ailment that was to end fatally before long. Others of the party also were out of town, though only temporarily; and there was enough to cause anxiety, if not despondence, amid its ranks. But Duffy, on whom devolved the task of reorganizing the forces, found hope in the energy of his old allies, and was not long without new and unexpected, and, as it soon proved, powerful recruits. He says:—

“It was admirable to note the zeal with which the remnant of the young men took up their task anew. McCarthy, Barry, and Mangan redoubled their exertions for the *Nation*. Hitherto they had only written verses, now they contributed critical papers of great interest. Even poor MacNevin, maimed and distracted by the pangs of a cruel disease, insisted on bearing his part in the experiment. And O'Gorman, Doheny, and Barry promised at the beginning of the new year—then close at hand—to resume their places in Conciliation Hall. But the greatest surprise to our watchful censors was the sudden irruption into national politics and national journalism of new men—men of whom, in some cases, they had never heard so much as the names. Thomas Francis Meagher, John Mitchel, Thomas Darcy M'Gee, and Thomas Devin Reilly for the first time began to take an open part in public affairs in Ireland; and Thomas Wallis and John Fisher Murray a silent but stringent interest.”*

At this critical juncture, December, 1845, the event which Young Ireland had long looked forward to with apprehension occurred. Sir Robert Peel resigned office, unable to get the

* “Four Years of Irish History,” pp. 6, 7.

assent of his colleagues to an Anti-Corn Law Measure, which, fearful of a threatened famine in Ireland, he felt it necessary to pass, and Lord John Russell accepted the responsibility of forming an Administration. The young men never doubted that, in such a condition of things, O'Connell would, if it were possible, again put the Repeal question in abeyance, so as to make matters smooth for his Whig friends; and, if the attempt were made, they felt that it must be fought against *à outrance*.

Looking back, it is impossible to doubt that the great Tribune would have gladly hauled down his "Repeal" banner, and raised in its stead the safer flag of "Justice to Ireland." Whether he would have done so, were he twenty years a younger man, is another question. He honestly believed in Irish Nationality, and longed for the restoration of a Parliament in College Green. But he had come to feel that to that end Ireland never could be led by him; the guidance of the people must pass to other hands, long before the goal could be reached, and would those other hands be trustworthy? Would they lead the people to that goal, or to one widely different? There was more involved in this question than the good faith of the likely leaders; there was, even in a higher degree, their discretion and their temper. Would they have the necessary prudence, the necessary patience? Possessing both, might they not lack the power of leadership, the control over men, without which all else would prove worse than useless? Might not the end of the struggle, with the noblest intentions on their part, be not the triumph and glory of '82, but the ruin and disgrace of '98?

If these ideas would, naturally enough, arise in O'Connell's own mind, they would be certain of being enforced by all those who constituted his immediate *entourage*. John O'Connell, the son to whom he had the strongest personal attachment, aspired to, and, indeed, was destined by his father to inherit, the leadership of the popular cause, when death or infirmity should necessitate his laying it down; and both father and son must have felt that the ranks of Young Ireland contained at least a dozen men, with any one of whom the latter would have vainly struggled to hold his own, either at the desk or in the tribune. But he had a considerable hold on a class with whom his probable competitors did not stand altogether too well—the Roman Catholic priesthood. John O'Connell was not merely a steadfast believer in the faith he professed, but was, beyond doubt, a bigot, who, at heart, had little toleration for those more enlightened opinions which some of its most earnest votaries have not found incompatible with the strict tenets of Catholicism. The clergy, throughout the greater part of his career, had been instruments in the hands of the father; the son was quite ready to be an instrument in the hands

of the clergy. Young Ireland, perhaps, thought they had already been made somewhat too prominent a factor in Irish politics, and would have preferred that the lay element should, to some extent, be substituted for the clerical, rather than that the clerical should be strengthened by any weakening of the lay. Many of the younger priests, in their honest zeal for the success of the National cause, took side with Young Ireland. But nearly all the Episcopacy and parochial clergy were on that of John O'Connell; and he might well have thought, looking to the influence which they had so long wielded, that, if a quarrel were precipitated with the party of the *Nation*, he would have an easy victory.

A set of personal creatures of O'Connell's—of whom, in Dublin, the majority were indeed very contemptible—also heartily desired the deposition of the Young Ireland group from any prominent position in the agitation—many who had contrived, in one way or another, to get “pickings” from the National treasury, because they knew the younger men to have a horror of all such proceedings; others, through mere jealousy of abilities that threw them utterly into the shade, and of high personal attributes, in contrast with which their own petty natures looked contemptible. In the country districts, moreover, a far better class of men, who had earned a local celebrity, fairly enough, as the recognized officers of the great Tribune in their respective districts, looked with jealousy on the new recruits, and would not have cared to see them subordinated to the “old guard” of not a few former agitations, of which “old guard” they, of course, considered themselves to be very efficient members.

And, after all, had this set of young men that had come to be known as “Young Ireland,” any real political following in the country? No doubt the *Nation*, to which most of them were contributors, and which might be regarded as their organ, was eagerly sought after, and much admired—by men, too, of very various opinions—for its vigorous prose and stirring verse; and some of these contributors, moreover, had made for themselves, on the platform, no inconsiderable repute as public speakers. But one clever journal is not a great power in politics; and the arena for the young orators might, by a dexterous *coup*, be closed for them altogether. Where, then, could the youthful aspirants to political leadership find a place in which to air their eloquence? This idea seemed especially deserving of attention. Let some means be found to close Conciliation Hall to “Young Ireland,” and it dwindled down at once to the staff of a weekly newspaper.

The diminution, by various causes, to which we have already referred, of the party to be got rid of, and the desirableness of having the stage clear, so that O'Connell should find himself as little embarrassed as possible in playing into the hands of his

Whig friends, made it urgent to set to work speedily, which accordingly was done: Through manœuvres—some of them discreditable enough, but who would have looked to the Irish leader for scrupulous conduct, where a political end was to be served?—by which suggestions were first thrown out, at the press and otherwise, that the young men were tainted with revolutionary and irreligious opinions, and a set of resolutions were eventually propounded, in Conciliation Hall, embodying the doctrine that no political amelioration could justify, in any possible case, the shedding of one drop of human blood—the object desired was achieved; and a formal secession of the party from the Repeal Association—not without a brilliant defence of its principles, especially in a celebrated oration of their youthful recruit, Meagher—left the O'Connellites free to work in their own fashion, still ostensibly, for a restoration of the Irish Legislature; but, indirectly, and far more zealously, in aid of Lord John Russell's Ministry. Sir Charles Duffy gives the details in a manner certainly to interest the reader, as well as with thorough candour and fairness, but possibly at somewhat too much length, considering how much the question has lost even a historic interest. But we must bear in mind that with him the personal vindication of his old friends and allies was the primary object with which he has written. And it is not undesirable, in connection with present Irish politics, that we should be made to truly understand the precise manner of men they were.

Young Ireland was reduced to a newspaper; it had no longer a platform. The great Tribune rested from his work; went to Derrynane to recruit his forces, and left his dearly beloved son, John, to lead the country from Conciliation Hall. The popular rally round the *Nation* was surprising; but in Ireland, above all places, to be able to address only the public eye, and to have no access to the public ear, is the gravest loss to a party. And now, especially, Young Ireland had men—one man pre-eminently in Thomas Francis Meagher—who could address the public ear with marvellous effect. But what popular party, what party seeking popular support, could dare, in Ireland, to found an association, in what could only be regarded as direct antagonism to O'Connell? Human hardihood could hardly venture on this. Young Ireland remained silent. But day after day the number of the Secessionists waxed stronger; day after day new protests, and from known and respected men, moreover, reached Conciliation Hall, against its treatment of the young men, against its sham accusations, against its crowning absurdity, the "abstract" Peace Resolutions. Mr. John O'Connell, the Deputy Tribune of the people, did not vouchsafe a reply; and when a vigorous remon-

strance, representatively signed, was sent in from Dublin, had the audacious document "kicked into the street."

All this plainly called for some move on the part of Young Ireland. Pressed on all sides to do so, they at last yielded, and called a meeting of their friends and sympathizers in "the historic Rotundo." The success was magnificent. "There were," says Sir Charles Duffy, "two thousand persons in the body of the building, and six hundred in the reserved seats; a few priests, a dozen or two professional men, but mostly artisans of a comfortable class, mercantile assistants, and the students of the schools of law and medicine. A great power had plainly sprung up at their call, in the very seat of O'Connell's authority."

In reference to this first display of independent strength on the part of his friends, our author quotes "a man of genius, who was present, and who sent me his impressions later":—

"There, dressed as he always was, in solemn black, sat Dillon, calm, gentle, brave; his broad brow expanding with the enthusiasm that swelled within it, and his dark eye, half-concealing, half-emitting the fire of which it was a fountain, as he leaned forward to take note of that wonderful assembly. O'Gorman, handsome, graceful, dandified; the soul of whim and humour; at one moment joking with a friend, at another, kindling with the enthusiasm of the scene. Doheny, rough, generous, bold; a son of the soil, slovenly in dress, red-haired and red-featured, but a true personification of the hopes, passions, and traditions of the people. Meagher, his indolent air replaced by alertness, and his tranquil face flushed with an unaccustomed hue, as he smiled at the unexpected fulfilment of his hopes. There was Barry, disciplined by travel and study, who had meditated on history on great historical fields, and debated politics with great politicians; who formed his opinions with such deliberation that to the crowd they seemed wanting in enthusiasm. And M'Gee, imperfectly understood even by his competitors, but a man whose genius covered a wider field than any of that brilliant young group."—p. 335.

Two representative men were absent—Duffy, himself kept away by urgent business of the party, and John Mitchel by illness. Of those sketched in the above extract, Doheny only had reached middle life; the rest, except Dillon, who was perhaps three or four years over thirty, were below, some considerably below, that age, and some allowance might be made for them if, as they looked round the assembly that waited on their words, they felt a little vain of their position. But it seems only fair to them to say that no man was there who would not gladly resign his new leadership to see the whole Nationalist party rallied once again under the guidance of O'Connell.

This result was prevented by the persistent resolve of one man. Sir C. Duffy describes, on the authority of one who was present, how suggestions for an accommodation between the two sections of the Repeal party were made, and how it was thwarted :—

“The next morning O’Connell sat in his study in Merrion Square, the daily papers before him; some friends, lay and clerical, around. He was depressed. ‘Don’t mind them, Mr. O’Connell,’ said one of his friends; ‘they are brainless boys. We will crush them.’ ‘Ah, no, no,’ said O’Connell; ‘they are a powerful party, and we must have them back.’ One of the friends was Sir Colman O’Loughlen. He seized O’Connell’s hand. ‘Commission me,’ said he, ‘to say that to Smith O’Brien.’ ‘I do,’ said O’Connell. ‘Be my ambassador. Tell him and his friends to come back on his own terms.’ At that moment John O’Connell entered. Hearing what had passed, he protested it should not be, and the old man had not strength to oppose his best-beloved son.”—p. 338.

Thus the separation became final. Perhaps it is not fair to accuse John O’Connell of mere selfishness in his conduct on the occasion, or throughout these transactions. He was a jealous, small-minded man, but doubtless with a sincere devotion to his father, and he might have regarded this group of youthful politicians as meditating the dethronement of the old ruler, to be followed by the abandonment, possibly the reversal, of all his old and cherished maxims of political action. There was, it may be, a good deal of real filial love, however short-sighted and erroneous, in the course he took. But he hopelessly wrecked the Repeal cause by preventing the suggested reconciliation.

And now Young Ireland entered on a new phase of its history; it founded an association to embrace the seceders from Conciliation Hall. On the 13th of January, 1847, the Irish Confederation held its first meeting; its policy was simply to carry out efficiently and with vigour the objects of the Repeal Association as originally defined, and it was fully intended to keep the Confederates within the strict bounds of constitutional action. There was no money test of membership; all subscriptions were to be voluntary, and it was announced that “the founders, if necessary, would bear all the cost of the movement.” Ten thousand members were enrolled; “but the gentry only furnished a few stray volunteers, the bulk of the middle class stood apart, and the people, in their suffering and despair”—it was in the full horror of the famine period—“scarcely knew what was going on.” “But they worked on steadily,” says Sir C. Duffy, “in the sure confidence of turning the minority of the nation, in the end, into an overwhelming majority. The mistake they made was to believe that this could be done at a bound. While O’Connell lived it was inevitable that a large party should adhere to him, right or wrong. In fact,

the generation going out of existence and the generation coming in constituted this majority and minority. With one were authority and experience, with the other, faith and enthusiasm—forces sure to prevail in the end ; but they are not the agents of a day, but of a generation.”

On the 23rd of May the country was startled by the news of O'Connell's death in Genoa, where he breathed his last on the 15th of that month. In Ireland the news was quite unexpected, for his return to public life, within a short time, had but recently been intimated as certain. The softening of the brain which had thus fatally ended, it was ascertained by the post-mortem examination, had been for three years destroying his energies. The Confederates felt genuinely the great Irishman's loss, and, in the *Nation* and otherwise, generous tributes were offered by Young Ireland to his memory. But proposals to join in the funeral procession, and to go into solemn public mourning for the national bereavement, were rejected by his family, and the estrangement between the two Repeal sections was only made more complete.

The fearful state of Ireland, owing to famine and its attendant famine-fever, meanwhile occupied the minds of all Irishmen, not wholly deadened to public or private misery, to the exclusion of nearly every other topic. But the horrors of which they were daily and hourly witnesses, met, as they conceived, in an utterly inadequate manner by the Government, while a truly national one, on the other hand, would, they believed, have prevented most of the evils that befel the country, led the younger men to apply themselves more earnestly than ever to the dissemination of the principles which they regarded as the great political panacea. Nevertheless, they seem to have steadily resisted all attempts made to draw them into any policy having for its object the elevation merely of one class of Irishmen at the expense of the rest. They desired to secure Nationality for the common benefit of all their countrymen, high and low ; to re-establish an independent Irish nation, under the Sovereign of the British Empire, from which they desired no political severance, save in the matter of legislating exclusively on Irish subjects, with an Irish Parliament, in which the aristocracy should possess its House of Peers, and the people their Representative Assembly. Political opinion amongst themselves was much diversified, and they sought to bind no man to any particular views, on what might be called party questions. These they were satisfied to relegate to the judgment of the country at large, when that country was in possession of the proper constitutional agencies by means of which to pronounce on them. From the gentry, indeed, who seemed still to regard themselves as an alien garrison, they met little encouragement ; but men

professing to know intimately the sentiments prevalent amongst that class constantly held out hopes of their being won over to the national faith, and the young men waited their accession with a patience that could hardly have been expected from the ardour of youth.

But, after a time, worse difficulties than any which threatened from without began to embarrass the Confederation. It was menaced by internal dissension. While the great majority of the young men who led its councils sought to win over the gentry to the national cause, and to still act within the Constitution, a section began to look to more violent means and more revolutionary ends; John Mitchel and Devin Reilly—who was almost a boy in years, but of undoubted ability—being the prominent personages amongst the latter. Before the close of 1847 this dissension led to Mitchel's secession from the Confederation, and the establishment, by him, of the *United Irishman*, "written with great directness and vigour, chiefly by himself and Reilly." Meanwhile famine and fever were ravaging the land like two pitiless demons, numbers whose wealth and independence placed them far above the reach of the former falling victims to the rival plague. Those who could, amongst the humbler class, were flying to the emigrant ships, as from a pest-house, for what proved too often a worse than doubtful refuge. For, from insufficient food, insufficient ventilation, insufficient clothing, with, in too many instances, the seeds of the fell disease that was scourging their country amongst them before they embarked, they either perished miserably on the ocean, or were landed, more like spectres than living men and women, to crawl into the first wretched shelter they could find, on a stranger soil, and there lie down and die. The concluding chapter of Sir C. Duffy's second book paints a terrible picture of the period, and we may well imagine how the difficulties of the new political organization were enhanced by having to pursue its objects in the midst of such a moral chaos.

But the crowning danger had not yet come. It was, however, close at hand. And when it came, how full of hope was the vision to the sanguine young men whom it was, within a few brief months, to lure to ruin, shattering all their plans, dashing all their expectations, throwing, not censure merely, but ridicule on their names. The year 1848 opened as gloomily on Ireland as did nearly any in its eventful history; famine and fever had done their worst, half the land was depopulated, and now national bankruptcy threatened to ruin everything that remained. But one day came the news that King Louis Philippe had been dethroned, and was in flight, disguised, for England; that with him royalty was again discarded in France, and that

a Republic had been installed as the Government of an emancipated nation! At this hour it is not easy to see how such tidings could have excited hopeful feelings in the breasts of any class of Irishmen, situated as Ireland then was; or how it could have suggested to men who, three months before, would have regarded the idea of an appeal to arms, in order to win Irish independence, as nothing short of madness, that the madness would be less, because a revolution had toppled over the French monarch's throne! But, as we know, the revolutionary wave swept over continental Europe, and even in Great Britain the attitude of the Chartists became menacing enough to cause alarm to the authorities. The contagion had spread to the Irish shore. The *Nation* declared:—

“Ireland's opportunity—thank God and France—has come at last! Its challenge rings in our ears like a call to battle, and warms our blood like wine. . . . We must answer, if we would not be slaves for ever. We must unite, we must act, we must leap all barriers but those which are Divine. If needs be, we must die, rather than let this providential hour pass over us unliberated.”—p. 537.

So wrote Sir Charles Duffy on his own responsibility, the journal being his, and nearly all the leading Confederates absent from Dublin at the moment. “But, when they met,” he goes on to say:—

“They had to consider whether they would face revolution, not under some ideal conditions, or at some propitious era, but in the current year. They agreed that they stood pledged to fight for our national rights on any reasonable opportunity, and that with all Europe on fire for liberty the opportunity had come. The men who, a few weeks before, had fearlessly resisted anarchy, now, as fearlessly, embraced revolution.”—p. 538.

Our author proceeds:—

“The chances of success, we knew, were not great, but they were too great to throw away, when they were the last resource of our race. At worst, we were persuaded that the position of a people who had fought for their just rights and failed would be better, then and thereafter, than that of a people who had basely lain down and died.”—p. 540.

Unfortunately, this view of the case came rather late; for during the whole previous year the people had lain down and died by the hundred thousand, and the majority perhaps of those who remained were in hardly a position to do aught else now. The Confederates did not, however, even yet resolve to attempt an immediate insurrection. “They determined to make a last effort to obtain a native Parliament by negotiation, with the un-

derstanding that they would prepare from that hour for the alternative." When, however, a body of very young and enthusiastic men come to this decision, we may well suppose that "the alternative" would be that most likely to occupy their thoughts, and to engage their energies.

"On Monday, the 19th of March, an open-air meeting was held near the North Wall, at which an address from the citizens of Dublin to the new Republic was adopted, and Richard O'Gorman and John Dillon were authorized to carry it to Paris."—p. 564.

The authorities seem to have actually anticipated an armed outbreak on the 17th—St. Patrick's Day—and had made effectual dispositions to crush it. Now, they took another course, prosecuting Smith O'Brien and Meagher, for speeches made at the meeting just referred to, and Mitchel for articles in his newspaper. To show how much the movement in France had done to unite the Irish Nationalists in only four weeks, it is noteworthy that O'Connell's sons—Maurice and John—appeared at the police office to offer themselves as sureties for O'Brien and Meagher. Other bail had, however, been previously arranged for and theirs was not made use of.

When the deputation reached Paris, they found the new Republic quite too beset with difficulties of its own—menaced by a Communist insurrection—to give them any hope of aid in that quarter, and Lamartine's answer to their address seemed cold and passionless, though to their ears it sounded somewhat less so than that afterwards officially printed in the *Moniteur*. The deputation did not want active help from France, in arms or otherwise, but they believed, as did those who sent them, that a genuine expression of sympathy with their efforts for an independent national existence must be of great benefit to their cause. It hardly argued very cool political judgment, however, to expect this at such a moment.

To the present generation much of what took place in this "year of revolution" may be read with both pleasure and profit in Sir C. Duffy's most interesting summary; much, too, that will give to his friends so much excuse for their rashness and precipitancy, as can be found in the contagion of a spirit of resistance to oppression, which seemed to simultaneously animate nearly all the populations of Europe.

In the middle of May took place the trials for sedition of O'Brien and Meagher, and doubtless to the dismay of the Government—for their legal guilt was indisputable—the juries in both cases disagreed. Then, instead of going on with Mitchel's case on the same charge, he was arrested anew under the Treason-Felony Act, just passed, and his trial was fixed for Saturday,

May 20. The extreme violence of his writings, it must be remembered, left him without any sympathy, save amongst the lowest or most violent of even the Nationalist party. There was talk of attempting to rescue him, and a scrutiny was made into the condition of the Repeal "clubs" in the metropolis, with a view to ascertaining if such an event was possible, which resulted in its abandonment as entirely hopeless. The case against Mitchel was legally incontestable; but a great appeal was made to the jury by the octogenarian counsel, Robert Holmes, the brother-in-law of Emmett, which (whatever effect it might have had on one indifferently chosen), was necessarily unavailing with the carefully packed dozen of men that, under the system of that day, filled the box. He was unhesitatingly convicted; sentenced by the judge, Baron Lefroy, to twenty years' transportation; and a vessel of war being in wait for him in the bay, was within an hour of his sentence on his way to Spike Island, the convict depôt at the Cove of Cork.

Though hardly one of the Young Ireland leaders held opinions nearly as extreme as those of Mitchel, and though to combat these opinions had been for some time previously their most arduous work, yet his conviction and transportation precipitated them into that course that so swiftly hurried them to ruin. "To the popular mind," as Sir C. Duffy writes, "Mitchel seemed the embodiment of the revolution. He alone had demanded an instant conflict, and struck authority in the face with words more offensive than blows." This being so, how was it possible that he should be seized and hurried into exile, and that no step should be taken in consequence? And what step could be taken but one that must hurry those taking it into direct and violent conflict with the authorities of the State? A young priest, full, as it seemed, of reckless patriotism, and of a daring which was ready to leap any obstacle in the path of freedom, but whom a few weeks were to exhibit as shrinking from all contact with the men whom he urged to the wildest action—Father Kenyon—made the first move. He insisted on immediate steps being taken to organize an insurrectionary movement. A conference was held between the moderate and the extreme section of the Confederates; and

"then and there, for the first time, measures were taken to obtain money, arms, and officers from abroad, to make a diversion in England, and procure the co-operation of the Irish residents there, and to prepare particular local men to expect the event."—p. 608.

Throughout the chapter from which we cite this last passage, we have details of what was done to prepare for an outbreak, and beyond the sending of agents to America to collect arms and

money, and procure the personal aid of some men competent to act as military leaders, or organizers, nothing practical seems to have been attempted. Meagher and Doheny, who went to "organize" in the provinces, were arrested on charges of sedition. Negotiations took place with the Old Ireland Section of Repealers, which came to nothing in the end. Smith O'Brien, who proceeded to sound the state of feeling in Cork and Kerry, met at the former place "ten thousand Confederates, as capable of effectual action as any troops in the Queen's service, and ten thousand other able-bodied men, who promised to co-operate with them." We believe we are within the mark in saying that, of the twenty thousand, twenty never actually took the field. Reports from other districts declared the feeling to be wide-spread. The clubs "had multiplied rapidly during the last month, and now numbered a hundred and fifty, representing nearly fifty thousand men." Duffy, Martin, Doheny, and M'Gee, meanwhile, were arrested, too. And Government, in pursuance of its extraordinary powers, issued proclamations calling on all persons having arms in proclaimed districts—Dublin, Cork, Waterford, and Drogheda, being immediately brought within the operation of the law—to surrender them, or to pay the penalty. The suppression of the clubs was resolved upon also; every hour, in short, was driving the insurrectionary party to their last remaining chance—actual revolt. The next chapter opens with the ominous sentence: "The measures of the conspirators were taken three months too late!" Three months! Had ten times three months been given to them, the result would have been only more disastrous. Many more men might have taken the field, some bold and desperate, if hopeless, valour might have been exhibited by the insurgents; but their defeat would have been no less crushing than it was, and the misery entailed by the struggle would have been infinitely worse.

But Government now took the decisive step, which left to its opponents no choice, but that between instant submission and instant resistance.

"The *Freeman's Journal* received a telegram announcing that Lord John Russell had carried through the House of Commons, without resistance, a Bill to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland. It would be law on Monday, and the popular leaders might be committed to prison, and kept there at pleasure, without indictment or trial."—p. 641.

Driven into this corner, the few leaders of the party in Dublin, who were not shut within prison walls, did perhaps the only thing to be expected from honourable men in the circumstances. DILLON declared "submission to arrest would be con-

strued as an abandonment of the cause; flight or concealment was out of the question. He suggested that they should immediately join O'Brien," who at the moment was in the country, as was O'Gorman too. With the former they could take counsel as to their best way to begin. A brief chapter—some fifty pages—narrates the story of the few days that elapsed between that date and the bitter end of all their hopes and aspirations. At every point they found themselves baffled. Here there was apathy, there enthusiasm, but utter want of preparation. For leadership in such an hour, moreover, Smith O'Brien was wholly unfitted; and he had entirely miscalculated events:—

"It is certain he expected the rising, when a signal was given, would be simultaneous and nearly universal. And he could scarcely have divested himself of the feeling of a native prince, who was summoning his obedient clans to battle. . . . Such a rising as took place in La Vendée, where every château sent out its lord, followed by his sons and retainers, to fight for the good cause, O'Brien would have led with chivalrous courage; but he expected and exacted from peasants an initiative, and sacrifices, which they had never been trained to make, and of which they were wholly incapable."—p. 646.

An incident suffices to show his incapacity for the position he held. It took place at Mullinahone Police Barrack:—

"It was occupied by a sergeant and six men, whom he called upon to submit, and deliver up their arms. 'Oh! Sir,' said the sergeant, 'if we give in to three or four men we'll be disgraced for ever. Bring a force and we'll submit.' He agreed to furnish this solace to their honour; but when he retired for the purpose, the constables fled precipitately to a stronger station."—p. 662.

The Rev. P. Fitzgerald, in his "Personal Recollections" (quoted in a note on the same page), says:—

"Those who went to meet him at Mullinahone remained the whole day in the streets without food or shelter. Some bread was distributed to them at his own expense, and they were told that in future they would have to procure provisions for themselves, as he had no means of doing so, and did not mean to offer violence to any one's person or property."

"This announcement," adds the writer, "gave a death-blow to the entire movement!" Well it might, in a land in which at the moment the lower classes were perishing daily by the thousand of actual famine!

"At the head of about 500 men they marched into Ballingarry, where they were joined by M'Manus and O'Mahony. . . . But by this time several of the local priests advised the people that they were rushing on ruin, and the number of their adherents diminished till it

scarcely reached fifty. . . . One of the party has described O'Brien sitting down on a bank, while silent tears of shame and despair ran down his cheeks, because the people had let the warning of a young man fresh from college outweigh his years of service and sacrifice."—p. 663.

And yet the young priests were in the right, and only did their duty. There were, indeed, some men of their order for whom there is no excuse, some who stimulated the young insurgent leaders on to their ruin, going so far as to join in enterprises involving the full guilt of treasonable conspiracy, and who shamefully denied even a night's shelter to them when wandering as refugees after all was over.

That time was now very near at hand. A few days brought round the attack on the constabulary at Ballingarry, made sufficiently notorious at the time by the poor scribblers who could not sufficiently ridicule the "cabbage-garden rebellion"—as if the valour of a Leonidas needed any wider field for its display. The truth is that the house of the widow M'Cormac, in which the "force" had taken shelter, was a very strongly built stone residence, its defenders numbering some forty men, well armed and disciplined, with abundant ammunition; while the attacking party, led by O'Brien, are stated to have been "twenty-two men with guns and pistols, about as many with pikes and pitchforks, and seventy or eighty men and women armed with stones." The stock of ammunition, too, was so small that it was exhausted in a few rounds. It would be idle to give any detail of the conflict. O'Brien, and the other leaders, it is clear, showed determined bravery; indeed, if he is to be blamed at all, it is for foolhardy disregard of life. It was with difficulty that his comrades forced him from the place, when plainly nothing could be effected. "He declared he would never leave the spot; that 'an O'Brien never turned his back on an enemy,' . . . and in fact became desperately determined, and stood in the midst of the fire without any purpose." A little after they got him off the ground, they met a mounted policeman whose horse they seized, and made O'Brien mount it, on which he rode to the place to which his scattered band had retreated. A priest was exhorting them to return to their homes, and give up their mad enterprise. And O'Brien, finding it hopeless to rally them, by the advice of his friends rode off, still hoping to excite a better spirit elsewhere. The rest saw no further chance for that time.

It is due to Englishmen to say that, even at the time of this pitiable collapse, and the ridicule with which it was sought to cover the actors in the scene, some organs of English opinion, in a manful spirit, did full justice to the motives and the courage of the insurrectionary leaders. In a note (p. 647), Sir C. Duffy

gives an extract from the *Morning Chronicle*, which then held a high place in metropolitan journalism, penned in this spirit :—

“The Confederation ran a career, brief, indeed, but not undistinguished by the display of talent, eloquence, vigour, and determination of no common order. It fell because its tone was pitched too high for ‘chronic agitation,’ and because, in the Irish people, there was nothing like the material for a successful rebellion against British power. But at least it fell with a crash; its champions did their very best to carry all their professed designs into execution, and were themselves the first, if not the only, victims of their treasonable rashness. They were most criminal and most foolish; but they were neither mean, nor false, nor cowardly. To do them justice we will say that the world saw no shrinking in their ranks; there was not a conspicuous man among the Young Ireland party who did not deliberately set his life upon the cast, and throw for a successful revolution or the gallows.”

One thing quite unaccountable about this movement must strike every one who reads the narrative of Sir C. Duffy—namely, that not a single step of real preparation seems to have preceded the rising—such as it was. Everything was left to chance; even with the men most prominent as Young Ireland leaders, in different parts of Ireland, there seems to have been no communication whatsoever. Why was the flag of revolt unfurled at Ballinacorney? Plainly by mere accident, and not as the result of any design. The spot was one where there were neither men nor arms, neither ammunition nor enthusiasm. Yet it was there the die was cast that was to decide the destinies of a nation. And not a blow virtually was struck elsewhere, although, throughout the country, arrests were being made of prominent men of the party under the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act. Let us take the case of Cork, which was a great centre of the club organization especially. Smith O’Brien, only some three weeks before Ballinacorney, had met there, as we already mentioned, “ten thousand Confederates, as capable of effectual action as any troops in the Queen’s service, and ten thousand able-bodied men, who promised to co-operate with them.” Yet on the 2nd of August, five prominent members of the party, including Barry and Lane, both belonging to its Executive Council, were arrested and lodged in gaol there; while, from first to last, the county of Cork—the largest in Ireland—and its chief city, with some ninety thousand inhabitants, remained perfectly tranquil! It is not possible that, with any proper understanding amongst the leaders, some decent proportion of the large number counted on by O’Brien would not have thrown themselves into the insurrection.

But, with the best preparation possible, the result, as we have

already indicated, would only have been more disastrous. One of the men who went through the movement wrote thus his judgment on it to Sir C. Duffy :—

“The people did not want to fight; they were dissatisfied, but not stirred by that noble rage which impels men to face great odds, and prefers even death to a life of misery and degradation. They had been taught only the efficacy of meetings, processions, and eloquent harangues. They had heard the might of the people threatened so often, without any result, that they looked with astonishment at men who invited them to face the ordeal of civil war, then and there. Moreover, they were very ignorant on the subject of politics. The horizon of their thoughts was bounded by the parish in which they lived, or, at best, by the county, and an Irish Nation was a phrase to which no real meaning was attached.”—p. 690.

A few pages tell the pitiable story of what took place between Ballygarry and the State trials, at Clonmel, for high treason, of O'Brien, M'Manus, O'Donohue and Meagher, all of whom were found guilty and sentenced to death. But the sentences were, by a special Act of Parliament, commuted to transportation for life—the prisoners, whose assent was necessary, refusing to accept the commutation. In Dublin, John Martin was convicted of treason-felony; so was O'Doherty, on a third trial on the 30th of October. Williams was also tried, but acquitted, as is curiously detailed, by the friendly management of the Sub-Sheriff, through regard for his father, Count D'Alton. At last came Duffy's own trial—on a fourth indictment, for the same offence—and after ten months' imprisonment, of the most harassing character. At midnight, on Good Friday, 1849, he was called into court to hear the verdict of the jury, who had just entered their box. In reply to the usual question, they replied—to the universal astonishment—that they could not agree; they were divided half and half. Locked up for the night, morning had brought no change in the situation, and they were discharged without a verdict. It was now clear that his conviction was impossible, and he says himself—“The Attorney-General precipitately consented to admit me to bail, to avoid the shame of an acquittal; and so I saw the daylight again.” He inveighs strongly against the Lord Lieutenant—Lord Clarendon—for having, as he seems fully satisfied, hunted him down, with bitter personal malignity, and he certainly underwent a long and cruel ordeal of imprisonment. He also points out, as he did in his previous volume, the utterly unscrupulous way in which jury-lists and jurors'-books were, at that day, manipulated to serve the purposes of the Crown. That it was so there can be no doubt; and the fact may be acknowledged, with shame and compunction, without giving any

encouragement to allegations of like misconduct, made at the present time, by unscrupulous and lying panders to crime, against officials who have, indeed, successfully hunted it down at imminent danger to themselves, but by no agencies which were not fair and honourable.

After wandering through Ireland, in various directions, for several days, as narrated in Sir C. Duffy's volume, Dillon, O'Gorman, Doheny, P. J. Smyth, and some others, got away, disguised, from different Irish ports; also M'Gee from Scotland, whither he had gone, before Ballingarry, with the idea of seizing, with the help of some Confederates there, a steamer, to make a diversion on the west coast of Ireland.

By an amnesty granted by Government in 1854, the members of the party in exile were permitted to return to the United Kingdom.

Of the men who held conspicuous position in the Young Ireland group, there now, we believe, survive only six—Sir C. Duffy, who held the post of Prime Minister of the colony of Victoria with great distinction; Richard O'Gorman, one of the Judges of the Superior Court of the State of New York; John O'Hagan, Chief Commissioner of the Irish Land Court; P. J. Smyth, M.P. for Tipperary County, who has made so distinguished a reputation as a Parliamentary orator; M. J. Barry, who openly abandoned Irish Nationalist opinions after '48, and became an earnest advocate for turning the existing relations between Great Britain and Ireland to the best account. He held the office of a Divisional Magistrate of Police for Dublin; but resigned it after a brief tenure. Lastly, Denny Lane, who has continued to reside in Cork, his native city, since the events of 1848.

The fate of others is told in the volume now before us. Meagher, at the close of the American civil war, in which he commanded with intrepidity the Irish Brigade, going, as Acting-Governor of the Territory of Montana, in July 1867, stumbled, in a dark night, over a coil of rope, fell into the swollen Mississippi, and was lost. M'Gee, who also repudiated any further efforts for Repeal of the Union, became a member of the Canadian Government, "and was universally recognized as a gifted and original statesman." He denounced energetically the Fenian invasion of Canada, and "was foully murdered, doubtless by some scoundrel of his own race." Dillon joined O'Gorman in New York, and was practising with great promise of success at the bar, when his health compelled him to avail himself of the amnesty and return to Ireland, where he again resumed his profession. But he did not live long. He soon took a very prominent place in public affairs, entered Parliament in 1866, where his high qualities made him esteemed by men of all parties,

and closed in middle life what must otherwise have been a career of eminence. Mitchel became a journalist in the United States, where he showed high ability, combined with singular inconsistencies of opinion. He was a warm advocate of the Southern States in the civil war. He died member for Tipperary, in 1874. Martin also entered the House of Commons, where he was much respected by men of every shade of opinion. He continued true to his original convictions, and to his death advocated the restoration of the Irish Parliament. One very ardent and enthusiastic man remains to be mentioned, for whose proceedings Sir C. Duffy, without naming him, feels it necessary to make an apology—John Pigot—eldest son of the late Chief Baron of the Exchequer in Ireland. At the last moment, before the catastrophe of 1848, the earnest appealing of his father and family persuaded him, with bitter reluctance, to leave home for India, instead of sharing the fortunes of his old comrades and friends. There he was most successful at the bar, and, after a few years, came back, in broken health, but having realized considerable means, to the country for which he would have readily given his life. He soon laid it down on the old familiar soil, and his is the last name we have to mention of the Young Ireland group.

There is something truly frank and manly in the sad confession which Sir C. Duffy makes at the close of his most interesting narrative :—

“The Young Irelanders for the most part ended as they began. . . . With rare exceptions they lived and died in their original convictions. We can now perceive that their first work was their wisest and their best, and that Irish Nationality would have fared better if there had never been a French Revolution of 1848. That transaction arrested a work which was a necessary preliminary to social or political independence: the education of a people long depressed by poverty or injustice, in fair play, public spirit, and manliness. All that had been accomplished up to that time was swallowed up by famine, emigration, and unsuccessful insurrection. And if the Irish race, instead of being Anglicised or Americanised, are to be developed in harmony with their nature, it is a work which is to be begun anew by another generation.”—p. 779.

Only in these sentences can we detect, throughout his bulky volume, anything from which to gather the author's opinions respecting present political movements in the country with whose affairs he has been so identified. All direct reference to existing Irish agitation he seems to have studiously withheld. But much may be deduced from the above paragraph. Plainly enough, the “Americanizing” any more than the “Anglicizing”

of the Irish race is not a work of which he desires the accomplishment; it is not a development "in harmony with their nature," which he as plainly regards as the true development by which they are to be regenerated. Of such a development he sees in existing circumstances no sign. Far from it—"it is a work to be begun anew by another generation." Such is the deliberate judgment of Sir C. Duffy—a man whose opinion on such a theme is worth something surely.

It would be difficult, indeed, for one of the Young Ireland party to look otherwise than with sorrow and humiliation on the organization that, under the nominal leadership of Mr. Charles Stuart Parnell, now affects the guidance of Irish popular politics. We say the "nominal leadership," for Mr. Parnell, seemingly, has no policy of his own, but is ready to identify himself with that of any man, or set of men, who profess to be Parnellites. He reminds one of the French deputy who said that a certain section of the Chamber were the greatest fools and scoundrels to be found anywhere; but added, "I must follow the *canaille*, for I am their leader." He gave the sanction of his name and authority to the "No Rent" manifesto of Mr. Davitt, the cause of more murders and outrage of all kinds in Ireland than any one act, perhaps, ever done by a public man. Yet he coolly told his constituents at Cork that he never believed the farmers would act on the system of refusing to pay rent! Would he also declare that he anticipated from his manifesto none of the crime or disorder to which it led? He stated in the House of Commons, in the debate on the Address, that there was no paper he read less, or differed from more, than the *Irish World*; yet, when its exertions were filling the coffers of the Land League, he contrived to remain discreetly silent on this score, and availed himself to the full of its alliance and support. If he has not sought as zealously as some of his party to turn the public sympathy in favour of murderers, by contending that they were tried unfairly and innocently hanged, he has done his best to overwhelm with odium the high-hearted men who, at imminent danger to themselves, have arrested the anarchy which he and his allies had sent to riot through the land. Finally, when, but the other day, every man of common humanity was shocked by the discovery of a deliberate project to effect wholesale murder and destruction by means of explosives, in the heart of our great cities, and a large section of his associates in America avowed themselves favourable to the diabolical scheme, he not only refrained from all discouragement of it, but mildly suggested to his somewhat too ardent sympathizers to adopt "a platform" on which he could work in common with them! Those who have read the foregoing pages may easily

imagine how abhorrent the political action of such a man must be to a patriot of the Young Ireland school—a school that sternly repudiated wrong-doing because good might come of it; that boldly denounced the wholesale refusal of rent; that waged relentless war on all kinds of violence and outrage, and that might, not irreverently, address the Deity in the language of one of their number—

“God of vengeance smite us,
With thy shaft sublime,
If one bond unite us
Forged in fraud or crime.”

And all the calculated reticence of Mr. Parnell and his disciples did not prevent the one Parliamentary survivor of that school, when crime and outrage were at their height in Ireland, from indignantly denouncing in a public letter to a section of his constituency, the organization that incited to, and encouraged that crime and outrage, as a “league of hell.”

When, indeed, we consider the social and political aspect of Ireland at the present day, and look to the character of the men who seem to have most influence in its affairs, we may well deplore—far more on account of that country and its population than our own—that the work in which Sir Charles Duffy and his colleagues were engaged, when the French Revolution of 1848 occurred, to excite their blood and drive them into a wild and unpremeditated revolt against British power, was not suffered to pursue its course. That work, he tells us, was “the education of a people long depressed by poverty or injustice, in fair-play, public spirit and manliness,” as “a necessary preliminary to social or political independence.” And the teachers had given ample evidence of their fitness for the task they had set themselves; ample evidence, moreover, that they would carry it through with zeal, energy and perseverance. Had the opportunity not been lost, we might now, instead of finding ourselves engaged in the attempt to bring back Irish society from a state of chaos to something like moral order, be far advanced in harmonizing all the institutions of the country at once with the character of its people and the well-being of the Empire at large.

ART. IV.—CLASSIC CONCEPTIONS OF HEAVEN AND HELL.

THE literary idler has almost endless resources in turning over the pages of Greek and Latin writers, so varied are the lines of thought they open, so full of suggestion are they to the speculative mind. Besides those privileged with the possession of scholarship, there are in these days vast numbers of readers who familiarize themselves with the literature of Greece and Rome, either by means of translations alone, or by such knowledge of the classic languages as they have been industrious enough to obtain in moments of leisure. Alike the lover of literature and the student of antique manners and habits of thought will be amply repaid for almost any amount of time thus expended. If they possess enough Latin and Greek to read such authors as Xenophon, Euripides, Ovid and Lucan, in the original, their enjoyment and powers of appreciation will be greatly enhanced.

Interesting as are the pictures of life and society portrayed for us by such writers as these, perhaps a deeper interest still attaches itself to all they give us in the shape of intellectual delineation, the presentment of the Greek and Roman, not considered as a citizen and man of action but as a being largely endowed with thought and aspiration. A clear portrait of the Attic or Roman citizen is second only in interest to that introspective portraiture which shows us how he stood with regard to the gravest problems which can occupy the human mind. Where did he seek consolation for the ills inflicted by death? Had he any looking forward beyond the grave? What notions, if any, did he entertain of a life hereafter, and of a future state of rewards and punishments—in other words, of Heaven and Hell?

Scattered throughout the pages of both poets and prose-writers, from the dawn of Greek and Latin literature until its close, are to be found countless passages on this subject, all full of interest and instruction, and some of great poetic beauty. The object of this little paper has been to collect the most striking, giving in each case translations only of the original, mostly by accepted writers. We have not attempted a critical analysis of this phase of thought, nor a historical survey of the theories to which it gave rise, in the minds of the cultured Greek and Roman. The reader having the citations before him must read between the lines, and even if disinclined to follow this interesting inquiry any further will hardly feel that he has wasted his

time. Thus much can be vouched for a paper which is merely a leaf taken from an author's commonplace-book and has no higher pretensions.

We will begin our survey with the Hades of Homer, so gloomily depicted in the eleventh book of the *Odyssey*, and which should be compared with the descent of Æneas into the Underworld, given by Virgil (Book vi.), noticed later on. To Homer, the real man was the body, given to dogs and vultures, not the shadowy εἶδωλον which remained after death. His inhabitants of Hades are empty shades, mindless, bloodless, almost voiceless, whom potions of blood alone can restore to transient and partial vitality. Thus the mother of Tiresias, the seer, does not recognize her son, nor can Tiresias prophesy, till they have drunk blood.* Well might Achilles declare that he would rather serve the poorest cultivator of the soil as a day-labourer than rule such dominions as these! Odysseus being then the guest of Circe, was thus guided by her to the dwellings of the dead. "Seek no guide, only raise the mast of thy ship and spread the white sails, and sit in peace. So shall the north-wind bear thee to the place on the ocean's shore where are the groves of Persephone, and tall poplars and willows. There thou must anchor thy ship, and after that thou must go alone." Having followed these instructions and made the necessary sacrifices to Pluto, Odysseus finds himself on the threshold of these dread regions, where a strange and awful scene meets his eyes. Here are old men and maidens, youths and heroes in their prime, little children and babes, all huddled together in crowds, the phantoms of their former selves. First of all his friend Elpenor approaches him, to whom he puts the query, how arrived he thither? Then Elpenor answered him, telling how he had died, and said: "Now, as thou will go back, I know, to the island of Circe, suffer me not to remain unburied; but make above me a mound of earth, for men and after-time to see, and put upon it my oar with which I was wont to row whilst yet I lived." These things Odysseus promised to do; afterwards came the spirit of Tiresias, who having drunk blood was enabled to prophesy, and foretold Odysseus all that should befall him on reaching his home. Next he met his mother, who, immediately after drinking a potion of blood, recognized her son. Much conversation ensued between them, and he obtained

* The nearest parallel to the bloodthirstiness of the spirits in the "*Odyssey*," is to be found in the narrative of some magical doings in *Satire VIII.* Horace. The notion seems common to the Mosaic prohibition of blood for food, "For the blood is the life." "The dead," says Sir Thomas Browne, "seem all alive in the human Hades of Homer, yet cannot well speak, prophesy or know the living, except they drink blood, which is the life of man."—*Urn Burial.*

tidings of Ithaca. Many others he saw, wives and daughters of heroes, looking with longing eyes on the "blood which is life." Soon he met Agamemnon, who told how Ægisthus with Clytemnestra his wicked wife had slain him in his palace immediately after arriving from Troy. Fain would the king have obtained tidings of his son Orestes, but Odysseus had none to give him. Then came the spirit of Achilles, and to him Odysseus was enabled to give consolation, telling him how bravely and wisely his son Neoptolemus had borne himself in Troy; also he saw the spirit of Ajax's son, Telamon, but Ajax refused to speak to him on account of his wrath concerning the arms of Achilles, which had been awarded to another.

In the fourth book of the *Odyssey* occurs a description of the Elysium Isles, promised to Menelaus :

"Not to thee, oh! godlike Menelaus, is destined the suffering of death and doom in horse-abounding Argos, but the gods shall lead thee to the ends of the earth, to the Elysian fields, where the dark hero Rhadamanthus dwells, and men live without care in total bliss. Never is seen there snow, nor winter-storm, nor rain-tempests, but ever wafts softly the light breathing west wind, which ocean sends for the refreshment of mankind."

Doubtless the Laureate had this passage in his mind when he makes King Arthur thus describe the island valley of Avalon :—

"Where falls not hail, nor rain, nor any snow,
Nor sea-wind blows loudly; but it lies,
Deep-meadowed, happy, fair, with orchard lawns,
And breezy hollows crowned with summer sea."

Between the description in the *Odyssey* and Virgil's celebrated picture of Hades, occurs a vast interval, rich in intellectual creativeness. We find countless variations on the twin theme, Heaven and Hell, Elysium and Hades, and from these we will select a few of the most striking.

Hesiod thus sings of some vague region destined to receive the souls of just men made perfect in his *Works and Days*. We give a very fair, old-fashioned translation :—

"These on earth's utmost range the gods assigned,
A life, a seat, distinct from human kind;
Beside the deepening whirlpools of the main,
In the blest isles where Saturn has his reign.

"Apart from heaven's immortals, calm they share
A rest unsullied by the clouds of care,
And yearly thrice with sweet luxuriance crowned,
Springs the ripe harvest from the teeming ground."

In another passage he thus prefigures "darksome Tartarus," the abode of the wicked—

"A drear and ghastly wilderness, abhorred,
 E'en by the gods; a vast vacuity; that portal entered once,
 But him the whirls of vexing hurricanes
 Toss to and fro. E'en by immortals loathed
 This prodigy of horrors.

Sons of gloomy night

There hold their habitation, death and sleep.
 Dread deities, nor them the shining sun
 E'er with his beam contemplates, when he climbs
 The cope of heaven, or when from heaven descends."

The passage is too long to give entire. Gloom is here piled on gloom, horror on horror, recalling the fifth canto of Dante's *Inferno*, and the second book of *Paradise Lost*. Whilst the Heaven as well as the Hell, Elysium and Tartarus, of these ancient writers, were terrestrial, their local habitation varied not a little.

Perhaps there is no more beautiful expression of the Greek poet's faith in the immortality of "just men made perfect" than the following fragment from an unknown writer, translated by Dean Milman :—

"To them the sun in radiant night,
 Lights up the subterranean night,
 In meads empurpled o'er with roses,
 They take their calm suburban ease.
 While over them the fragrant shade reposes,
 Where golden fruits weigh down the loaded trees,
 Some in the chariot's rapid flight,
 Some with the dice indulge in the harp's soft delight.
 And still luxuriant all around,
 The universal plenty blooms,
 And over all the holy ground
 Float evermore the incense-fumes;
 Where from the altars of the gods arise
 The far-been fires of constant sacrifice."

Sentiments as poetic as these abound in Greek lyric poetry, but it is rare to find them so exquisitely rendered into English. In the same volume are some deeply interesting fragments from *Empedokles* bearing on this subject. He thus describes the fate of the wicked :—

"These to the sea the indignant heavens shall cast,
 The seas to earth repel and earth in haste,
 Back to the unwearied sun and rolling heaven,
 By each received, from each in hatred driven."

Whilst the happy lot assigned to the blessed is thus depicted :—

“But bards and seers and leeches first and best,
Here in their fellow-mortals’ reverence blest,
To them at once expand the high abodes,
Heaven owns and welcomes the ascending gods,
There at the immortal banquets still to be,
From human grief and fate for ever free.”

Pindar, in his second Olympic ode, describes the Elysian and Tartarean abodes in language which recalls the Hebrew writer:—“The path of the just is as the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day. The way of the wicked is as darkness.” Pindar follows the Pythagorean doctrine of the transmigration of souls, and of a stage of purgatories through which they must pass before reaching the islands of the blest:—

“In the sad regions of infernal night,
The fierce, impracticable, churlish mind,
Avenging gods and penal woes shall find.”

Whilst—

“They whose spirit thrice refined
Each arduous contest could endure,
And keep the firm and perfect mind
From all contagion pure.
Along the stated path of yore,
To Saturn’s royal courts above,
Have trod the heavenly way,
Where round the islands of the blest
The ocean breezes play.
There golden flowerets ever blow,
Some springing from earth’s verdant breast,
These on the lonely branches glow,
While those are nurtured by the waves below,
From them the inmates of the seats divine,
Around their hands and hair the woven garlands twine.”

The Latin poets, in no less poetic language, have contrasted the joys of Elysium with the pains of Tartarus. Tibullus tells how Cytherea leads the way to the Elysian fields where music and dance prevail, and how the wicked lie in perpetual darkness, girt round by inky streams, tormented by snake-headed Tisiphone and her impious rabble. Propertius categorizes the penalties endured by the wicked in the Underworld; how some are condemned to perpetual thirst, with water aggravating their sufferings on every side, some are crushed by rocks, some are tortured on wheels. Juvenal also prefigures a condition of retributive punishment for unjust men after death. But the noblest sentiments are to be

found in Lucan, who first describes the belief in a future state as imparted to the Gauls by their teachers, the Druids:—

“ And only gods and heavenly powers ye know,
Or only know you nothing; for ye hold
That souls pass not the silent Erebus,
Or Pluto’s bloodless kingdom, but elsewhere
Resume a body (so, if truth you sing),
Death brings long life. Doubtless these northern men,
Whom Death, the greatest of all fears affright not,
Are blest by such sweet error, this makes them
Run on the sword’s point, desire to die,
And shame to spare life, which being lost is won.”—

Pharsalia, Book II. (Marlowe’s Translation).

In the ninth book he follows the soul of Pompey to its new abode in a strain of sublime poetry. We give Rowe’s version as the best obtainable:—

“ Nor in the dying embers of its pile
Slept the great soul upon the banks of Nile;
Nor longer by the earthly parts restrained,
Amid its wretched reliques was detained;
But active and impatient of delay,
Shot from the mouldering heap, and upwards urged its way,
Far in those azure regions of the air,
Which border on the rolling starry sphere,
Beyond our orb, and nearer to that height
Where Cinthia drives around her silvery light.
Thrice happy seats the demi-gods possess,
Refined by virtue, and prepared for bliss;
Of life unblamed, a pure and pious race,
Worthy that lower heaven and stars to grace,
Divine and equal to the glorious place,
These Pompey’s soul adorned with heavenly light,
Soon shone among the rest, and as the rest was bright.
Now to the blest abode, with wonder filled,
The stars and moving planets he beheld;
Then, looking down on the sun’s feeble ray,
Surveyed our dusky, faint, imperfect day,
And under what a cloud of night we lay.
But when he saw how on the shore forlorn,
His headless trunk was cast for public scorn;
When he beheld how envious Fortune still
Took pains to use a headless carcass ill,
He smiled at the vain malice of the foe,
And pitied impotent mankind below.”

Here, it will be seen, we have no terrestrial paradise, but a Platonic conception of some midway place of happiness between the moon and the earth. Pompey, looking down on the stars

and our sun, whose light distance has dimmed, recalls Rossetti's Blessed Damosel, and how, as she leaned and looked out from the "rampart of God's house"—

"The sun was gone now; the curled moon
Was like a little feather,
Fluttering far down the gulf; and now
She spoke through the still weather.
Her voice was like the voice the stars
Had when they sang together."

The same notions borrowed from the Platonic philosophy are very elegantly expressed by Cicero in the first and second book of the *Tusculum Disputations*. Tacitus also closes the life of Agricola with a fine passage that would seem to indicate a belief in the immortality of the righteous soul. It is, however, not with this question we are here dealing, but with the supposed habitat, the condition, the fate, of the soul when it quits the body.

Two famous allegories, one in the Greek, the other in the Latin, language remain to us, illustrative of this subject: Plato's fable of Er in the *Republic*, and Scipio's dream in Cicero's *De Republica*. As both are literary masterpieces, and give highly poetic conceptions of Heaven and Hell, we will describe them in detail:—

"Such, then, says Socrates (Plato's "*Republic*," translated by Davies and Vaughan) will be the prizes, the rewards, and the gifts which are bestowed on the just man, in his lifetime, by gods and by men, in addition to those good things which justice of itself placed in his possession. These, however, are nothing in number or in magnitude compared with the lot that awaits the just and the unjust after death. . . . Well, I will tell you a tale; not like that of Odysseus to Alcinous (*i.e.*, a long story), but of what once happened to a brave man, Er, the son of Armenius, a native of Pamphylia, who, according to story, was killed in battle."

He then goes on to relate that after being interred for several days, he came to life again, and then described what had happened to him in the other world. After the soul had quitted the body, it travelled with many others to a place where presided judges, who immediately condemned the just to take the upward path to heaven, the unjust to take the downward road to hell. In fact, we have here a veritable Judgment Day. The souls arrived fresh from earth, and bearing signs of travel and fatigue, now encountered the souls dwelling in heaven, who were bright and pure to look upon:—

"Greetings passed between all who were known to one another; and those who had descended from heaven were questioned about

heaven by those who had risen out of the earth; while the latter were questioned by the former about earth. Those who were come from earth told their tale with lamentations and tears, as they bethought them of all the dreadful things that they had seen and suffered in their subterranean journey, which they said had lasted a thousand years; whilst those who came from heaven described enjoyments and sights of marvellous beauty."

Many of the souls told their stories to Er, some being full of horror, others of joy. For their crimes the wrongdoers were accorded tenfold punishment; thus the murderer, the despoiler of cities, the betrayer, was made to suffer ten times the evil he had inflicted on others. The just and the charitable, on the same principle, received ten times the sum of good for every virtuous action. The cries of the wicked enduring punishment were terrible to the righteous souls within hearing: contrast with this sentiment the horrible notion of St. Thomas Aquinas as to the spectacle of the Christian's Hell and its torments regaling the faithful! Glad, therefore, to quit this border-land, the spirits of the just, after eight days, set out for their abodes of light and happiness. Here follows an elaborate and fanciful cosmical description, which is supposed to refer to the phenomena of astronomy as then observed. The souls reach at last the seats of the Fates, who clothed in white, with garlands on their heads, chant to the music of the sirens. It is now the business of the daughters of Necessity to offer these disembodied spirits of good men a variety of lots and plans of life to choose from. An interpreter casts them before the crowd, thus saying:—

"Thus saith the maiden, Lachesis, the daughter of Necessity. Ye short-lived souls, a new generation of men shall here begin the cycle of its mortal existence. Your destiny shall not be allotted to you, but you shall choose it for yourselves. Virtue owns no master; he who honours her shall have more of her; he who slights her, less. The responsibility lies with the chooser. Heaven is guiltless."

The lots embraced every kind of existence, despotisms, sovereignties, intellectual and physical endowments; here beauty, there strength; on one side distinction and wealth, on the other obscurity and poverty. Lives of women, celebrated and uncelebrated, were thrown among the rest, for any to take up who felt inclined. Here is introduced a fine passage on the necessity of learning thus to choose good from evil:—

"It is the duty of each of us," says Socrates to his hearer, "diligently to investigate and study, to the neglect of every other subject, that science which may haply enable a man to learn and discover, that will render him so instructed as to be able to discriminate between a good and an evil life, and according to his means to choose always and

everywhere that better life . . . so with an eye steadily fixed on the nature of the soul to choose between the good and the evil life, giving the name of evil to the life which will draw the soul into becoming more unjust, and the name of good to the life which will lead it to become more just, and bidding farewell to every other consideration."

Then follows a description of the choosing, "a wonderful sight, a sight at once melancholy and ludicrous and strange." For the most part the choice was guided by former experience of life. Orpheus chose the life of a swan, one soul selected the life of a lion. Agamemnon chose to be an eagle. The soul of Atalanta could not resist the lot of an athlete, seeing the great honours attached to it. Epeus, son of Panopeus, assumed the nature of a skilled workwoman. Thersites, the buffoon, put on the exterior of an ape. Odysseus selected a quiet retired life, being weary of stir and adventure. The last lot being assigned, all the souls traversed the plain of Forgetfulness and reached the river of Indifference, of which having drunk, they forget everything. Er, who has not tasted these waters, wakes up to find himself on his funeral pyre.

All should read this fable, which is truly poetic and full of sublime thoughts. The closing sentence lingers on our memory like a strain of solemn music :—

"And thus, Glaucon, thy tale was preserved and did not perish; and it may also preserve us, if we will listen to its warnings; in which case we shall pass prosperously across the river of Lethe and not defile our souls. Indeed, if we follow thy advice, believing the soul to be immortal, and to possess the power of entertaining all evil, as well as all good, we shall ever hold fast the upward road and devotedly cultivate justice combined with wisdom; in order that we may be loved by one another and the gods, not only during our stay on earth, but also, when like conquerors in the games collecting the presents of their admirers, we receive the prizes of virtue."

In the "Phædon" is a description of the mansions of the blessed, "a pure earth situated in the heavens," and clothed with Oriental splendour and richness. It reads, indeed, like a page from the Arabian Nights. The colours there are much purer and livelier than those with which we are acquainted. The gold outshines gold, white surpasses the whiteness of snow, the trees and flowers produce jewels and precious stones, to which our emeralds, jasper, and sapphires bear but feeble resemblance. The air is singularly transparent and pure. The seasons are conducive to long life and freedom from disease. The happy tenants of this world behold the undimmed brightness of the sun and moon, "and all the other branches of their felicity are in proportion to these."

Scipio's dream, contained in the sixth book of Cicero's *De Republica*, is a famous passage which formed the text of a com-

mentary by the learned Macrobius. This writer lived in the age of Honorius, and was a Greek by birth, and presumably a pagan. His dissertation "Commentarius ex Cicerone in Somnium Scipionis" was much studied during the Middle Ages.

The Dantesque grandeur of the thoughts and stateliness of the language may well account for the fame of Scipio's vision :—

"When I had arrived in Africa," Scipio says, "as military tribune of the fourth legion, under the Consul Lucius Manlius, nothing was more delightful to me than having an interview with Masinissa, a prince who for good reasons was most friendly to our family. On my arrival the old man shed tears as he embraced me. Soon after he raised his eyes to heaven and said, 'I thank thee, O most glorious sun, and ye, the other inhabitants of heaven, that before I depart from this life I see in my kingdom and under this roof Publius Cornelius Scipio, by whose very name I am refreshed ; for never does the memory of that greatest and most invincible of men, his ancestor, vanish from my mind.' After this, I informed myself from him about his kingdom, and he from me about our government, and that day was consumed in much conversation on both sides.

"Afterwards, having been entertained with royal magnificence, we prolonged our conversation to a late hour of the night, while the old man talked of nothing but Africanus, and remembered not only all his actions but his sayings. Then, when we departed to bed, owing to my journey and my sitting up to a late hour, a sleep sounder than ordinary came over me. In this (I suppose that the subjects on which we had been talking, for it commonly happens that our thoughts and actions beget something analagous in our sleep, just as Ennius writes about Homer, of whom assuredly he was accustomed most frequently to think and talk when awake) Africanus presented himself to me, in that form which was more known from his statue than his own person. No sooner did I know him than I shuddered. 'Draw near,' said he, 'with confidence, lay aside your dread, and commit what I say to memory.'"

Then, predicting the military glory about to be earned by his listener, and urging on him to exercise, on behalf of his country, all his spirit, genius, and wisdom, he proceeds to describe the blissful portion awaiting the just after death :—

"But that you may be more earnest in the defence of your country, know from me that a certain place in heaven is assigned to all who have preserved or assisted or improved their country, where they are to enjoy an endless duration of happiness. For there is nothing which takes place on earth more acceptable to that Supreme Deity who governs all the world, than those councils and assemblies of men bound together by laws which are termed States ; the governors and preservers of these go from hence, and hither do they return.' Here, frightened as I was, not so much from the dread of death as of the

treachery of my friends, I nevertheless asked him whether my father Paulus and others, whom we thought to be dead, were yet alive? 'To be sure they are alive,' replied Africanus, 'for they have escaped from the fetters of the body as from a prison; that which is called your life, is really death. But behold your father Paulus approaching you.' No sooner did I see him, than I poured forth a flood of tears; but he embracing and kissing me, forbade me to weep. And when having suppressed my tears, I began to speak, 'Why,' said I, 'Oh! most sacred and excellent father, since this is life, as I hear Africanus affirm, why do I tarry on earth, and not come to you?' 'And so, my son,' he replied, 'unless that God whose temple is all this which you behold, shall free you from this imprisonment in the body, you can have no admission to this place, for men have been created under the condition that they should keep that globe which you see in the middle of the temple, and which is called the earth. And a soul has been supplied to you from those eternal fires which you call constellations and stars, and which, being globular and round, are animated with divine spirit, and complete their cycles and revolutions with amazing rapidity. Therefore you, my Publius, and all good men, must preserve your souls in the keeping of your bodies; nor are you, without the order of that Being, who bestowed them on you, to depart earthly life, lest you seem to desert the duty of a man which has been assigned you by God. Therefore, Scipio, like your grandfather Er, and me who begot you, cultivate justice and piety, which, while it should be great towards your parents and relations, should be greatest towards your country. Such a life is the path to heaven and the assembly of those who have lived before, and who, having been released from their bodies, inhabit that place which thou seest.' Now the place my father spoke of was a radiant circle of dazzling brightness amidst the flaming bodies, which you, as ye have learned from the Greeks, term the Milky Way, from which position all objects as I surveyed them, are marvellous and glorious."

Here follows a mystical description of the terrestrial circles and spheres below the moon :—

"Which, while I was too eagerly gazing on, Africanus said—'How long will your attention be fixed on the earth? Do you not see into what temple you have entered? All things are connected by nine circles or spheres, one of which, the outermost, is heaven, and comprehends all the rest, inhabited by the all-powerful God, who bounds and controls the rest, and in this sphere reside the original principles of those endless revolutions which the planets perform. Of these, that planet which on earth you call Saturn, occupies one sphere. That shining body which you next see is called Jupiter; next the lucid one called Mars. The sun holds the next place under the middle region; he is the chief, the leader and the director of the other luminaries; he is the soul and guide of the world. He is followed by the orbit of Venus, and that of Mercury, and the moon rolls in

the lowest sphere, enlightened by the rays of the sun. Below this there is nothing but what is mortal and transitory, excepting those souls which are given to the human race by the goodness of the gods. Whatever lies above the moon is eternal. For the earth, which is the ninth sphere, and is placed in the centre of the whole system, is immovable and below all the rest.' As I was gazing in amazement, I said, 'From whence proceed these sounds, so strong and yet so sweet, that fill my ears?' 'The melody,' replied he, 'which you hear, and which, though composed in unequal time, is nevertheless divided into regular harmony, is effected by the impulse and motion of the spheres themselves, which by a happy temper of sharp and grave notes, regularly produces various harmonic effects.'

Here follows a curious description of the music of the spheres and some cosmical reflections and speculations too long to repeat, followed by a comparison of earthly renown with the immortality awaiting the just:—

“‘If, therefore,’ continued the monitor, ‘you like to return to this place, towards which all the aspirations of great and good men are tending, what must be the value of that human fame that endures but for a little part of the year? If then you would fain direct your regards on high and aspire to this mansion and heavenly abode, you will neither devote yourself to the manners of the vulgar, nor will you rest your hopes and your interests on human reward. . . . Do not consider yourself, but your body to be mortal. For you are not the being which this corporeal figure evinces,* but the mind of every man is the man, and not the form which may be delineated. Know, therefore, that you are divine, since it is divinity that has consciousness, sensation, memory, and foresight; that governs, regulates, and moves that body over which it has been appointed, just as the Supreme Deity rules this world; and in like manner as an eternal God guides the world, which in some respects is perishable, so an eternal spirit animates your frail body. . . . Since therefore it is plain that whatever is self-motive must be eternal, who can deny that this natural property is bestowed on our minds? Do, therefore, employ yours in the noblest of pursuits, and the noblest of cares are those for the safety of thy country. The soul that is stirred and agitated by these, will fly the more quickly to this mansion, even to its home, and this will be the more rapid, if even now, while it is imprisoned within the body, it sallies abroad, and contemplating the objects beyond, abstracts itself as much as possible from the body. For the souls of those men who are devoted to corporeal pleasures themselves, and who having yielded themselves as it were to their passions, have violated the laws of gods and men; such souls having escaped from their bodies, hover round the earth, nor do they return to this place till they have been tossed about for many ages.’ He vanished, and I awoke from my sleep.”

* See the closing sentence of Tacitus' "Agricola."

Four centuries divide the Greek philosopher from the Roman orator, yet how little ahead of Plato is Cicero in the fine morality of his allegory! one might suppose them to be contemporaries. Virgil, the inspirer of Dante, in his highly imaginative picture of the dwellings of the dead, breathes the same spirit of implicit belief in the blessed immortality of righteousness, a happy abiding place of the just man's soul beyond the grave.

Let us follow Æneas and the Sibyl as they "went together through the land of shadows, like men who walk through a wood in a doubtful light, when the moon hath risen, but there are clouds over the sky." Having passed the gates of Hell, where dwell Sorrow and Remorse, Fear, Death, Toil, Slumber, and War, they reach the infernal river, where waits the boatman Charon, and, thick as autumn leaves, or as swallows preparing for departure, are the dead waiting to be ferried across. Those who have died without burial have to wait a hundred years. Mr. Church's prose translation ("Stories from Virgil") gives a good idea of this episode:—

"And after this they heard a great wailing of infants, even the voices of such as are taken away before they have had part or lot in life.

"And near to them were such as have died of false accusation; yet lack they not justice, for Minos trieth their cause. And yet beyond they that, being guiltless, have laid hands on themselves. Fain would they now endure hardships, but they may not, for the river keeps them as in a prison.

"Not far from that are mourning fields where dwell the souls of those who have died of love, as Procris, whom Cephalus slew in error, and Laodamia, who died in grief for her husband. And among these was Dido, fresh from the wound wherewith she slew herself. And when Æneas saw her darkly through the shadows, even as one who sees, or thinketh that he sees, the new moon lately risen, he wept, and spake, and would fain have appeased her wrath. But she cast her eyes to the ground, and her heart was hard against him, even as a rock. After this they came to the land where the heroes dwell. And there they saw Tydeus, who died before Thebes, and Adrastus, and also many men of Troy. All these gathered about him, and would fain know wherefore he had come. But when the hosts of Agamemnon saw his shining arms through the darkness, they fled as in the old days they had fled to the ships; and some would have cried aloud, but could not, so thin are the voices of the dead. And it was now past noonday, and the two had spent in talk all the allotted time. Therefore the Sibyl spake: 'Lo, here are two roads; this on the right hand leadeth to the palace of Pluto and to the Elysian plain, and that on the left to Tartarus, the abode of the wicked.' And as Æneas looked round he saw a great building, and a threefold wall about it, and round the wall a river of fire. Great gates were there and a tower

of brass, and the fury Tisiphone sat as warder. There sits Rhadamanthus, and judges the dead. And those that he condemned Tisiphone taketh, and the gate which thou seest openeth to receive them. And within is a great pit, and the depth thereof is as the height of heaven. Herein lie the Titans, the sons of Earth, whom Jupiter smote with fire. And over some hangs a great stone, ready to fall, and some sit at the banquet; but when they would eat, the Fury at their side forbids, and rises and shakes her torch and thunders in their ears.

“And of these some roll a great stone and cease not, and some are bound to wheels, and some sit for ever crying, ‘Learn to do righteousness and to fear the gods.’ Then they came to the dwellings of the righteous. Here are green spaces with woods about them; and the light of heaven is fuller and brighter than that which men behold. Another sun they have, and other stars. Some of them contend together in wrestling and running; and some dance in measure, singing the while a pleasant song; and Orpheus, clad in a long robe, makes music, touching the lyre, now with his fingers, now with an ivory bow. And others sat and feasted, sitting on the grass in a sweet-smelling grove of bay. Here were men who had died for their country, and holy priests and poets who had uttered nothing base, and such as had found out witty inventions, and had done good to men. All these had snow-white garlands on their heads. Then Æneas looked and beheld a river, and a great company of souls thereby, thick as the bees on a calm summer day in a garden of lilies; and when he would know the meaning of the concourse, Anchises said: ‘These are souls which have yet to live again in a mortal body, and they are constrained to drink of the water of Forgetfulness. There is one soul in heaven and earth, and the stars and the shining orb of the moon, and the great sun himself, from which soul also cometh the life of man and beast, and of the birds of the air, and of the fishes of the sea, and this soul is of a divine nature; but the mortal body maketh it slow and dull. Hence come fear and desire, and grief and joy, so that, being as it were shut in a prison, the spirit beholdeth not any more the light that is without. And when the mortal life is ended, yet are not men quit of all the evils of the body, seeing that these must needs be put away in many marvellous ways. For some are hung up by the winds, and with some their wickedness is washed by water or burnt out with fire. But a ghostly pain we all endure. Those that are found worthy are sent into Elysium and the plains of the blest; and when after many days the soul is wholly pure, it is called to the river of Forgetfulness, that it may drink thereof, and to return to the world that is above.”

From Virgil and Cicero we now leap to the third century of the Christian era, and make a citation from one of the latest of the classic writers, Ælian, a native of Italy and a Roman citizen. Ælian yet wrote and spoke Greek as well as

a native Athenian. In his miscellaneous collection, called "*Varia Historia*," occurs the following curious fable concerning the fortunate isles (translated by a learned friend, Mr. Watkiss Lloyd):—

"Theopompus gives an account of a certain conversation of Midas the Phrygian and Silenus. This Silenus was the son of a nymph of inferior nature to a god, but superior to men as being immortal. They had much other talk together, and Silenus further gave this account to Midas. He said that Europe, Asia, and Libya are islands round which the ocean flows in a circle, and that the only continent is one which is exterior to this system; he said that its size is infinite, that besides other animals it nourishes men who are double the size of those here, and whose life is not the length of ours, but double also; that there is in it many vast cities, and varieties of modes of life, and that they had established laws quite contrary to those accepted by us. Two of the cities are much larger than the rest, and in no respect resemble each other; one was named Pugnacious, the other Pious. The Pious people spend their lives in peace and in abundant wealth, obtain the fruits of the earth without ploughs or oxen, and have no need to till or sow the ground. They live, said he, in good health, perpetually free from disease, and spend their lives in pleasant laughter and enjoyment, and so unequivocally just are they that even the gods frequently do not disdain to go amongst them. But those who abide in the city Pugnacious are most pugnacious, and are always under arms and at war, and occupied in subduing their neighbours, and this single city dominates many nations. The inhabitants are not less than two hundred thousand. They die from time to time of disease; but this is rare, for the most part ending their days in war, from blows of stones or clubs, as they are invulnerable to the touch of iron. They have gold in abundance, also silver; and gold is of less account with them than iron with us. Once on a time, said he, they attempted to pass over into these islands of ours, and crossing the ocean with a thousand myriads, reached the Hyperboreans, and when they heard that these were the happiest of any amongst us, they despised them as doing (living) but meanly and basely, and on that account disdained to go on any farther. He added what was still more marvellous—namely, that certain men among them, called Meropes (the Homeric epithet for men generally), inhabited large cities, and at the extremity of their country is a place called Anostos (without return), which is like a chasm, neither surrounded by darkness nor light, but by a mist tinged with a dim ruddiness, and that two rivers flow round it, one called that of Pleasure, the other of Grief; by the side of each are trees, the size of a large plane. The trees growing by the river of Grief bear fruit possessed of this property—if any taste of it he sheds tears to such an extent that throughout the rest of his life he wastes away in lamentation, and so reaches his end. But the trees growing beside the river of Pleasure bear fruit possessed of the reverse property; for whoever tastes of it im-

mediately knows no desires or longings, and becomes oblivious of the object of his affections even, and soon he grows younger and goes through life by reverse stages; casting off old age, he returns again to his prime, then becomes quite youthful, gradually a child, at last an infant, and so dies."

These fairy-tales, for they can hardly be called anything more, are curiously illustrative of the tendency to speculate on the subject of a more perfect lot than that accorded mankind here. Ælian, although he lived in the third century of the Christian era, was a pagan—a heathen, as the classical dictionaries call him. Another gifted pagan writer, living a little later, the poet Claudian, gives a highly imaginative picture of the Underworld; but we have no more space at command, and the reader whose curiosity has been excited can pursue the inquiry for himself. Enough has been said to show that alike to the æsthetic Greek and the more mundane Roman the problems uppermost in the minds of so many thoughtful people now, was supremely interesting. Perhaps some other writer will collect the views of other branches of the Aryan race on the subject of Elysium and Tartarus, Heaven and Hell.



ART. V.—CHARLES PELHAM VILLIERS AND THE REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS.

The Free Trade Speeches of the Right Hon. Charles Pelham Villiers, M.P., with a Political Memoir. Edited by a Member of the Cobden Club. Two Vols. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1888.

THE publication of Mr. Villiers' "Free Trade Speeches," which now, for the first time, appear in a collected form, seems to indicate the present as a fitting moment for reviewing that portion of the public career of the senior member for Wolverhampton which has inseparably associated his name with the repeal of the Corn Laws.

For years past there has been before the public an ever-increasing number of literary works bearing copious testimony to the great services rendered to the nation by Richard Cobden, Mr. Bright, and other eminent free traders; but, while their names have evoked a generous recognition on the part of all classes of Englishmen, that has found expression in a keen desire

to read what can be told of the lives of their illustrious fellow-countrymen, and has resulted in an extended circulation of the works in question, the name of Charles Pelham Villiers, so far as the great mass of the people are concerned, has been singularly obscured. This fact, we believe, is mainly to be attributed to the non-publication, since the days of the great Repeal, of any authentic record of the services of the statesman by whose "terse eloquence and vivid perception," according to Lord Beaconsfield, "under circumstances of infinite difficulty, the cause of total and immediate repeal was *first and solely* upheld."*

That, under these circumstances, the long and able services of Mr. Villiers, as the Parliamentary leader of the Anti-Corn-Law leaguers, should have been, after the lapse of more than a generation, "rather overshadowed by the more prominent services of Richard Cobden and John Bright," can scarcely be matter of surprise. Even so soon after the close of the struggle as the year 1859, the *Times*, in an admirably just and appreciative article, announcing the entry of Mr. Villiers into the Palmerston-Russell administration, felt itself called upon to assert, almost to vindicate, the position that Mr. Villiers had so long and so nobly upheld :

"It was Mr. Charles Villiers who practically originated the Free Trade Movement. For years before Messrs. Cobden and Bright were heard of as politicians, Mr. Villiers annually brought the subject before Parliament. He it was who had to contend with all the odium and all the ridicule of urging a proposition which in those days was looked upon much in the same light as a serious motion for realizing the ideas of St. Simon or Proudhon would be regarded in our time. Young politicians, who are just entering upon the arena of public life, have no idea of the fierce animosities of twenty years ago. In those days a Radical was still looked upon as a kind of monster, and a Free Trader was to a Radical what a Radical was to a truly respectable man. Still, even so, there were differences. Mr. Cobbett, or even the late Mr. Hume, might make proposals 'subversive of the throne and the altar,' and it was taken that he was merely acting as a low vulgar fellow naturally would act. It was otherwise when a man connected by birth, education, and family, with the territorial classes dared to raise the standard of rebellion against their views, and what they supposed to be their interests. Such a man was instantly 'anathema'—a traitor to his order, as well as a disturber of the public peace. Now Mr. Villiers did this. As a youth, he began the contest which he only saw ended when he had already attained middle life; he dissociated himself from the traditions of his class; he incurred their animosity; he sacrificed the ease and comfort of his own days—and all to fight a battle in which, as it turned out, he lost half the merit of

* Disraeli's "Life of Lord George Bentinck."

success in the opinion of the vulgar. Charles Villiers stood half-way between Adam Smith and Richard Cobden. He therefore never got the credit of the philosopher, who for practical purposes may be said to have originated the idea, or of the popular leader, who manipulated the masses, and, finally forced the Minister's hand. Mr. Villiers' share in the transaction was, however, quite as important. To him it was mainly due that the settlement of the question was carried on in an orderly and Parliamentary way. One of the most ungenerous acts of the great Minister who at last suffered himself to be convinced, was that at the moment of surrender, he did not give his fair share of praise to Mr. Villiers, who had so long brought the question before the House. His compliments were reserved for the 'unadorned eloquence' of the popular leader to whom he succumbed. The Free Trade party were more just, as well as more generous. In the hour of victory they at least did not forget to acknowledge the claims of the gentleman who had been the first to advocate their cause. . . . Mr. Villiers has not sought the position (President of the Poor Law Board, with a seat in the Cabinet) which has been offered to him. . . . He was quite content to stand aside. . . . We are glad to think that at last he has an opportunity for displaying those administrative talents which found no scope in the formal duties of Judge-Advocate General."*

We may at once state that the contents of the two volumes now before us, comprising as they do thirty speeches made in the House of Commons, at Manchester, Colchester, Birmingham, and at Covent Garden Theatre, appear amply competent to rescue from the limbo into which the huge bulk of political speeches are speedily and permanently relegated, the Free Trade addresses of the statesman who for close upon half a century has uninterruptedly represented the virgin borough of Wolverhampton. In the course of this long period

"he has enjoyed a triumph that no other statesman has ever before enjoyed. He has seen all the leading men of the empire become converts to the principles of a great commercial policy which, fulfilling to the utmost his reiterated predictions, has freed the people from the heaviest burden of injustice that ever pressed upon a nation, and completely changed the financial and economical intercourse of England with foreign nations; but which at the beginning of his parliamentary career, 'almost alone in the House of Commons, and without support in the country,' he advocated in the face of the scorn and ridicule of all parties, and afterwards continued to advocate and inculcate with unfaltering fidelity and consistency through years of determined and opprobrious opposition, until the cause of Free Trade was gained, and the blessing of untaxed bread secured for the people."†

* *The Times*, July 11, 1859.

† "Free Trade Speeches—Political Memoir," p. ix.

The repeal of the Corn Laws and the downfall of Protection were effected by no one single cause. And here we may again quote the ably written Political Memoir, which prefaces the Free Trade Speeches :

"It was not Mr. Villiers' eight years' vigorous advocacy, in and out of Parliament, of untaxed bread for the people that alone did this; nor the influence of Sir Robert Peel; nor the 'unadorned eloquence' of Richard Cobden; nor the untiring energy of Mr. Bright; nor the trenchant writings of Perronet Thompson; nor the thrilling lines of Ebenezer Elliot; nor the gigantic wave of subscriptions ridden and ruled by the member for Stockport; nor 'famine itself, against which we had warred—which afterwards joined us'; not any one of these alone effected repeal. The repeal of the Corn Laws—the Devil's Laws, as the *Times* boldly called them—was due, as all great measures are due, to the concurrence of numerous causes, to the united action of various agents, to the sagacity and firmness of many leaders. But Mr. Villiers will be known in history as the first leader of that band of earnest men who, with a singular grasp of fact and circumstance, clearly estimated the different forces of class interest, prejudice, and ignorance, which, under the name of Protection, enthralled commerce, and kept the masses of the people constantly exposed to all the miseries of want and its consequences, and who undertook the laborious task of initiating the overthrow of the pernicious system of monopoly in the only effectual way in which it could be undertaken—namely, by fully exposing the fallacies by which, with incalculable detriment to the community at large, a crying injustice was being maintained; and who whilst rousing the people out of the lethargy of ignorance, guided and restrained them, in the early hours of their waking, from an unwise or unlawful use of their knowledge."*

All that others did outside the walls of Parliament would not have availed if there had not been in the House of Commons an advocate in whom were united a rare combination of advantages. Mr. Villiers could not be put down or ignored as a *novus homo*, or a plebeian. He was a man of high education; his training for the bar gave him the habit of exact thought, and he was a political economist of the school of McCulloch, with a singular gift of clear and argumentative power in debate, a thorough refinement in speech and manner, and a facility of sarcasm very dangerous to provoke. Sir Robert Peel said it would be his consolation to be remembered with goodwill by those "whose lot it is to labour and to earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brow, when they shall recruit their exhausted strength with abundant and untaxed food, the sweeter because it is no longer

* "Free Trade Speeches—Political Memoir," p. xi.

leavened by a sense of injustice."* But if his tardy conversion to the arguments of Mr. Villiers entitled Sir Robert Peel to use these words, and to enjoy such consolation, how much more right has Mr. Villiers to be consoled by the remembrance of the nineteen years during which, from his seat below the gangway, he persevered in his generous and fearless advocacy of the claims of the people to the free acquisition and enjoyment of "abundant and untaxed food!"

It has been observed by a modern master of the art of epigrammatic writing, that

"speeches made in debates are for the most part read when they first appear in print, and soon forgotten. If they are spirited they inflame the partisans of the speakers. They are applauded like the incidents of a game or a race. When laid up in volumes they generally disappoint the reader. There are in English literature two sets of speeches which are read for instruction, Mr. Burke's and Lord Macaulay's."

Mr. Villiers' speeches, praised by Lord Beaconsfield for their "precision of thought and concinnity of expression," may fairly be added as a third set, worthy of diligent study for the sake of the valuable information in which they abound; for they comprehend, and give forcible expression to, every argument of weight that was used in the arduous struggle of driving home to the unwilling minds of Protectionist ministers the economic truths upon which now safely rests the structure of Free Trade.

The Right Honourable Charles Pelham Villiers was born early in the year 1802, being the third son of the Hon. George Villiers by his marriage with Theresa, the only daughter of the first Baron Boringdon. Mr. Villiers did not go to any of the great public schools, but, on leaving his private tutor, proceeded to the East Indian College at Haileybury, it being intended that he should enter on an Indian career. At Haileybury he studied under Malthus and Sir James Mackintosh. His health not promising to be strong enough for the Indian climate, Mr. Villiers entered at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he was on terms of close intimacy with Macaulay, the present Earl Grey, Edward Strutt (afterwards Lord Belper), the late Lord Romilly, W. M. Praed, and Charles Austin. He graduated B.A. and B.L. in 1824, and three years later took his Master's degree. Upon leaving Cambridge Mr. Villiers took up his residence in London, and entered at Lincoln's Inn. Before long he attended the lectures of Mr. McCulloch, and is referred to by J. S. Mill, in his *Autobiography*, as amongst the visitors from the Inns of Court

* House of Commons, June 29, 1846.

who, early in 1825, took part in the weekly public discussions in Chancery Lane, when the grand battle on the subject of "population" was fought out between the Political Economists and the Owenites.

Deeply imbued with the teachings of the eminent men whose lectures he had attended; and animated by the eloquence of Canning and Huskisson against commercial monopolies, and mainly stimulated by his friendly intimacy with Bentham and James Mill, Mr. Villiers early resolved to attempt an entry into Parliament, and in 1826 travelled northwards to contest the borough of Kingston-upon-Hull. There he found two candidates in the field; one of whom had pledged himself to oppose Catholic Emancipation, and appeared likely, from the feeling of the electors, to be returned at the head of the poll; the other was a less formidable opponent. Mr. Villiers, however, threw away such chance of securing his return as he might have enjoyed by reason of his superior canvassing ability and more popular manners by taking his stand on Free Trade principles alone, and though "Vote for Villiers and Cheap Bread" was by far the most popular of the rallying cries of the respective candidates, Mr. Villiers experienced, in being placed third on the poll, the first of the many rebuffs he was destined to bring upon himself by his persistent attacks on the interests of monopolists. Returning to London, Mr. Villiers applied himself to the study of law, and in 1827 was called to the bar, and went the Western Circuit. In 1830 he became Secretary to the Master of the Rolls; and in 1832, on the formation of the Poor Law Commission, he was selected as an Assistant Commissioner. Mr. Villiers was thus brought into direct contact with the labouring classes, and acquired a practical knowledge of the condition and needs of the masses of the people, that later on constituted one of the chief sources of his strength when he came to deal face to face with some of the gravest economical questions of the present century. In 1833 Mr. Villiers accepted the post of Examiner of Witnesses in the Court of Chancery, and this appointment he retained until 1852, when he became Judge-Advocate General.

During the period preceding the passing of the Reform Bill, Mr. Villiers became intimately associated with the small but select school of ripe scholars and deep thinkers, whose headquarters were at the house of Sir William Molesworth, chief amongst whom were James Mill, Grote, Hume, Warburton, Perronet Thompson, Ewart, Strutt, Charles Buller, Roebuck, and Lytton Bulwer. It was by such men that Mr. Villiers was encouraged to devote himself to the opposition of the Corn Laws and the question of Repeal, as a field of Parliamentary distinction and usefulness for which, they urged, he was peculiarly

fitted by his known mastery of economical science in its political and social bearings, and his singular gift of close and acute argumentative power.

In 1834 an opportunity of entering Parliament offered itself to Mr. Villiers. He learnt that the two gentlemen who then represented the newly enfranchised borough of Wolverhampton, were tired of Parliamentary life, and did not intend to offer themselves for re-election. Mr. Villiers accepted the invitation of certain influential townsmen to contest the borough, and on December 16, 1834, issued his address to the electors.

After an exciting contest, abounding in the incidents common to an election of fifty years ago, Mr. Villiers and his Free Trade colleague, Mr. Thornley, were returned at the head of the poll. The Corn Law, to oppose which they were especially returned by Wolverhampton, was the enactment of 1815, slightly modified by a measure passed by the Duke of Wellington in 1828. Ever since the passing of the Bill by the Commons on March 10, 1815, there had existed a strong spirit of discontent with the law, that had occasionally almost ripened into an outbreak similar to that witnessed during the passage of the Bill through Parliament. Upon the introduction of the measure into the House of Lords, it had been strenuously opposed by a small body of Peers. Lord Grey moved that a further inquiry should be made into the state of the laws relating to the growth, commerce, and consumption of grain. Lord Grenville and others strongly supported him, but were defeated by 124 to 18. The protest written by Lord Grenville, and signed by himself and seven others,* may be read with interest as a summary of what was then said against the policy of restriction on the importation of food, but it was inadequate. There was need of bitter disappointment for the squirearchy, of clear and convincing treatises for thinking men, of courage and passion among young traders in the towns, and of debaters who would hammer unweariedly in Parliament. Within four or five years of the passing of the Bill, despair had seized on the landowners; the appearance of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW in 1824, and the publication of Major Perronet Thompson's "Catechism on the Corn Laws," in 1827,† and the all-important

* The signatures are: Augustus Frederick, William Frederick, Stanhope, Essex, King, Torrington, Grenville, Grey.

† The first edition of the "Catechism on the Corn Laws," by a Member of the University of Cambridge, was published by Ridgway on February 22, 1827. Later editions bore on the title-page the following extract from a speech made by Joseph Hume, in the House of Commons, on 8th May, 1829: "If Hon. Members would only look at the 'Catechism on the Corn Laws,' which they can procure for sixpence, and if, after perusing it, the reasons it contains are not sufficient to convince their minds that the corn trade ought to

Report of the Import Duties Committee, in 1840, not only furnished men of thoughtful and inquiring minds with facts and arguments exposing the folly and iniquity of the Corn Law, but made their influence greatly felt by Ministers themselves; and with the entrance of Mr. Villiers into Parliament in January, 1835, the House of Commons witnessed the arrival of one of the most persevering and unwearied debaters ever received within its walls.

During the first four years of the operation of the Corn Law of 1815, the price of wheat, owing to scarcity, averaged about 82s. a quarter, and the farmers were so far prosperous that they were able to pay their rents; but they soon found that the law could not secure them "famine prices" at all times. In 1819 the distress in the manufacturing districts reached its climax, and rioting again broke out in many parts of the country. One of the chief objects for which the people gathered together at Petersfield, Manchester, was to raise their cry to Government for a repeal of the Corn Laws. But the cruel suppression of that meeting, with its loss of life and suffering, marked also the last year of the prosperity of the farmers, and in 1820 there were loud complaints from the agriculturists, that the price of wheat was falling—and there were, consequently, visible symptoms of improvement in the condition of trade and manufactures. In that year, also, the merchants of London presented to Parliament, on May 8, through the agency of Mr. Baring (afterwards Lord Ashburnham, then one of the members for the City), their famous petition in favour of Free Trade.*

be a free trade, then I can only say that they must have some particular bias which prevents them from coming to a just conclusion on the subject."

* This document, of which Mr. Tooke was the author, appears to be so difficult of access to the general public that the following extracts may prove of sufficient interest to justify their insertion in this article.

"The humble petition of the undersigned merchants of the City of London sheweth:—That foreign commerce is eminently conducive to the wealth and prosperity of a country, by enabling it to import the commodities for the production of which the soil, climate, capital, and industry of other countries are best calculated; and to export in payment those articles for which its own situation is better adapted.

"That freedom from restraint is calculated to give the utmost extension to foreign trade, and the best direction to the capital and industry of the country.

"That the maxim of buying in the cheapest market, and selling in the dearest, which regulates every merchant in his individual dealings, is strictly applicable as the best rule for the trade of the whole nation.

"That a policy founded on these principles would render the commerce of the world an interchange of mutual advantages, and diffuse an increase of wealth and enjoyment among the inhabitants of each State. . . .

"That of the numerous protective and prohibiting duties of our commercial codes, it may be proved, that while all operate as a very heavy tax on the

An inquiry by a Select Committee of the House of Commons, in 1821, resulted in a slight amendment of the Act of 1815. Foreign wheat was admitted when the home price was 70s. a quarter, instead of being kept out till the price was 80s. In 1823, Mr. Wolryche Whitmore, one of the two gentlemen whose retirement from Parliament in 1834 allowed Mr. Villiers to come in for Wolverhampton, moved to reduce the importation price by 2s. annually until it reached 60s. a quarter; but he failed to obtain a hearing, being effectually "coughed down" by the monopolists.

The following year witnessed the advent of a new and powerful agent in the form of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW. Bentham provided the funds to start the new quarterly; James Mill having declined the editorship, as incompatible with his India House appointment, Dr. Bowring accepted the post, and was assisted in the literary department by Henry Southern. The first article in the first number, entitled "Men and Things" in 1823, was written by W. J. Fox, the "Norwich Weaver Boy," at that time discharging the functions of a Unitarian minister, and afterwards famous as one of the chief orators and eloquent writers of the Anti-Corn Law League. The WESTMINSTER REVIEW, which was intended as an organ for the opinions of the few who looked at all questions connected with administrative subjects in their bearings upon the interests of the people, and without reference to Whig or Tory objects, at once became the most formidable of the periodicals—very few in those days—that had the discrimination and courage to attack the Corn Law. In this independent course signal service was rendered by the *Morning Chronicle*,*

community at large, very few are of any ultimate benefit to the classes in whose favour they were originally instituted; and none to the extent of the loss occasioned by them to other classes. . . .

"That in thus declaring, as your petitioners do, their conviction of the impolicy and injustice of the restrictive system, and in desiring every practicable relaxation of it, they have in view only such parts of it as are not connected, or are only subordinately so, with the public revenue. As long as the necessity for the present amount of revenue subsists, your petitioners cannot expect so important a branch of it as the customs to be given up, nor to be materially diminished, unless some substitute less objectionable be suggested. But it is against every restrictive regulation of trade, not essential to the revenue—against all duties merely protective from foreign competition—and against the excess of such duties as are partly for the purpose of revenue, and partly for that of protection—that the prayer of the present petition is respectfully submitted to the wisdom of Parliament."

* The *Morning Chronicle*, for many years under the editorship of John Black—described by J. S. Mill as "a man of most extensive reading and information, great honesty and simplicity of mind, a particular friend of James Mill, and imbued with many of his and Bentham's ideas, which he reproduced.

the *Sun*, *Tail's Magazine*, and the aid rendered by those publications, doubly deserves to be remembered, in that it was bestowed in days of difficulty, when friends were few and opponents numerous.

In Parliament, Mr. Whitmore, undaunted by his defeat in the previous year, moved, in 1824, that importation of grain should be allowed at 55s. a quarter. His motion was rejected by 187 to 47; and in 1826—the year that Mr. Villiers contested Hull—a similar motion was as decisively defeated by 215 to 81. The following year Canning introduced a Sliding Scale measure, by which it was intended to admit grain into the kingdom when the home price was 60s. a quarter, but a 20s. duty was to be levied upon all grain so admitted. The duty, however, was to decrease as the home price rose, until only 1s. a quarter was to be levied when the price was 70s. The Commons passed the Bill, but it was thrown out by the Lords on an amendment of the Duke of Wellington, that foreign corn should not be taken out of bond till the price reached 66s. But the next year Wellington's Sliding Scale was passed, by which foreign corn was admissible at 50s. upon paying the enormous duty of 36s. 8d., decreasing to 16s. 8d. when the home price was 68s., and to 1s. when it reached 73s. An amendment, moved by Joseph Hume, for a fixed duty of 15s., to be reduced to 10s. in 1834, was rejected by 139 to 27.

The farmers were now assured that the Sliding Scale was an infallible contrivance for securing uniformity of prices, by shutting out foreign corn when home prices were low, and letting it in when prices were high; the scale of duties being so graduated as to secure them the certainty of 63s. a quarter for their wheat.

It is remarkable that, as with the prohibitive law of 1815, so also with the Sliding Scale of 1828, *at first* it appeared to answer the expectations of the farmers. Three years of scarcity enabled the farmers to obtain an average of upwards of 63s. a quarter for wheat; they were, therefore, during those years able to pay their rents. But in 1832 change was evident; the following year the King's Speech referred to the agricultural distress, and again a Select Committee sat to inquire—and rose without proposing any remedy for the evil.

In the meantime, the small body of financial reformers in the House of Commons had not been idle or indifferent. Joseph Hume moved, in 1829, and again in 1831, for a committee to consider the Corn Laws with a view to their repeal. In the first

in his articles, among other valuable thoughts, with great facility and skill" (*"Autobiography,"* p. 89)—was, to a considerable extent, a vehicle of the opinions of the Utilitarian Radicals.

division he was supported by 12 members against 154 ; in the second division his minority had dwindled to 6, and his opponents numbered 194. Colonel Thompson's "Catechism on the Corn Laws" had created considerable interest in circles that up to the date of its appearance had scarcely cared to inquire into the nature of the law. The "Catechism" was justly described by Sir John Bowring as "one of the most masterly and pungent exposures of fallacies" ever published ; and it will be readily understood that when the WESTMINSTER REVIEW passed into the hands of Colonel Thompson, about the time of Bentham's death (June, 1832), he did not suffer its advocacy of Free Trade to slacken in intensity.

During the year following the passing of the Reform Bill, Mr. Whitmore (then representing Wolverhampton) in the Commons, and Lord Fitzwilliam in the Lords, introduced resolutions condemnatory of the Corn Laws. Mr. Whitmore's resolutions were rejected by 305 to 206, but Lord Fitzwilliam did not even secure a division. Mr. Fryer (Mr. Whitmore's colleague in the representation of Wolverhampton) in the same year introduced a Bill for the repeal of the Corn Laws. It was rejected by 73 to 47 ; and Mr. Hume, dealing the last blow at the Corn Law prior to the entry of Mr. Villiers into Parliament, was defeated by 312 to 155.

It is but bare justice here to mention the valuable letters contributed by Mr. James Deacon Hume to the *Morning Chronicle*, in the course of December, 1833, and January and February, 1834, under the initials H. B. T. (Hume, Board of Trade), which were afterwards reprinted, and were constantly and largely drawn upon by Free Traders in Parliament to furnish matter and arguments for their speeches ; and in the early days of the Anti-Corn-Law League, a tract entirely composed of extracts from them was circulated through the country, we might literally say by the ton !

Miss Martineau, writing of the times when the opposition to the Corn Laws first began to assume shape and consistency, says :

"There were still hundreds and thousands of men—and the leading politicians of both parties were among them—who thought that to attack the Corn Law was to attack the constitution of society ; who would no more listen to evidence of the mischief of agricultural protection than they would listen to arguments against the institution of property."*

But the following passage from Mr. McCarthy's "History" most pithily expresses the difficulty of the task undertaken by

* "History of the Thirty Years' Peace," vol. ii. c. xiv. p. 405.

the Free Traders under the leadership of Mr. Villiers, and justifies the sarcasm in common utterance during the early years of the Reformed Parliament, "that the people had got what they demanded—namely, the Bill, the whole Bill, and *nothing but the Bill.*"

"Even after the change made in favour of manufacturing and middle-class interests by the Reform Bill, the House of Commons was still composed, as to nine-tenths of its members, of representatives of the landlords. The entire House of Lords then was constituted of the owners of land. All tradition, all prestige, all the dignity of aristocratic institutions, seemed to be naturally arrayed against the new movement, conducted as it was by manufacturers and traders for the benefit seemingly of trade and those whom it employed. The artisan population, who might have been formidable as a disturbing element, were, on the whole, rather against the Free Traders than for them. Nearly all the great official leaders had to be converted to the doctrines of Free Trade. Many of the Whigs were willing enough to admit the case of Free Trade, as the young Scotch lady mentioned by Sidney Smith admitted the case of love, 'in the abstract;' but they could not recognize the possibility of applying it in the complicated financial conditions of an artificial system like ours. Some of the Whigs were in favour of a fixed duty in place of the Sliding Scale. The leaders of the movement had, indeed, to resist a very dangerous temptation, coming from statesmen who professed to be in accordance with them as to the mere principle of protection, but who were always endeavouring to persuade them that they had better accept any decent compromise and not push their demands to extremes. The witty peer who in a former generation answered an advocate of moderate reform by asking him what he thought of moderate chastity, might have had many opportunities, if he had been engaged in the Free Trade movement, of turning his epigram to account."*

Matters were continuing to go badly with the agriculturists when Mr. Villiers took his seat for Wolverhampton, in January, 1835. In the course of that year, owing to the abundant harvest, wheat actually fell to an average of 39s. 4d. a quarter. With that unprecedented fall in the price of grain, the farmers again found themselves face to face with ruin, and yet another committee of the Commons was appointed, in 1836, to devise measures to mitigate the distress. The result was the same as in previous cases; the committee reluctantly admitted their inability to suggest means to prevent the recurrence of evil times under the existing laws, and the farmers were left to their fate. But the general prosperity resulting from the low price of food in 1834 and 1835 had caused the people at large to scarcely feel the infliction of the Corn Law. After the harvest of 1836,

* McCarthy, "History of Our Own Times," vol. i., c. xiv.

however, there was a considerable rise in the price of corn, and this circumstance, emphasized by a pressure on the money market and the failure of certain banks, sufficiently indicated the improbability of the prosperity of the past two years continuing.

On March 16, 1837, Mr. Clay* (Tower Hamlets) presented several petitions against the Corn Law; and on rising to move the adoption of a fixed duty of 10s. a quarter on the importation of foreign wheat, he briefly touched on the past legislation with respect to corn, ending with the Act of 1815; and concluded his speech by showing that the system of Corn Laws presented the startling anomaly that, whilst the prices of all other commodities were left to the operation of the various causes that influenced prices, it was decided by the Legislature, with respect to corn alone, that, so far as the laws could secure the object, the price should not fall lower than seemed fit to the law-makers!

The motion was seconded by Mr. Villiers. His speech, though not included in the Collection, yet merits notice as the first speech of that long and famous series made by him in Parliament, that only ceased when the Repeal of the Corn Law had been accepted by both parties in the House as a matter beyond dispute. He began by reminding the House that he sat there by the suffrages of men whose livelihood and whose interests were identified with the industry and commerce of the country, and that his constituents justly considered those great interests to be more affected by the Corn Law than by any other and every other measure together. He urged that, by the motion, "the industry and commerce of the country plead before the Legislature, and ask for liberty; and, however anomalous it may appear in a commercial country boasting a representative government, for a quarter of century they have offered up this prayer to the House without success."†

Claiming our greatness and consideration in the world as the result of the skill and industry, and the manufacturing and commercial enterprise of the country, he called upon

"the owners of land, who occupy entirely one House of the Legislature, and who greatly preponderate in the other, to declare in the face of the country and the world, on what ground it is that they pass and maintain laws for the advancement of their own fortunes and to the injury of the rest of the community. . . . The question of the Corn Law is a clear one, and needs no mystery; it is one of trade between the producer and consumer; and I contend that the legislature ought not to consider the producer in any other than his commercial relation to the rest of the community."†

* Afterwards Sir William Clay, Bart.

† "Hansard's Debates, House of Commons," March 16, 1837.

Mr. Villiers' contention, in 1837, that one of the effects of the Corn Law was to keep poor land in cultivation, is interesting when read in conjunction with the following passage, taken from the *Standard* of February 20 last :—

"It is much better, as a rule, to let things find their own level, even at the cost of considerable temporary suffering. Had this been done in 1815 we might have had no agricultural crisis in 1883. The attempt to prop up by legislation a system which had lost its natural foundations, and to perpetuate the high prices that had prevailed during war by protective duties that should have the same effect during peace, is a conspicuous instance of the mistakes that may be made under the influence of sympathy with a class. Had wheat-growing sixty years ago fallen back into its natural proportions, instead of being stimulated by the Corn Laws into an unhealthy activity, neither foreign competition nor unfavourable weather could have injured the farmers as they have done."

Alluding to the argument of the Protectionists, that commerce and manufactures only flourished when the land was prosperous, Mr. Villiers asked—

"Does not this require a distinct inquiry into the way in which manufactures add to the prosperity of the country? Is not our prosperity caused by our producing more than we consume, and by exporting the surplus? Is it not by the goods which we import in exchange for our exports that we become rich and increase the source of revenue? And yet what is the effect of the Corn Law but to raise prices, and thereby limit production? and is it not evident that Corn Laws are rather the cause of poverty than the basis of prosperity?"

The next argument of the Protectionists that Mr. Villiers dealt with is the one upon which the Fair Traders and Reciprocitarians of the present day chiefly rely :—

"It supposes that we are in danger from depending on foreign producers of grain, lest they should at any time withhold from us the necessary supplies. This involves two assumptions, one false and the other absurd. In the first place, it assumes that we are now independent of foreign supplies, when it is notorious that we have not been so for forty years past; but the nature of our dependence is precisely that which is most dangerous, for it leaves the producer uncertain as to the time when we shall require these supplies; and at one time, consequently, in 1816, wheat was 113s. a quarter, owing to the supplies being inadequate. But do not persons who use this argument see that (if it be a true one) it applies to commerce altogether, and that we ought not to depend on foreign sources for any article on which the livelihood of any portion of the community depends? It would apply to the million of people who depend upon the importation of cotton and wool for manufacturing purposes, as well as to those who consume foreign corn."

In concluding his speech, Mr. Villiers asked, was there nothing worse resulting from our system of protection than the burden laid upon the nation of paying annually, for the benefit of the landed class, a sum of nearly twenty millions?

“Have we nothing to apprehend from the conduct of other nations in reference to our own? Have we not provoked a confederation of twenty-six millions of people in the heart of Europe, with a view to resist the introduction of our manufactures, and to attempt to compete with us in the market which we have hitherto commanded? Do we not see attempts made in every quarter to oppose what is called our ‘commercial despotism’? When we learn that already we have been successfully opposed by the manufacturers of Saxony and Switzerland, producing cheaper than ourselves, why, I ask, are we not to look with alarm at the prospect of success which may attend their rivalry with our manufactures? This is really the most important part of the question. I believe we have the remedy in our own hands, by at once acting upon the simple, sound, and just principle of Free Trade—which allows every man to dispose of the fruits of his labour and his capital in the market where he gets the most in exchange for them. This will enable us to sustain our burden, to augment our wealth, and to escape decline and decay.”

The debate that ensued was noticeable from the absence of any defence or justification of the Corn Law. Sir William Molesworth* reiterated and enforced the arguments of Mr. Clay, and supported the motion as a preliminary step to the abolition of the Corn Law. On a division being taken, there voted for the motion 89, against 223.

Special interest attaches to the speech of Mr. Villiers from which we have so largely quoted. It was, as we have said, the first he delivered in the House of Commons against the Corn Law. The Anti-Corn-Law League had not yet been founded. Mr. Cobden’s energies were concentrated on obtaining the incorporation of Manchester, and more than four years were to elapse before he was to bring his valuable aid to his leader in Parliament. Moreover, the speech includes the chief arguments advanced and enforced in later speeches, and it was the only occasion on which Mr. Villiers’ leaning to moderation inclined him to accept anything less than the repeal of the Corn Law.

In the autumn of 1837 a general election took place, and at Wolverhampton the issue resolved itself into a fair stand-up fight between the Free Traders and the Tories. Mr. Villiers then voluntarily pledged himself on the hustings, if elected, to move in the House of Commons for a total repeal of the Corn

* At that time proprietor of the *LONDON AND WESTMINSTER REVIEW*. See J. S. Mill’s “Autobiography,” pp. 199, 207.

Law. The result of the polling was decisive, the Conservative voters numbering only about 600, to more than 1,000 votes polled for Mr. Villiers and Mr. Thornley.

On March 15, 1838, Mr. Villiers redeemed his promise, by moving "That the House resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, for the purpose of taking into consideration the Act 9 Geo. IV. c. 60, relating to the importation of corn."

The speech of Mr. Villiers, with which the Collection opens, exhibits in a marked degree the spirit of moderation that was afterwards so beneficially exercised by the Parliamentary leader of Free Traders over the counsels of his more impulsive and impetuous colleagues in the agitation. Referring to this speech, the writer of the "Political Memoir" says :—

"His clear, concise charge against the Corn Law as an embodiment of Protection, false in principle and evil in effect, is followed by a categorical exposure of the most prevalent fallacies involved in the Protectionist pleas of indemnity, special burdens on land, the revenue, general taxation, local taxation, the tithes, and the malt-tax. The estimate—imperfect because too moderate—of the annual cost to the community at large of the protection afforded by the Corn Law, is shown to have amounted to £15,600,000."*

Turning to our foreign trade, Mr. Villiers traced the evil effects of the Corn Law, as witnessed in the depressed state of most of our manufactures, the loss of foreign markets, and the general "blundering policy" in dealing with Continental nations that our Ministers had been led into through their disregard of the great commercial interests of England. The result was seen in the deteriorated condition of the people, including the agricultural classes. He could draw but one conclusion from his indictment of the Corn Law.

"Commercial liberty is now as essential to the well-being of this country, as civil and religious liberty have been considered, to be in former times. Victories have been fought for and won in the cause of each of these, and no one now dares to deny the right of the community to either. It therefore becomes every public man who seeks reform for public good, to devote all his energies to procure for his country the emancipation of its industry; and to win for its hard-working people freedom to fulfil the design of Nature, by exchanging with their fellow-men in other countries the fruits of their respective labours. Thus he will afford to them individually the best prospect of adequate reward for their toil, and to the nation generally that of peace and permanent prosperity."†

* "Political Memoir," p. xxvi.

† "Free Trade Speeches," vol. i. p. 44.

Sir William Molesworth seconded the motion, which, however, was defeated by 300 to 95 votes.

The year 1838 was a particularly busy one, as marked by the efforts of the Free Traders. Within two months of the defeat of Mr. Villiers' first annual motion, Colonel Seale moved, on May 9, the second reading of his Bill to permit the grinding of wheat in bond for foreign export. Mr. Villiers' speech on that occasion is memorable for his happy allusion to the rejection of the measure at the "East Retford of the Corn Laws." In alluding to the thralldom in which the country gentlemen appeared to be held by their constituents, he shows us that a system of "caucusing" members was employed by the monopolists to some purpose.

"Not one had dared to support the measure, whilst not one had been able to adduce an argument against it. Such an instance of restraint upon members of that House he had never seen amongst those who represented the large towns. . . . I am glad, however, to think that whatever the result of the vote of to-night may be, it cannot be otherwise than serviceable. If the measure is carried, a new channel for employment and profit will be opened to our trade, and the commerce of the country will, in a slight degree, be benefited; but, if it is rejected, advantages still more desirable will probably ensue. What is most wanted just now is some practical illustration of the working of the Corn Laws, and the spirit of those who maintain them; something to strike the imagination, something to rouse those who have too long kissed the rod that has scourged them. All great changes have been preceded by some wanton act of power that was resisted and assailed. I should regard the rejection of the measure now before the House as the East Retford of the Corn Laws. It would be like the preliminary folly that characterizes those whom Heaven has marked as its victims. It would, I believe, really awaken the feeling on the subject of the Corn Laws that has too long been dormant, and therefore I shall go to the division perfectly at ease, feeling satisfied that nothing but good can follow from it."*

On July 2, 1838, Lord Fitzwilliam presented a petition from Glasgow, praying for the repeal of the Corn Law. A debate ensued, in the course of which Lord Melbourne declared that the Government would not take a decided part in the question (which he admitted to be an "open one") till it was certain that the majority of the people favoured the idea of a change. The Free Traders accepted this as a direct challenge to the people to commence agitation, by which, alone, they were reminded, they had obtained Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform, and before the close of the year the Association (afterwards to be

* "House of Commons Debates," May 9, 1838.

known as the Anti-Corn-Law League), had been founded at Manchester, and had commenced to raise funds. So successful was the movement, that on January 22, 1839, the Association were enabled to give a public dinner (at which 800 gentlemen were present) to Mr. Villiers and the members who had supported his motion in the previous year. Mr. Villiers' address, in reply to the toast of his health, was very favourably received, and the *Manchester Times*, in reporting the banquet, observed—

“the tone of his address, the knowledge of his subject, the closeness of his argumentation, his obvious determination to persevere in the course he had undertaken, and the hopefulness of his expectation that the struggle would end in victory, confirmed his hearers in their belief that he possessed high qualifications to be the leader in the Parliamentary contest.”

On February 19, Mr. Villiers moved, “That J. B. Smith, R. H. Greg, and others, be heard at the Bar of this House, in support of their petition, presented to the House on the 15th instant.” After a short but lively debate, the motion was defeated by 361 votes to 172. Mr. Villiers confined himself to setting forth the grave depression and loss of home and foreign trade caused by the Corn Laws, and argued with unanswerable force the necessity of an inquiry at least into the allegations of the delegates as to their injurious operation. He established

“his case by a most able and lucid examination of the condition of the staple manufactures of Great Britain, particularly those of cotton, wool, and iron; and in concluding his most effective speech, cited various precedents in favour of the proposed inquiry. For the first time the landlords began to believe in the possibility of their monopoly being endangered. They had previously regarded Mr. Villiers' motions much in the same light as Mr. Grote's annual motion on the Ballot—a matter that was to give a long debate, to be negatived by a large majority, and to be laid aside for the rest of the Session. But the thorough earnestness of Mr. Villiers, the unanswerable array of facts which he brought forward, and the clearness with which he traced the direct and incidental injury produced by the Corn Laws to the manufacturers, the traders, and the working classes, greatly abated their confidence—or rather, changed it into serious alarm.”*

Sir Robert Peel based his opposition to the motion on one ground alone. “I resist it from the strong conviction in my own mind that the present system of Corn Laws ought to be maintained, and because you have hitherto brought forward no plausible arguments to change my views.”

Referring to the speech made by Mr. Villiers, and the part taken by the Government, Miss Martineau says:—

* Dr. W. Cooke-Taylor, “Life and Times of Sir R. Peel,” vol. iii. p. 82.

"Mr. Villiers' speech that night was not lost. It was a statement of singular force and clearness, and the occasion was destined to great celebrity. Of all the blind acts of the Ministry, none was more memorable than this refusal to hear evidence on a subject whose importance they professed to admit; and Mr. Villiers' position was conspicuous in proportion to their fall. On that night he assumed his post undisputed as the head authority in the Legislature on the subject of the Corn Laws."^{*}

The defeat of Mr. Villiers' motion greatly provoked the indignation of the delegates. Having accorded votes of thanks to Lord Brougham (who had made an eloquent appeal to the Peers on February 18 to hear evidence, but whose motion had been negatived without a division) and to Mr. Villiers, the delegates left London. Once again, to quote Miss Martineau:—

"The departure of the delegates was like the breaking up of a Mahratta camp—the war was not over, only the mode of attack was about to be changed. There was no secrecy about this mode of attack. The delegates had offered to instruct the House; the House had refused to be instructed. The House *must* be instructed; and the way now contemplated was the grandest and most unexceptionable and effectual—it was to be by instructing the nation. The delegates were to meet again in Manchester in a fortnight, to devise their measure of general instruction."

The third speech in the Collection is Mr. Villiers' Second Annual Motion, and abounds in passages illustrative of his best Parliamentary style. He seems to have been the first person to direct the attention of the House to the many applications made to Parliament by the agriculturists for relief, and subsequent to the passing of the Corn Law—a proof, as he contended, that the law had been a failure.

The increased interest taken by the country at large in the Corn Law question, was shown by the debate on Mr. Villiers' motion extending over five nights, when it was rejected by 342 votes to 195.

On March 14, Lord Fitzwilliam moved resolutions in the Upper House condemning the Corn Laws, but they were rejected by 224 to 24. It was on that occasion that Lord Melbourne uttered an opinion destined to effect the greatest results in the way of bringing about the repeal of the Corn Laws which his whole speech deprecated. He said, "To leave the whole agricultural interest without protection, I declare before God that I think it the wildest and maddest scheme that has ever entered into the imagination of man to conceive!"

* Martineau, "History of the Thirty Years' Peace," edition 1850, vol. ii. c. xiv. p. 405.

The first result of the defeat of Mr. Villiers in the Commons, and of Lord Melbourne's utterance in the Lords, was witnessed in a resolution adopted by the delegates of the Anti-Corn-Law Association (who had returned to London for the occasion of Mr. Villiers' Annual Motion), to form "a permanent union, to be called the Anti-Corn-Law League, composed of all the towns and districts represented in the delegation, and as many others as might be induced to form Anti-Corn-Law Associations and to join the League."

Funds poured in upon the newly formed "League," and in April, the first number of the *Anti-Corn-Law Circular* was published in Manchester. It rapidly obtained a circulation of 15,600 copies, and largely aided the efforts of the energetic lecturers of the "League"—Messrs. Paulton, Sydney Smith, James Acland, and others—in disseminating free trade doctrines.

The exceptional position occupied by Mr. Villiers at this stage of the movement for Repeal, is skilfully depicted by the writer of the "Memoir" prefacing the "Speeches." He says:—

"The Anti-Corn-Law movement, from its being so eagerly taken up by the Manchester men, early incurred the disadvantage of being treated by the landed interest as a vulgar manufacturers' agitation; and unquestionably there was at times considerable danger of the national character of the movement being injured by the angry retorts that were flung to and fro by the commercial and country parties."*

One of the peculiar difficulties Mr. Villiers had to contend with, was that

"his keen perception made him acutely sensitive of the embarrassments to which the predominance of one body of men in the movement exposed the cause of Repeal in both Houses of Parliament; whilst their comparative ignorance of Parliamentary procedure, and the stubborn strength that was arrayed against them in the Legislature, placed them in no little danger, in their impatience of temporary defeat and their consciousness of numerical superiority in the country, of compromising the cause by such acts of indiscreet zeal as could only retard the object they had in view."†

Cobden himself had difficulty in believing that the "Reformed Parliament" would seriously oppose Repeal, until one night (February 19, 1839), he happened to be in the House of Commons as "a stranger," and witnessed the treatment that Mr. Villiers, when advocating Repeal, experienced from the Protectionists. From a speech made by Mr. Villiers on the occasion of his unveiling Cobden's statue at Salford, more than thirty years later, we learn that—

* "Political Memoir," p. xxxiii.

† *Ibid.*, p. xxxiv.

“Cobden suddenly left the House, returned to Lancashire that night, and determined that he would never cease to agitate until the public should be apprised of the character of those laws, and the difficulty of repealing them.”*

In that same year, 1839, which witnessed so vast an increase in the interest displayed in the Corn Law question on the part of the manufacturers, there appeared a series of papers entitled “The Influences of the Corn Laws.” These papers were afterwards reprinted in the *Anti-Corn-Law Circular*, and in various ways were widely distributed by the League; and it is not too much to say, that the influence they exercised in the interests of Free Trade cannot be overrated. The author, at first anonymous, proved to be the late Mr. James Wilson, who had renounced his business as a hat manufacturer, to devote himself to the study of statistics; the publication of his work, “Fluctuations of Currency, Commerce, and Manufactures,” in 1840, largely added to the fame his earlier work had brought him, and decided a select body of political economists and merchants to establish a weekly paper devoted to economical questions, and to make Mr. Wilson the editor.† The result was the appearance of the *Economist* in 1843.

But to return to Mr. Villiers and the League. A banquet, at which nearly 4,000 persons were present, was given on the 13th January, 1840, by the Executive Committee of the League. Mr. Villiers, O’Connell, Warburton, Mark Philips, and more than a score other members of Parliament, attended; the utmost enthusiasm prevailed, and it was evident that the cause of Free Trade was rapidly becoming popular. Referring to the speech made by Mr. Villiers in response to the toast proposing his health and that of the members who had spoken and voted in support of his motion of the previous year, the author of the “History of the Anti-Corn-Law League” says:—

“Villiers made a statesmanlike speech, in which he showed that while the Corn Laws were ruinous to the trade and commerce of the country, they were most injurious to the agricultural labourer, a delusion and a fraud to the farmer, and against the real and permanent interests of the landowners themselves. In conclusion, he (Mr. Villiers) said:—‘I know that I am not addressing men who have come here to swell an idle show. I believe that you are men who have come to demand justice—who have been first in the field

* *The Times*, June 28, 1867—Villiers upon Cobden.

† Mr. Villiers had been so struck with the depth of knowledge and soundness of reasoning evinced by the author of the “Influences” that he had sought him out, and, having made his acquaintance, largely quoted his works in Parliament, and eventually took a leading part in obtaining subscriptions to start the *Economist*.

of agitation, and who will not desert it ingloriously. I do not address any particular class; I address those who care for the truth, who care for their country, and who understand its interests. I feel satisfied that there are enough of such men to rescue the country from a law which makes them the scorn and the mockery of their neighbours, which affords proofs, to every despotic and tyrannical government, how much unjust, how much foolish, and how much wicked legislation is compatible with the forms of freedom! Gentlemen! do fling away this badge of iniquity, English servility, and ignorance!"*

The following day Mr. Villiers addressed 5,000 working men at a second banquet, and told them that, after such a meeting, he could no longer be taunted with the indifference of the working classes; their presence that day disproved the statement. Before the delegates who had attended the great banquet separated, Mr. Villiers promised to bring forward his motion on the Corn Laws as early as possible. Accordingly, on April 1, he brought forward his third Annual Motion, and greatly strengthened the arguments for repeal which he had adduced in former years by quoting largely from Wilson's "Influences of the Corn Laws." The concluding paragraph of this speech well deserves quotation:—

"The people are now enduring great physical suffering, which, on weighty professional authority, I ascribe to the miserable food to which the Corn Laws condemn them; discontent, springing from a sense of injustice inflicted on them by this House, pervades the working classes throughout the kingdom; their attention, once reluctantly, is now habitually devoted to the consideration of political subjects; and their feelings, from these several circumstances, are becoming hourly heightened by the agitation of the question of the Corn Laws. The House has at the present moment an opportunity of allaying the excitement by relieving the people from the pressure that is bearing them down. Will they throw away the opportunity? Let them! and they will be indebted to fortune alone should they be enabled to regain it."†

The debate was twice adjourned; and on the third night, when many of the Free Traders had left the House in the belief that the debate would be again adjourned, the Monopolists endeavoured to force a division, and were only defeated by the adroit use to which Mr. Warburton put his knowledge of the forms of the House, and who so manœuvred that the motion became a "dropped order," and Mr. Villiers was enabled to renew it on May 26 following. On that day he presented petitions with a quarter of a million signatures attached to them,

* Prentice, "History of the Anti-Corn-Law League," vol. i. c. x.

† "Free Trade Speeches," vol. i. pp. 197, 193.

in addition to those signed by a million and a quarter presented on the occasion of his previous motion. The moment he began to speak, a firm determination not to give him a fair hearing was shown by the House. A most disgraceful scene of uproar ensued; the Speaker's calls to order were totally disregarded, and it was not until the dinner hour had reduced the House to about a hundred members that Mr. Villiers was allowed to proceed without interruption. As soon, however, as the Protectionist members returned, refreshed from dining, the uproar increased tenfold. Mr. Strutt (afterwards Lord Belper) failed to make himself heard. Mr. Warburton and Mr. Mark Philips were equally unsuccessful, and it was found impossible to carry on the debate. A division was taken, and the motion was defeated by 300 to 177.

Before proceeding homewards, the Anti-Corn-Law delegates, who had come up to London for the occasion of the debate on Mr. Villiers' motion, publicly examined a number of agricultural labourers as to their condition, with a view to refute the assertions of the landowners, that whatever might be the distress amongst the manufacturing population, the farm labourers were enjoying the benefits of a protected agriculture. It was proved beyond doubt by the evidence of these labourers that their wages, even in summer, were barely sufficient to procure the common necessaries of life; that in winter these wretched folk were absolutely dependent on private charity to keep clear of the workhouse; that their clothes were worn from year to year until the numerous patches entirely covered the original fabric; that their wages did not rise with the rise in the price of food; and that therefore their condition was improved in years of cheap food, and deteriorated in years when the price of wheat was high. We have already referred to the establishment of the Anti-Corn-Law League as the first great result springing immediately from Lord Melbourne's rash utterance. We have now to mention the appointment of the Import Duties Committee, and the important changes in the fiscal policy of the nation which directly resulted from the influence exercised over the mind of Sir Robert Peel by the evidence tendered to that Committee.

Mr. James Deacon Hume, who had long been desirous of placing on record, in the shape of evidence elicited by a Select Committee, his well-matured convictions* on the subject of the

* Mr. Deacon Hume retired from official life early in 1840, after a service of fifty years in the Customs and Board of Trade Departments. He was strongly urged, especially by writers in the *WESTMINSTER REVIEW*, to seek a seat in Parliament at the election in 1837; but he seems to have been averse to the step at so late a period of his life.

Import Duties, was consulted by Mr. Villiers as to what steps he could take to force upon the minds of the Government the facts they might have learnt to some extent had they allowed the Anti-Corn-Law delegates to be heard at the Bar of the House of Commons. Already one of the main arguments used against the Corn Laws was that they were a tax of which only a small part found its way into the public revenue, while by much the greater part went into the pockets of a favoured class. It appeared then to Mr. Villiers and to Mr. J. D. Hume that the attention of the country might be as readily directed to the gross absurdity and injustice of the protective system, by means of a judiciously drafted report of the evidence elicited by a Select Committee as by the more laboured and tedious proceedings of an inquiry by the whole House. Mr. Villiers had already been refused when he had applied for a Select Committee to inquire into the Import Duties; he therefore addressed himself, in concert with Mr. J. D. Hume, to the veteran member for Montrose, Mr. Joseph Hume, who was much too sensible of the great results to be expected from such a course not to give it due consideration. He, however, was then sitting as chairman on the committee engaged in inquiring into the issue of notes by banking establishments, and was unwilling further to embarrass himself with a fresh responsibility. Mr. Villiers, upon this, assured Mr. Hume that it was his intention to be a constant attendant, and expressed his willingness to discharge the duties devolving on the chairman. Finally, Mr. Joseph Hume moved, on May 5, 1840, and the Government acceded, "That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the several duties levied on imports into the United Kingdom; and how far those duties are for protection to similar articles the produce or manufacture of this country, or of the British possessions abroad, or whether the duties are for the purposes of revenue alone."

That Sir Robert Peel was not altogether indifferent regarding the revelations likely to be made in the Report appears evident from the fact that he personally urged Sir Charles Douglas to sit on the Committee, "in order to watch their proceedings." Mr. Hume himself was so pleased with having obtained the Committee, that he observed exultingly to his friends that *the battle of Free Trade was about to be won*. He was confident that such an overwhelming weight of testimony in favour of commercial freedom would be adduced, as neither Parliament nor the country would be able to gainsay or resist.

Much trouble was often experienced in getting together five members, out of the thirteen nominated, to form a quorum, but, on the whole, so great expedition was displayed that in less than three months from the date of the appointment of the Committee

the proceedings were completed, and on August 6, 1840, the famous Report was published.

The value of this Report, in forwarding the policy of commercial and industrial freedom, cannot be over-estimated. The first witness examined was Mr. McGregor, who had succeeded Mr. J. Deacon Hume in the post of joint-secretary; then Mr. Hume himself was examined; then Mr. G. R. Porter, head of the Statistical Department of the Board of Trade. The remaining witnesses, sixteen in number, were chosen from the most eminent city and provincial merchants and manufacturers, notably, Sir John Bowring, Sir John Guest, Bart., Mr. Hanley, and Mr. Leaf. Their evidence was admitted by all who read it to contribute in the most material degree to the Free Trade cause.

Naturally the Anti-Corn-Law League seized on this powerful instrument, so opportunely placed to their hand; and scarcely had the spirited publishers of the *Spectator* reprinted, in an abridged and condensed form, the evidence received by the Committee, than 20,000 copies were struck off by the Carlisle Anti-Corn-Law Association.

The Council of the League, having compiled the whole of the evidence relating directly to the food monopoly, reprinted it in the *Anti-Bread-Tax Circular*, and prefaced it with the following words:—

“It is not saying too much when we add, that the *entire case of the Anti-Corn-Law League may be left to be decided by the evidence which we now submit to the public in the very language of the Parliamentary Report*. No one who studies the evidence thoroughly need go beyond it, and no one who has not studied it is entitled to offer or entertain an opinion upon the subject.”

The Committee, having been appointed on the motion of Mr. Joseph Hume, became identified with his name, and to him was generally accorded the credit of having obtained the world-wide publication of so huge and pertinent a mass of invaluable evidence condemning, as it did with irrefutable proof, the egregious folly of the Corn Laws. Mr. Deacon Hume, with whom the idea of the Committee originated, and upon whose evidence so much of the value of the Report depended, and Mr. Villiers, who first moved in vain for the Committee, and then prevailed on Mr. Joseph Hume to use his influence to obtain the Committee, and who, actually presiding at three-fourths of the meetings, very largely conducted the examination of the witnesses, were content with the success that had even exceeded their expectations, and the knowledge that the actual parts borne by them in the matter were known to the select few behind the scenes in London, and unreservedly admitted by the leaders of the League.

On April 15, 1841, a meeting of nearly 2,000 delegates from

the principal towns of the kingdom, was held in the Manchester Corn Exchange, to decide on the course to be adopted by those who were about to attend in London on the occasion of Mr. Villiers' annual motion. In a speech delivered on that occasion, which appears in the Collection, Mr. Villiers gave a direct impetus to a movement among ministers of religion, that, being initiated at that meeting, soon came to vie in the useful work of disseminating the doctrines of Free Trade with the movement directed and controlled by the League through the agency of their lecturers.

“ He said that he could not but hope that many would now give their aid to the movement who had not yet taken any prominent part in it, and alluded particularly to *ministers of religion*; for he could not conceive anything more immediately within the province of the disciples of Him who said ‘feed my people,’ and ‘the labourer is worthy of his hire,’ than to inculcate the charity of feeding the poor, by enabling them by honest industry to feed themselves. The Rev. S. Beardsall, seconded by the Rev. W. Mountford, moved the following resolution in accordance with Mr. Villiers' remarks:—‘That the constantly increasing physical sufferings of the labouring population; arising from the want of employment and the scarcity of food, *are inimical to the progress of religion and morality*; and this meeting earnestly appeals to ministers of the gospel, and to philanthropists, and Christians of every denomination, to lend their aid in the effort to abolish the unjust tax upon the importation of the first necessities of life—a tax which impiously thwarts the bounteous designs of Providence, who has prepared abundantly upon the face of the earth for the wants of all his creatures.’”*

Rumours of the approaching dissolution of Parliament led people to speculate as to what would be “the cry” of the Whigs. The House of Commons was crowded on April 30, to hear the Budget introduced. But the excitement in the House was considerably increased by Lord John Russell announcing, before going into Committee, that on May 31 he should “move that the House resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider the Acts relating to the trade in corn.” As a matter of fact, the terms of his motion were identical with those of the motion that had for the previous years brought down on Mr. Villiers' head the sneers and ridicule of the Protectionists.

The Budget of 1841, though it fell far short of the mark of

* Prentice, “History of the Anti-Corn-Law League,” vol. i. p. 200. A conference of 700 ministers of religion of all denominations was held in the Town Hall, Manchester, on August 17, 1841, and the three following days. As a result of the proceedings then adopted, the Corn Laws were soon denounced from more than a thousand pulpits and platforms, and the congregations largely influenced in the cause of Free Trade.

justice and sound policy, boldly approached the principles of a liberal commercial policy, and may be regarded as the first fruits of the labours of the Import Duties Committee. There was a heavy deficit of nearly two millions, which it was proposed to make good, not by levying new taxes, but by lessening duties which burdened commerce and diminished consumption. The duties on corn, sugar, and timber were all to be dealt with and modified. But it was on the question of corn that the country was most exercised, and Lord J. Russell found it necessary to state, on May 7, that he intended to propose a *fixed duty* of 8s. a quarter. Sir Robert Peel declared strongly in favour of a sliding scale. The Government were beaten on the Sugar Duties, and on June 4, before the corn question could be brought on, Sir R. Peel carried a vote of want of confidence by a majority of one, the numbers on the division being 312 to 311. A dissolution followed, and the elections resulted in a large majority for Sir R. Peel. The Whigs left the Government seats, and settled in the cool shade of opposition. Their irresolution and faintheartedness on the question of the Corn Law had alienated many of their own party, and had severed entirely the Free Traders. Prior to the change of Government there was a debate of four nights in the House of Commons, and it is interesting at this date in connection with the first speech made by Mr. Cobden in Parliament. He made a powerful impression upon the House, and in the course of his speech referred to Mr. Villiers as "the hon. member for Wolverhampton—for whose great and incessant services, I, in common with millions of my fellow-countrymen, feel grateful."

Sir R. Peel formed his Ministry in September. At once petitions were forwarded in hundreds, addressed to the Queen, praying that Parliament should not be prorogued till the Corn Laws had been deliberated upon, and the distresses of her people had been considered. But Sir R. Peel "wanted time" to frame his measures, and the prorogation took place on October 7, to last till February.

On the February 9, 1842, Sir R. Peel introduced his new sliding scale, which O'Connell described as "sliding from everything honest," and by which the highest duty on corn would be reduced from 36s. 8d. to 20s. Lord J. Russell unreservedly opposed the measure, but was defeated by a majority of 123, after four nights' debate. But the Free Traders reasoned that a 20s. duty was just as prohibitory as one at 36s. 8d. At neither rate could foreign wheat come in; and, as some one expressed it, a man could be drowned in ten feet of water as easily as in twenty feet, and he could not drown any more if the water were fifty feet in depth!

Mr. Villiers at once brought forward his amendment—"That the Corn Laws do now cease and determine." The debate extended over five nights. Perhaps the most noticeable speech was that made by the late Lord Macaulay, who was then in the House of Commons. In answer to the argument (which we still hear urged by a small section at the present day) that England ought *only casually* to depend on obtaining her food supply from other countries, he said that he preferred *constant* to *casual* dependence, for constant dependence became mutual dependence.

"As to war interrupting our supplies, a striking instance of the fallacy of that assumption was furnished in 1810, during the height of the Continental system, when all Europe was against us, directed by a chief who sought to destroy us through our trade and commerce. In that year there were 1,600,000 quarters of corn imported, one-half of which came from France itself."

Cobden vigorously supported the amendment, but there were smart debaters and dogged opponents of repeal yet to be defeated. Amongst the debaters was Mr. Monckton Milnes (the present Lord Houghton), whose description of Mr. Villiers as "the solitary Robinson Crusoe, standing on the barren rock of Corn Law repeal," provoked roars of laughter, and Mr. Ferrand, who daringly carried the war into the enemies' camp, and directly accused the manufacturers of cruelty. The result of the debate was that ninety members voted for total repeal and 393 against.

With the new tariff (which comprised reductions of import duties and the removal of restrictions on upwards of 750 articles) the income-tax became law. Mr. Villiers made an important speech on April 18, 1842, directly opposing the imposition of the tax, which he pointed out could but deepen the distress in the country by causing a diminution in the rate of wages, and adding to the already enormous number of unemployed workmen.

The distress deepened throughout the length and breadth of the land; the cost of "educating the country" proved very expensive, but it was felt that no effort must be relaxed, and a fund of £50,000 was demanded by the League in the autumn of 1842, and was raised by subscriptions. During the last quarter of this year, the revenue from Customs and Excise showed a deficiency of £1,300,000; affording clear evidence of the failure of the Government to revive the industry of the country.

On January 3, 1843, Mr. Villiers was present at the weekly meeting of the League in Manchester, and delivered a speech warmly defending the action of the League. He said:—

"You have done great things for the cause in this neighbourhood, in fact you have done wonders: you have contributed largely for the furtherance of the principles you avow; and you have produced distinguished men who, both in Parliament and out of Parliament, have advocated perfect freedom of commerce. You have Mr. Cobden in the Senate, and you have Mr. Bright in the field. And truly it does rejoice me when I read and when I hear of the honours with which they are covered, and of the enthusiasm with which they are received wherever they go. For it shows that there are no personal rivalries, no local jealousies, no political prejudices, intervening to mar the course and progress of the cause that we are pursuing. This cause is really far above the ordinary level of party strife; it is the cause of humanity, it is the cause of the nation in future; and every man who cares for his country, or wishes well to mankind, should accord to it his best ability and support."*

Amongst other speakers at this meeting were Mr. Mark Philips and Mr. Cobden, both of whom paid Mr. Villiers very marked compliments in terms sufficiently interesting to justify reproduction.

Mr. Philips said:—

"I have witnessed the zeal of Mr. Charles Villiers on this question in the House of Commons, and it is with feelings of delight and satisfaction that I see him present at this meeting to take an opportunity of explaining his sentiments to you on this question. I am not accustomed to use the words of flattery, and I can say honestly that in his advocacy of the principles of Free Trade the hon. member has exhibited great talent, and I do not hesitate to say that he has shown a degree of zeal and industry in making himself acquainted with the practical details of the question which would do honour to any individual (applause), and which no man in Parliament, to my knowledge, has ever before equalled."

Mr. Cobden having testified to the abundance of resources and arguments possessed by Mr. Villiers, which enabled him easily to maintain his position as "the champion of Free Trade," went on to say that he had found in him

"that which I have found scarcely in any other man connected with the aristocracy, the right *animus* against the very principle of monopoly. Now we want in our party leaders *the right feeling* as well as knowledge (hear, hear). I have been accustomed to see the anxiety he has felt in every movement in the country, and the deep consciousness he has felt that all depended upon what was done out of doors. . . . I recollect him bringing forward a motion for repeal years ago. It was difficult under the circumstances to bring forward such a motion as that, for the country itself took no interest in the question. The manufacturing boroughs themselves returned members

who voted against it. Now I think, under these circumstances, *my hon. friend deserves our thanks for looking after our interests before we knew how to look after them ourselves!*"

In the spring of 1843 the League transferred their headquarters to London, and engaged Drury Lane Theatre for their weekly meetings. At the second of these meetings, Mr. Villiers made a long speech in which he thanked his audience for attending, not "for mere recreation, or idle amusement," but "to manifest their interest in the condition of the country and their sympathy with the distress of their follow-men." And he continued:—

"And now I will tell you why, in my judgment, you render such essential service in manifesting publicly your interest in this matter. It is because we have arrived at that point in another place from which we can advance no further without your assistance. I believe that fresh argument or new facts would be of little avail now in that place. They have reached the point in the House of Commons with regard to this question that the priests and augurs of ancient Rome were said to have reached with regard to their religion: they no longer imposed upon themselves; and a great man of the time wondered how any two of them could meet in the street without a smile. It is the same with respect to the Corn Laws in the House: they have almost ceased to be discussed with gravity; and few take the trouble to deny that the sliding scale, of which we have heard so much, is anything but a mischievous contrivance to retain monopoly at the expense of the commerce, industry, and revenue of the country. Few now doubt that any permanent duty or impediment to the import of the necessaries of life must needs diminish the amount of them consumed in the country, and raise the price of all that are grown at home. Indeed, the young and intelligent Monopolists laugh in their sleeves at the subtleties of their artful leader; and the older ones maintain the silent system, thinking, probably, that the least said the soonest mended."*

The principal debate of the Session of 1843 was on Mr. Villiers' motion in favour of total and immediate repeal. The debate extended over five nights, and the motion was defeated by 381 to 125; but it was consoling to find that the adverse majority had decreased from 303 to 256. Mr. Villiers drew attention to the changed attitude of the farmers on the question. He predicted that they would soon openly avow that they had been labouring under a delusion in supposing that the artificial enhancement in the value of land could benefit any but the owners of the land. This prediction was justified when, at a great public meeting held at Colchester (one of the most formidable strongholds of the Protectionists), the farmers were com-

* "Free Trade Speeches," vol. i. pp. 364-5.

pletely won over by the arguments and facts adduced by Mr. Villiers, to show that they were actually sufferers under the Corn Law, so that Sir John Tyrrell—who had dared Mr. Villiers to be present at the meeting—was fain, utterly discomfited, to leave the field in the possession of the Free Traders.

In the autumn, the council of the League put forth their programme for the forthcoming year. They determined to raise a fund of £100,000; to engage Covent Garden Theatre for fifty nights, at a rent of £3,000, and to devote £10,000 to the publication of a weekly newspaper, to be called *The League*. The appeal of the League met with a ready response on the part of the banking and mercantile interests, and several distinguished peers forwarded subscriptions. At one meeting in Manchester, upwards of forty manufacturers subscribed on the spot sums varying from £100 to £500 each. *The Times** declared the League to be “a great fact,” and that “a new power had arisen in the State” which owed its existence to “experience set at naught, advice derided, and warnings neglected.” Mr. Bright’s entry into Parliament, in July, was followed in October by the defeat of Mr. Baring, and the election of Mr. Pattison, who was taunted with being the nominee of the League for the City of London.

On January 1, 1844, the Marquis of Westminster wrote a congratulatory letter to George Wilson, the Chairman of the League, and enclosed a cheque for £500, as a contribution to its funds. The meetings of the League at Covent Garden Theatre met with the utmost success in the shape of overflowing and enthusiastic audiences. In the course of an address delivered by Mr. Villiers at the Theatre, on February 8, he provoked the mirth of his hearers by reading portions of the speech of some squire which had been given him as he entered the doors. By that time the monopolists had abandoned argument for abuse, and the speech was typical of many others. The squire described

“the objects of the League as ‘the same as those of the Corresponding Society of Pitt’s time, which was originated by the bloody Jacobins of France.’ And ‘these men’—meaning the members of the League—he roundly goes on to say, ‘are the great grandchildren of those bloody fellows. They wish to destroy the landlord, in order to pick the pocket of the tenant, and then to send the labourer to the devil.’”

“This is moderate, however, to what I have read elsewhere; for at most of their meetings our opponents are reported to have declared the complaints against the Corn Laws to be nothing else than blasphemy. They fall very far short of that simplicity of expression used

* November 18, 1843.

by the Brahmins in India, apprehensive of a calamity like that now dreaded by the landlords, when Christian missionaries first went among them. The Brahmins were paid by the people in rice. But they did not denounce the missionaries as false teachers or blasphemers, as perhaps they might have been allowed to do; they simply complained to the Government that men had come among them who, if success crowned their efforts, would 'upset their rice plots!'"*

As an example of the singular "lucidity" of his style, we quote the following passage, in which Mr. Villiers sets before his audience the advantage of getting rid of the Corn Laws:—

"I want you to observe not only that the revenue always increases when food is cheap and declines when food is dear; but likewise that pauperism, disease, mortality, and crime all diminish in years of abundance, and increase in years of scarcity. And it is of special importance that you should do so in order fairly to appreciate the advantage of getting rid of the Corn Laws. For what is it that we call for when we ask for their repeal? Why, that there may be a constant good harvest. We want there always to be abundance of food, and that all those consequences which we observe to follow from a good harvest may be permanent among us. And is there any doubt that this might be the case? Do our opponents deny it? No; it is their case that it would be so; it is their fear that there would be abundance. They keep their Corn Laws in order to prevent it; they know that there is plenty to be had, and that we have in our manufactures the means of securing it."†

A deputation of the League, including Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, and Colonel Thompson, and accompanied by Mr. Villiers and Mr. Thornley, visited Wolverhampton on April 8, 1844. Referring to the exploded fallacy of the monopolists, "that when food was dear, the reward of labour was great," Mr. Villiers informed his constituents that the best answer he had ever heard to the jargon that thus sought to prove scarcity a blessing, was given by a working man of that town, and was this, "If scarcity is such a good thing for the working classes, what a blessing no food at all would be!" And in excusing himself for so pertinaciously repeating his motion, said:—

"In doing so I am simply asking that the working classes may not be further impoverished and degraded. . . . I should like to put some of the fine gentlemen, who regard all mention of the Corn Laws as a bore, upon short commons themselves for a while; and then, if they should begin to cry out lustily—as they would—for better fare, tell

* "Free Trade Speeches," vol. ii. p. 68.

† *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 77. A portion of this speech, translated into French, will be found in Frederick Bastiat's "Cobden et la Ligue ou l'agitation Anglaise," p. 246.

them that there are other things to think of besides their dinner; 'that it is not by bread alone that men live, that they have their immortal souls to care for; that they must cultivate their minds, and improve themselves generally.' And then, after vexing and injuring them in every way, issue a Commission to inquire into the cause of their discontent!"

On June 25, 1844, Mr. Villiers brought forward his annual motion for repeal in a somewhat novel shape. He proposed a series of resolutions to the following effect:—"That the people of this country are rapidly increasing in number. . . . That a large proportion of her Majesty's subjects are insufficiently provided with the first necessaries of life. That, nevertheless, a Corn Law is in force which restricts the supply of food, and thereby lessens its abundance. That any such restriction . . . is indefensible in principle, injurious in operation, and ought to be abolished."

The debate closed on the second night, and again there was a large decrease in the majority. Whereas in 1842, the majority had numbered 303, and in 1843, 256, it was now only 204, the actual numbers of the division being 328 to 124. And to this falling off in the "mechanical majority," Mr. Villiers alluded with great satisfaction when he addressed a crowded meeting in Covent Garden Theatre a week later. He asked—

"What is this but progress? What does it show but the influence of public opinion? What does it mean but that *conviction* has reached the electoral body of the people that the Corn Laws are atrocious laws, and that they ought forthwith to be abolished?"

It was, in fact, a sign of the beginning of the end. To those who could read between the lines, it was evident that Sir Robert Peel was "biding his time;" and in the *League* newspaper we find the following accurate estimate of the true position of affairs:—

"Since Mr. Villiers first began to raise Anti-Corn-Law debates in the House of Commons he has entered on the third cycle in the history of the question. He commenced when counteracted by the effects of abundant harvests and the influence of abundant ignorance—agriculturists were contemptuously indifferent, commercialists sufficiently supine, and, consequently, the House of Commons utterly apathetic. He continued when winter had descended on our national affairs; when the wolf howled at the national door; when country gentlemen became alarmed, and the entire community interested. He perseveres now that spring appears again, and there is a probability of a short-lived summer of prosperity; but he continues it with the knowledge that there is not a man within the compass of Great Britain capable of putting two ideas together, be he Cabinet minister, landed proprietor, merchant, manufacturer, or handworker, who does not

feel that the Corn Law but waits the next 'fall of the leaf,' in order to be blown into the gulf of oblivion, there to rot with the things that were."*

In the autumn of 1844, the chief efforts of the League were directed towards increasing the numbers on the electoral lists in their favour. By urging new claims, and by revising old ones on the voting registers, they paved the way for the return of so many of their candidates at the next election in 1847. Great numbers of people adopted the advice of the League, and invested £50 or £60 in the purchase of land, in order to come within the ranks of the 40s. freeholders. At a meeting in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, on January 8, 1845, Mr. Cobden, at the close of a long speech, appealed to his hearers to

"get possession of the property by the 31st of January, and then, when the next contest comes for South Lancashire, we will have our friends, Mr. Villiers and Mr. Brown, in the situation of the present members for that division (loud applause, the whole company rising and cheering for some minutes). And who shall dare say to us that it is not the contest of principle then? We will choose the very first merchant in Liverpool, the largest merchant in Lancashire, on the one hand; we will choose our tried champion in the House of Commons on the other—the man who suffered obloquy and sneers in the cause of Free Trade when the battle seemed a hopeless one—when men of self-seeking character shrank away from it. We will bring forward our Parliamentary leader, Mr. Villiers, and our first merchant, Mr. Brown; and then who will say this struggle is one of personal predilection or of party favour?"†

Parliament was opened by the Queen on February 4, 1845. The tone of the Speech was cheerful. Trade had improved; the revenue had exceeded the estimates; and there had been an abundant harvest. The Address was carried without an amendment, Lord John Russell making only a few remarks, in the course of which, however, he stated his conviction "that Protection was not the support, but the bane of agriculture!"

The Budget, by which Sir R. Peel surrendered £3,300,000 of revenue in the shape of repealing and reducing duties, was, so far as it went, a Free Trade budget. But the Corn Law was not touched; and on May 17, 1845, there appeared in the *League* newspaper, Letter No. XXX. on the Corn Laws, addressed to Mr. Villiers by Mr. W. J. Fox, under his *nom de plume*, "A Norwich Weaver Boy." The series of letters, which for purity of diction and vigour of expression have rarely been equalled, was addressed to the most eminent members of

* *The League*, August 10, 1844.

† *Ibid.* January 10, 1845.

the two Houses, a letter appearing each week. Space will only admit of our giving one or two passages from the letter to Mr. Villiers :—

“Sir,—The Free Traders of Great Britain are expecting your annual motion for the repeal of the Corn Laws with that full reliance upon your doing justice to their cause which you have earned by so many years of able and consistent advocacy. They await the repetition of your effort quietly but not indifferently. . . .

“We are at our posts, sir, as you are at yours; and, while putting our own shoulders to the wheel, we notice with satisfaction how steadily you pursue the course you have marked out for yourself in Parliament, undiverted either to the right hand or the left by any political or personal inducement. Your public career is identified with this great cause. You adopted it in its feebleness, and you are one with it in its might. Your name is inwoven into the record of the struggle, and will be emblazoned in the glory of the triumph. Compared with the pure fame which you will achieve, how worthless is the transitory power of party leaders, pursuing crooked paths, surrounded by suspicions, guided by no principle, and, even when they are the inconsistent agents of benefit to a nation, conquered into the good they do by better men, whose perseverance has made the expediency to which *they* succumb.”

Notwithstanding the intense heat of the summer of 1845, a crowded House met on June 10, to listen to Mr. Villiers' annual motion. The Ministerial Bench was thronged; the monopolists were present in such numbers as to cause one another the greatest discomfort. The Opposition benches were less crowded, but the full strength of the Free Traders was assembled. The following account of Mr. Villiers' speech is taken from the *League* of June 14 :—

“The speech of Mr. Villiers, opening what may most emphatically be termed his case, occupied between two and three hours; and though all novelty of point may be fairly considered as long since exhausted, there were repeated portions of that most elaborate and admirable address in which the solid and reiterated argument was relieved by that playful raillery by which Mr. Villiers gives pungency to his sarcasm, without leaving behind the sting of personality. The particular stage, too, at which the question now stands in the agricultural *mind*, afforded much room for novelty both of point and mirth; and Sir Robert Peel fairly laughed outright at the picture of the deplorable condition of the agricultural societies, with their landlord condition of ‘no politics.’ Historical, descriptive, and prophetic, the speech of Mr. Villiers exhibited the question of the Corn Laws as it has been, as it is, and as it shall be; and such a speech, coming from the man who has for years toiled on, from the period of the dreariest indifference and ignorance to the present moment of all but universal assent and conviction, will be received in the country, as it was in the House,

with the just respect which is due to talent, perseverance, and undeviating consistency."

After one night's debate, in the course of which Lord J. Russell said that he "saw the fall of the Corn Law signified not only the ability of the attacks made upon it, but also by the manner in which it is defended in this House," and Sir James Graham could only advance against the motion that it was too precipitate. Mr. Villiers was defeated by 254 to 122.

Within a week of the Corn Law debate, Mr. George Wilson announced at Covent Garden that the contributions to the £100,000 fund amounted to £116,000, including the £25,000 realized by the sales at the monster bazaar, which had been held at the theatre from the 8th to the 26th of May. At this time the trade of the country was flourishing; there was plenty of employment at good wages for the working classes; and, moreover, bread was cheaper than it had been for many years. But in less than three months' time the whole kingdom was thrown into the greatest alarm by a prospect of a failure of the harvest, and by the fatal blight of the potato crop in Ireland and on the Continent.

At a Cabinet Council held on November 6, Sir R. Peel proposed that an Order in Council should be at once issued reducing the duty on all grain in bond to a shilling a quarter; that the ports should be temporarily opened to the admission of grain at a small duty; and finally, that Parliament should be summoned on November 27. But he only had the support of Sir James Graham, the Earl of Aberdeen, and Mr. Sidney Herbert. Then resulted several Cabinet Councils; still the Protectionist members would not yield; and on December 5 Sir R. Peel resigned office. Lord J. Russell was summoned to form a Government; owing, however, to Lord Grey declining to enter the same Cabinet as Lord Palmerston, he was obliged to confess his inability to achieve the task. Sir R. Peel resumed office with his old colleagues, except Lord Stanley and Lord Wharnccliffe, who were replaced by Mr. Gladstone and Lord Dalhousie. Though it was believed that the Corn Law would be beneficially altered, the Anti-Corn-Law League redoubled its efforts, and it was determined to raise a *quarter of a million*, and within an hour and a half upwards of £60,000 was subscribed!

On January 19, 1846, the Queen opened Parliament in person. In his speech on the Address, Sir R. Peel adverted to the potato famine as having made the Corn Law question more urgent, but he added, "I will not assign to that cause too much weight. I will not withhold the homage which is due to the

progress of reason and truth, by denying that my opinions on the subject of Protection have undergone a change."

On January 27, Sir Robert Peel developed his plan of financial and commercial policy in a speech of four hours' duration. Animal food and vegetables were to be admitted duty free. One-half of the existing duties on butter, cheese, hops, and cured fish were to be removed. In short, the duties were to be reduced, or altogether repealed, on more than 150 articles. Finally, as to wheat, oats, barley, and rye, he proposed that on February 1, 1849, they should be admitted duty free, subject only to a small registration tax; in other words, he proposed, what the Free Traders had so long struggled for, *the total repeal of the Corn Laws*. The debate on the measure was postponed till February 9, and then extended over twelve nights. There were 103 speeches delivered, 48 in favour of the measure, and 55 against it. Mr. Villiers' speech closed the eleventh night's debate. The second reading was carried by a majority of 97 in a House of 577 members. Finally, the third reading was carried on May 16, at four o'clock in the morning, by a majority of 98 in a House of 556. The progress of the Bill through the House of Lords was more rapid, and on June 26, 1846, the Bill which practically repealed the Corn Laws received the Royal assent and became law. On the same day the Ministry were overthrown in the Commons on the Irish Coercion Bill, and Sir R. Peel finally surrendered the seals of office.

At a meeting of the League on July 2, it was decided to bring their operations to a close. Their last act, before finally separating, was to display their loyalty to the throne by giving three hearty cheers for the Queen.

When the League Council had apportioned the well-merited rewards to Cobden, Mr. Bright, George Wilson, and the members of the Executive Council, nothing had been said about Mr. Villiers. This "act of omission" was resented by the general body of Free Traders, and a committee was consequently organized to repair what was looked upon as a grave neglect. So soon, however, as the matter came to Mr. Villiers' ears he wrote to the chairman of the committee, Mr. Ricardo, and begged him to dissolve it without delay, since, much as he was touched by such a mark of their appreciation of his conduct, he could never accept a pecuniary acknowledgment of it.

"He had given his time, and taxed his health, and encroached upon his moderate means, to secure the one object which had dominated him from the commencement of his career; but he so shrank from the least semblance of anything approaching a mercenary motive, that—it is an open secret, so we are free to allude

to it here—he never could be prevailed upon to accept any sum offered to him by the League to meet the personal expenditure he incurred in connection with the movement. ‘The reward of public services is public confidence, and I will accept nothing else,’ was his characteristic reply to Mr. Ricardo; and all that he looked for was a post in which he could better serve his country than in the one he then filled.”*

In the “Political Memoir,” from which we have just quoted, there are given passages from two letters from Cobden to the late Joseph Parkes, never before published, and which are alike so abounding in honour to Mr. Villiers and their writer, and so full of interest, that we feel justified in quoting them without apologizing for their length. The first passage occurs in a letter dated from Llangollen, July, 1846, Cobden then having retreated to the Welsh mountains for the benefit of his health. He says:—

“But why do I write to you? Why, to call to mind the midnight conversation we had together on the Carlton Terrace, when we talked of Villiers. You said you knew I need not trouble myself about him—that he would be well cared for whether Peel or Lord John was in power. Is it so? He has been offered a post which, I suppose, it was known he could not with propriety take. But is there nothing that he could with advantage to himself and credit to your party accept? Where there is a will there is a way. I think now, as we both thought then, that an embassy from which he would not be likely to be removed by any *probable* change of Government, would suit him, and be most gratifying to the Free Traders. . . . If I were Lord John, I would not sleep without first having found an appointment for Villiers—the higher the better. The Free Traders have felt confident that he would be rewarded at the hands of the next Government for his services to the cause. . . . If Villiers were appointed to any Court where Protectionist principles are in the ascendant (and where are they not so, excepting Switzerland and Tuscany?) it would be most useful in influencing the Government, it would be a graceful way of promoting an honest man, and pronouncing on the part of our rulers to a foreign nation. Now, be a good fellow for once, and tell me confidentially if you think I can in any way put a spoke in the wheel for Villiers. I would not ask a favour of any Government, to the extent of an exciseman’s place, to serve my own brother, but I should be glad to put the screw on for Villiers in any way possible. He is not a party man, and therefore not likely to promote his own interests. But, as a man of the people myself, I do feel nettled that the only man of his class who from the first has been true to our cause should be neglected by the Government which has come into power upon the wreck of parties occasioned by our popular movement.”†

* “Political Memoir,” p. lxii.

† *Ibid.* p. lxiii.

The above extract was forwarded to Lord John Russell by Mr. Parkes, who received a reply to the effect that Lord John agreed that anything that could be done for Mr. Villiers ought to be done, and that he would try if anything could be found abroad. Cobden again writes to Parkes on learning these facts:—

“One point occurs to me in reading your narrative. Contrive to let Lord John know that you staved off some leading Lancashire men from going on a deputation to press Villiers' claim upon him, and that they were for acting quite unconnected with *me*. *That* would show him the strong interest felt about him in the north.

“I agree with you that Villiers will never make an administrator, if by that we mean a House of Commons' partisan. He is too honest, too sensitive, too much like an unbroken high-spirited steed. . . . The more I think of it, the more do I lean to the idea of a foreign embassy for him. . . . I know him well, have watched and probed him for eight years, and am ready to swear by him as a true man. I love and venerate him more than he is aware of. I have felt for him what I could not express, because my esteem has grown out of his noble self-denial under trials to which I could not allude without touching a too secret chord. I have trod upon his heels, nay, almost trampled him down, in a race where he was once the sole man on the course. When I came into the House, I got the public ear and the press (which he never had as he deserved). I took *the* position of the Free Trader. I watched him then; there was no rivalry, no jealousy, no repining; his sole object was to see his principles triumph. He was willing to stand aside and cheer me on to the winning goal; his conduct was not merely noble, it was godlike. . . . I verily believe that I have suffered more on account of the slights and mortifications he has experienced than he has done. The purity of his motives has prevented him from seeing or feeling it himself. I wish he knew how long and anxiously the leading Leaguers discussed the subject of a testimonial to him and Bright jointly with myself, and how anxious they were not to expose him to the invidious neglect of singling me out personally for all the honours. . . . Every discussion ended in the unanimous opinion that only one *incarnation* of the Free Trade principle could be adopted. I felt most keenly how much this must annoy Villiers. Since I have been here, I have written to him, to explain fully what my sacrifices had been. Now the leading men in Manchester knew of my position; that I had called together half a score of them last August, and resolved to abandon my public position; that nothing but the potato-rot prevented my resigning my post; that the moneyed men in Manchester knew all this, and hence their zeal to serve me in a pecuniary way. I told him everything, for I thought it would at least mitigate the sting. He has returned me a noble answer, just like himself. I could cry over it, and kiss the hand that penned it.”*

* “Political Memoir,” pp. lxvi.-lxviii.

At the general election of 1847, South Lancashire redeemed Cobden's promise, and chose Mr. Villiers and Mr. Brown for their representatives. Mr. Villiers displayed fresh proof of his disinterestedness, and, deeply as he appreciated the tribute offered by the electors of South Lancashire, remained faithful to the borough that had trusted him before his singular gifts and devotion to the popular cause had rendered his name famous.

For some years the policy of Free Trade developed so successfully, that the Protectionists were never strong enough to fight a pitched battle. By January, 1850, however, Lord J. Russell had become so anxious to show that the Whig Government and the Free Traders were at one on the question of Free Trade, that he wrote to Mr. Villiers asking him to move the Address in answer to the Queen's Speech. Mr. Villiers wished to excuse himself from the task, on the ground that he was only a borough member, and therefore disqualified according to precedent from moving the Address; but Lord J. Russell reminded him that by the choice of South Lancashire in 1847 he was virtually a county member. Mr. Villiers yielded to his wish, and made a remarkable speech, that bristled with facts demonstrating the good results that had already resulted from the adoption of the Free Trade policy, and which were bound to increase tenfold as the beneficial effects of time made themselves felt.

In 1852, Lord Derby came into power, with Mr. Disraeli as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Monopolist hopes revived, the Free Traders grew uneasy, and Mr. Villiers—"the stormy petrel of Protection" as Mr. Disraeli called him—pressed the Government for a distinct statement of their policy with regard to foreign commerce, especially that branch of it engaged in the supply of food for the people.

Anxious to gain time, and to obtain the support of a new Parliament, Ministers evaded the question. But in November, when the new Parliament met, the final blow was dealt at Protection. Then it was Mr. Villiers brought forward his famous resolutions pledging the Legislature to accept the Act of 1846, as a "wise, just, and beneficial measure." Mr. Disraeli denounced these terms of approval as "the three odious epithets." But, prompted by his genuine regard for Mr. Villiers, whose consistent adherence to his principles had a special charm in his estimation, Mr. Disraeli in moving his amendment paid Mr. Villiers one of the warmest tributes of admiration ever delivered to a political adversary in the House of Commons:—

"There is one person in this House who has been constant from the beginning, and has a right to make the speech he made to night, and that is the honourable member for Wolverhampton. I have sat in this House many years with the honourable and learned gentleman,

and I had the honour and gratification of his acquaintance for some years before either of us, I daresay, thought of having a seat in this House. There are two qualities which I have ever observed in him—precision of thought and concinnity of expression; and that is the reason why I do not believe he is the author of the resolutions which he has brought forward. Whatever may be the fault of those resolutions, I find no fault with his speech. His speech is the same he has always made. I make the observation without any feeling that approaches to a sneer. I may say that he may look back with proud self-complacency to the time when I remember him sitting on almost the last bench on this side of the House, and bringing forward with the command of a master of the subject, never omitting a single point, and against all the prejudices of his audience, the question of the Corn Laws. There were no cheers then from the followers of Sir Robert Peel. There were no enthusiastic adherents then in a defunct Whig Ministry. On the contrary, the right honourable Baronet the member for Carlisle (Sir James Graham) came forward, and threw his broad shield over the territorial interest of England; and anybody but the honourable and learned member for Wolverhampton would have sunk in the unequal fray. I honour, respect, and admire him; but I cannot agree to his resolutions."

Mr. Bright, replying to Mr. Disraeli's speech, forcibly pointed out the striking inconsistency the House would be guilty of, when giving its final sanction to the great principles of a national Free Trade policy, if it turned from the advice of the statesman who at great personal sacrifices had for fifteen years led the question in Parliament, to submit to the dictation of its most vehement antagonist:—

"My honourable friend (Mr. Villiers) could with perfect honesty say that he could not be actuated by factious motives in bringing this subject forward, for he brought it forward fifteen years ago, and probably no public man suffered more in his political associations than my honourable friend suffered by his undeviating advocacy of what to him, at least, seemed a great and sacred question. My honourable friend is, therefore, precisely the man to bring this question forward; and every person must admit that he is harmonious in the position he occupies to-night, when measured by the position he always occupied on this question. . . . Now, when Parliament is going to pronounce its final verdict on the question of Free Trade, I should have thought that my honourable friend, who for fifteen years has been the consistent leader of the Free Trade question in Parliament, should be the person to draw up the terms of that verdict, and not one like the right honourable gentleman, who has been a Protectionist during the whole period of his career."

The result of the debate was to pledge the country to maintain and develop for the future a policy of Free Trade; the Government of Lord Derby resigned; Lord Aberdeen formed his Coalition Ministry, and Mr. Villiers accepted the post of

Judge-Advocate-General, and was re-elected for Wolverhampton, that borough setting its seal of approval on his conduct during his nineteen years' service by returning him without opposition.

And now in concluding our notice of that portion of Mr. Villiers' political career, "in connection with the great commercial revolution with which his name is most widely associated," we cannot do better than quote the final paragraph of the exceedingly able and comprehensive "Political Memoir," to which we have so frequently alluded in the course of this paper, and to the perusal of which we most heartily recommend such of our readers as may be anxious to learn how Mr. Villiers' labours in behalf of his fellow-countrymen did not cease with the attainment of the object to which he devoted so many of the best years of his manhood.

"The great political events of the early part of our century are fast receding into that distance whence they assume to the eyes of all men their due relative proportions, and whence those who have taken the lead in them are estimated with a judgment that cannot be biassed by the prejudices of party, nor distorted by the glamour of self-interest. When in the fulness of time history shall be so revealed to posterity, the figure of Charles Pelham Villiers will stand out from amongst his contemporaries with a clearness greater even than it does now, as that of the far-seeing statesman who, with rare singleness of purpose, forgot himself in his zeal for the welfare of the people."*

ART. VI.—COMPULSORY COMPENSATION FOR AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENTS.

SINCE the present House of Commons was elected in 1880, several measures have been passed relating to the land, in each of which the principle of freedom of contract has been somewhat roughly handled. "The Ground Game Act" (1880) interferes with freedom of contract; "Lord Cairns' Conveyancing Act" (1881) interferes with freedom of contract when it puts an end to forfeiture for non-observance of the covenants in a lease; "The Irish Land Act" (1881)—generally admitted, however, to be an exceptional measure—interferes with freedom of contract; and now another measure is under discussion—"The Landlord and Tenant Bill" (1883)—which also interferes with freedom of contract. Why is it, we may not unfairly ask, that at this time of day we are legislating in a direction that would apparently indicate

* "Political Memoir," p. xcvi.

retrogression rather than progression? Why is it that, although the movement from a lower to a higher civilization has been accompanied in the past by a movement from status to contract, at the present time the symptoms would seem to indicate a movement in a reverse direction? The answer that we would submit is this, that upon examination of the whole of the circumstances it will be found, that although enactments of the nature we have mentioned are not steps forward in the direction of freedom of contract, they are, nevertheless, not steps backward, whatever superficial appearances they may carry with them of being such; that owing to various causes, which we shall mention later, hirers of land have only recently come to feel that they are living under a system which subjects them to the full weight and influence of freedom of contract; and further, that owing to certain inequitable presumptions of English law in favour of the landlord, hirers of land find themselves placed in a very unequal position in contracting with the owners of it; that it is not a retrograde step, but simply an attempt on the part of the tenants to preserve, in another form, the same security which they formerly enjoyed.

Status is a condition in which every relationship is ruled by custom,—where the reciprocal duties of landlord and tenant arise by law from the relation in which they stand to each other, and are not regulated by contract. When contract takes its place, it does so gradually. At first only a few of the customary relationships are broken in upon by special arrangements—that is, by contract—while the majority of them remain in force. But as by degrees the advantages of contract become recognized, it comes to be regarded as open to any one, who wishes to escape from the control of custom, to resort to it; and naturally the first to take advantage of their opportunity are those persons who have most to gain by it. Accordingly amongst the earliest to discard custom for contract are the men who by wealth and position are the stronger, and who, perceiving that they may obtain more favourable terms by freeing themselves from the bonds of custom, resort to contract for that purpose. For a time the force of old customs may prevent contracts from differing much in terms from the condition of status which it supplants; but when the force of custom has become weakened and contract comes into full play, the weaker party has to accept the best terms it can obtain, and suffering probably from the onerous agreements submitted to it, is led to cry out for some limitation of the right of free contract—for some equivalent for that protection which, under the rule of custom, it formerly enjoyed.

Such transitions from status to contract are sometimes brought about very rapidly; and the more rapid the transition, the more

lively the protests of those who suffer by the change, since they have less time to accommodate themselves to the altered circumstances. We have had a striking instance of this in Oude in recent years. When we took over the country (1856) we introduced the landlord theory of absolute right to the soil, and with it the concurrent theory of the right of free contract. Accordingly no limit was put upon the power of the landlords—the talookdars—to evict tenants or to raise rents, except in such cases as the tenants might be able to prove a custom to the contrary. The result was that the tenants as a body failed to establish a custom in their favour, the landlords proceeded to raise rents, and great distress was caused. The English Government was compelled to interfere, and a compromise was arrived at, whereby some limitation was placed upon the landlords' powers in these respects;* but the compromise seems to have been unsatisfactory as regards the requirements of the tenantry, and fresh difficulties arose, which have recently engaged the attention of the Indian Government. The same thing occurred in Patna, the most peaceful district of Bengal, soon after (in 1859) the rule of India passed from the Company to the Crown. Here also we recognized the landlords as absolute owners with a full power of contract, and the tenantry were deprived of the protection which custom had formerly afforded them. They suffered everywhere from enhancements of rents, and for some time the country was in a condition of agrarian revolt—a revolt (in the words of Mr. Hunter) conducted according to the forms of law. The husbandmen simply said, "We shall not fight, but we shall not pay. Every simple rent collected shall cost a lawsuit; we shall contest each stage of every lawsuit, from the institution of the plaint to the final order. We are so badly off that it is better for us to sell our last cow to fight our landlords in the courts than to expend it in paying rent."† Again the English Government had to intervene, on the one hand to grant the tenantry tenant-right in their holdings, and on the other to subject their rents to a judicial assessment. The tenantry stripped of the security afforded them by their customary tenures, had fallen a prey to a body of men, the talookdars or landlords, whom they were not strong enough to resist. The two parties were not equals, and the lesser people needed for some time longer the protection which a less advanced state of society could alone afford. Freedom of contract had come too soon.

Our own country has experienced the same movement—from

* Campbell, "Cobden Club Essays on Land Tenure," p. 282.

† *Times*, November 20, 1880.

status or custom, to contract—in connection with the tenure of land; but the changes from having been gradual and spread over a long period, were submitted to with comparatively little protest. We will glance at some of the causes which have operated to lessen the force of the exchange to freedom of contract in relation to the tenure of land.

In feudal times there was little room left for contract along with the numerous customs that regulated the manorial system. We observe, moreover, that the spirit of custom was so strong in favour of all cultivators having a greater interest in the soil than a merely personal one dependent upon the will of the lord, that even the villeins acquired an actual interest in the land they tilled inferior only to that enjoyed by the freeholders. And four centuries after the Conquest (1472) we find the villein, whose happiness Lord Coke in the following words so vividly depicts, firmly fixed in his holding as a copyholder:—

“The lords upon the least occasion (sometimes without any colour of reason, only upon discontent and malice, sometimes again upon some sudden and fantastic humour, only to make evident to the world the height of their power and authority) would expel out of house and home their poor copyholders, leaving them helpless and remediless by any course of law, and driving them to sue by way of petition. But now copyholders stand upon a sure ground; now they weigh not their lords' displeasure; they shake not at every sudden blast of wind; they eat and drink and sleep securely, only having a special care of the main chance—viz., to perform carefully what duties and services soever their tenure doth exact and custom doth require; then let lord frown, the copyholder cares not, knowing himself safe and not within any danger. For, if the lord's anger grow to expulsion, the law hath provided several weapons of remedy; for it is at his election either to sue a *subpœna* or an action of trespass against the lord.”

The change from a condition of status took place gradually. As time passed on, and certain land by escheat became forfeited to the lord, and other land was brought for the first time into cultivation, it became customary to lease to new tenants upon terms which would give them no actual interest in the soil by reason simply of their tenure. Moreover, as the freeholders and the copyholders in the course of time ceased to be themselves cultivators of their lands, and let them out to tenants to cultivate, they did so upon similar terms; and thus practically all the land came to be held, not by customary tenure, but by contract.

The change from status to contract in the tenure of land would hardly have been effected with so little resistance had it not been that there were influences at work—potent, some of them, even in the present century—to alleviate the unlimited pressure of freedom of contract upon the tenantry.

(1.) Foremost must be placed the close relationships which formerly existed between landlords and tenants. A century ago almost every parish had its squire living in his manor-house, while many parishes had more than one resident landlord; but now the manor-houses have for the most part become farm-houses, and it is no uncommon thing to meet with landlords who own the greater part of five or six, or even more, parishes. The influence of such a change must be considerable. The squire who a century ago lived amongst his tenants, was more on a social equality with them; he knew intimately their individual circumstances, their troubles, and their wants. He and they met continually in the field and in the village, and on the Sunday sat together in the same church. For him to evict or to unduly raise the rent of tenants with whom he was so closely associated, whose fathers had probably farmed his land for generations, was a matter not to be lightly undertaken. Mr. Barnes, who writes from intimate knowledge, says:—

“There are in Blackmore (the Vale of Blackmore), and indeed elsewhere in Dorset, farms and houses which were formerly the lands and homes of squires of the lower rank. I know of three of such ones in a triangle, hardly more than half a mile asunder. It seems that these men were of good in their places. With minds unbewildered by an overwhelming weight of business, they lived at home; and, having land to lose, they were loyal and patriotic, and were in daily communion with their work-folk, and could call them all by their names, and knew of their wants and worthiness of help, for which it was thought that they had a stronger call on the landlord than on the renting farmer.”*

The squire of modern days may say with the Lord Leicester who built Holkham, “I look around, and not a house is to be seen but mine. I am the Giant of Giant’s Castle, and have eat up all my neighbours.” And as a result of our overgrown estates, it is scarcely possible for a large landowner to be intimately acquainted with the condition of each individual tenant. Indeed, in most cases he no longer himself conducts the business of his estate, but employs an agent to do it for him, and to the agent the tenants are referred when they have any grievance to bring before their landlord. The interest of the agent is to stand well with his employer, and his best means of doing so are to give him as little trouble and provide him with as large an income as he can. Consequently, the kindly feeling which a close acquaintance with his tenantry would have caused the landlord formerly to entertain towards them, is now to a great extent wanting, and the only person who has the knowledge which

* *Leisure Hour*, January, 1883.

would evoke such feelings is the agent, whose interest it is not so much to meet the requirements and wants of the tenants as to please his employer.

We have had conspicuous instances of this in other occupations. The great development in the present century of the manufacturing industries under the Joint-Stock system, has to a great extent replaced the master with his few hands of older days—each of whom was closely associated with and well known to him—by large factories employing hundreds or thousands of hands. The new system left no place for personal influences, and hence soon arose a demand for protection to the employed, resulting in Trades' Unions and in Factory Acts. If we turn, on the other hand, to another large class of the employed—the class of domestic servants—what do we observe? That without either the assistance of trade organization or State interference, they have continued not only to maintain but to steadily improve their position. How then can we account for this, except upon the ground that domestic service necessarily brings the employer and the employed into close relationship, and that this close relationship prevents the employer from making or exacting unduly harsh and inconsiderate terms from those in his employ?

(2.) But to return to our main question, the relationship between landlord and tenant. It may be argued that there have been for centuries large estates, and that upon these estates, at least, the close relationship spoken of between landlord and tenant could not have existed. In the case of large estates, however, down to very recent years, the system of leasing on lives—common until the war at the beginning of this century to all properties—gave great security to the tenants. The Royal and Duchy properties, ecclesiastical and college properties, and many if not most of the estates of the nobility, until comparatively recently, have been leased on this system. It was an improvident system for landlords, but afforded excellent security for tenants. But of late years landlords have refused to renew on lives when existing ones dropped, and very little property leased under this system remains to fall in. The change generally, by lessening the security of the tenant, has operated to no inconsiderable degree to strengthen the demand for legislative measures by which his capital and labour can be made more secure.

(3.) Another cause which has operated to bring about a limitation of freedom of contract in relation to the tenure of land, has arisen in connection with the Game Laws. There again it is strikingly apparent that the protection sought by the tenants is not a step backward from a position of independence which they held formerly, but which now they are no longer able to maintain, for its origin is due to circumstances of very recent growth—the

excessive preservation of game, and the letting of shootings. The second of these causes has probably done more than anything else to foster a demand for a limitation of freedom of contract. Tenant farmers, as a rule, willingly see their landlords sporting over their property, for it gives them as occupiers opportunities of making themselves and their wants better known to them. But it is otherwise when the shooting is let to strangers. The demand for protection then becomes strong.

Such are some of the changes which have contributed to render the position of a tenant farmer less secure than formerly. But besides these aspects of the relationships of landlords and tenants, there are certain other changes of an economic nature, which have also tended to cause tenants to demand some further security from the Legislature—changes which have compelled tenants to make outlay of capital upon their holdings for which the existing law provides no security, and for which the Landlord and Tenant Bill (1883) is intended as a remedy. We refer especially to outlay on permanent pasturage, manures, and drainage.

(1.) When the Corn Laws were in existence, the price of wheat fluctuated from 40s. to 100s. per quarter. Since their repeal it has seldom been much above 40s. per quarter, and often below that amount. The high price of wheat under the Corn Laws led to the breaking up of large areas of pasturage, and their conversion into arable land. It needed little more than the plough and the harrow to change the one into the other. But with the repeal of the Corn Laws much of this land ceased to be profitable as corn land, and to re-convert it into pasture was a slow and costly process, needing the expenditure of much care, time, and money. Hence arose a serious difficulty for tenants who had no legal claim for compensation for improvements. The length of time requisite to bring back land which has been broken up into a finished state of permanent pasture, is estimated at from seven to twenty years, according to the nature of the soil (Sir J. Caird). It is obvious therefore that tenants upon yearly holdings, with no security for compensation, cannot providently undertake such improvements. Accordingly we find that though the amount of land under corn crops has been somewhat decreasing since the repeal of the Corn Laws, there has been no such extensive conversion of it into pasturage as the opening up to the English markets of the supply of the World would have led us to expect. Under the Agricultural Holdings Act (1875) compensation allowed for laying down permanent pasture is limited to twenty years, which is clearly insufficient; for if we take the case where a tenant has taken, say fifteen years, to bring pasturage into good condition, and quits his holding a year or two after it is brought to a finished

state, he can receive no sufficient compensation for his outlay and trouble, as he can only begin to reap the full reward of his labour after it has reached that state. Under the Landlord and Tenant Bill (1883) the limit of time is very properly abolished, but leave to lay down permanent pasture remains dependent upon the landlord's consent. This seems to us hardly satisfactory. The laying down of permanent pasture is an "improvement" which we are inclined to think might have been left to the discretion of the tenant; the landlord being liable, in the terms of the first section of the Bill, to pay him on quitting his holding such "sum as fairly represents the value of the improvement to an incoming tenant." If the change effected by the tenant should be no "improvement," and of no value to an incoming tenant, he will be entitled to no compensation, and the pasturage can be ploughed up.

(2.) Another change to the disadvantage of the unsecured tenant is the increased expenditure on manures. For improvements of this nature the Agricultural Holdings Act limits compensation to seven years for certain forms of manure (boning, chalking, claying, liming, and marling), and to three years for other forms (artificial manures and oil-cake.) But those who are experienced in these matters say that even twenty years after manures have been applied to the soil beneficial effects may be derived from them.* The Landlord and Tenant Bill (1883) gives the tenant an absolute right to pecuniary compensation for improvements of this nature without laying down any limit of time, but provides (sec. 5) that if the landlord and tenant agree in writing to some other form of compensation for such improvement, such agreement shall be binding if the substituted compensation be fair and reasonable.

(3.) Drainage again is a matter of pressing importance, being also very costly. How much yet needs to be done in this way may be seen by a reference to the evidence given before the Royal Commission on Agriculture. It is there estimated that fifteen millions of acres need drainage; and further, that taking into account other necessary improvements, one-fourth only of the land has been properly dealt with. Landlords do very little drainage, and indeed it can hardly be expected of them. Most landed properties are either under settlement, or, in accordance with family custom, are devised to the eldest sons; and such outlay can only be carried out to the detriment of the younger children, unless the owners have the courage to sell a portion of their possessions in order to improve the remainder—which the

* See "The Remedy for Agricultural Distress." J. W. Barclay, M.P., 1880.

Settled Land Act of 1882 permits, but which the pride of family possessions practically prevents. Hence comparatively little land has been improved under either the Drainage Loans Act (1848) or the Improvement of Land Act (1864), which require the repayment of the loan within a limited number of years. Tenants, however, are constantly anxious to drain their holdings, but are debarred from doing so either by the fear that such action on their part may be followed at no distant day by an enhancement of the rent, or by what is still worse, ejection from their holdings, by which they may be deprived of all benefit for their improvements, and of repayment for the expense and labour incurred in making them. So important, however, is the need of draining, that in many parts of the country a custom has grown up in favour of the tenant who embarks upon such a venture. In Holderness, fifteen years' compensation is allowed; in parts of Dorset, ten years; in Monmouth, eight years; in Oxfordshire, seven years; in Shropshire, two years; in Warwick, in the York oolite district, and in Goole, there is also an allowance,* and, by the Agricultural Holdings Act, twenty years is allowed. But not even the time allowed under the last-mentioned Act is, as we have seen, sufficient to compensate those who effect such improvements for their labour and outlay; for after the lapse of twenty years the drains, if properly kept in order, should be as effective as before; and moreover, it must be remembered that, owing to their action through a long course of years, the soil "sweetens," and greatly improves in condition.† Only recent discoveries have taught us the chemical value of good drainage in preventing the nitric acid developed in the soil from being washed away by excessive moisture. It is, therefore, with much reason said that no limit of time should be fixed as exhausting the value of drainage, and that whenever a tenant quits his holding he should be compensated for it at its estimated value at the time of quitting. This is the principle adopted in the Landlord and Tenant Bill (1883). Under this Bill a tenant will have an absolute right to compensation for drainage carried out by him, provided he has given his landlord due notice of his intention to drain, and the landlord has declined to carry out the required improvement himself. There is, however, one serious drawback to the right to compensation for draining thus given to the tenant—namely, the "six months' notice to quit," which is expressly sanctioned by section 11. We fear that the six months' notice to quit will be taken advantage of by landlords to render nugatory the

* *Land*, Dec. 13, 1883.

† Prout, "Clay Farming," p. 90.

right to compensation for draining given to tenants under the Bill.

(4.) Shedding for cattle and sheep is much needed, but here again tenants require protection. Stall feeding during portions of the year would do much for the economy of the farm, and maintain both sheep and cattle in a wholesomer and healthier condition. During our wet cold spring weather, sheep and lambs would thrive better under shelter than they do in the exposed fields, half their time up to their knees in mud. By an Act passed in 1851 (14 & 15 Vict. c. 25) a tenant may remove farm buildings put up by him, provided previous to their erection he obtained his landlord's consent in writing, and subject to a right on the part of the landlord to purchase such buildings at a valuation. The Landlord and Tenant Bill (1883) sec. 12—re-enacting sec. 53 of the Agricultural Holdings Act (1875) but rendering that section compulsory and no longer permissive—appears intended to effect the same object, with the exception that the landlord's previous consent is no longer necessary. This is an excellent change. We say "appears intended," because the words of the section are, "any engine, machinery, or other fixture," and it is somewhat doubtful whether the word "fixture" as here used, would be interpreted to mean "buildings." As the term fixture has a limited technical meaning, it would have been better to have used the words "anything affixed to the soil." The 12th section of the new Bill preserves the landlord's right to purchase such improvements at their "fair value to an incoming tenant." We think this condition might have been omitted, for it may easily happen that the valuation paid to a tenant under this clause for fixtures, may be less than real value of such fixtures to him to remove. All that the landlord needs is that such fixtures should be removed without injury to his property.

(5.) Ensilaging—the American method of storing crops in a green state in "silos," or air-tight pits, for winter use—cannot be widely adopted without some security for tenants. Cattle and sheep feed with avidity upon crops so preserved; and cows fed on ensilaged food give twice as much milk as they would if fed upon hay and root crops. Moreover, this method of saving green crops possesses the advantage of enabling the farmer to save them in wet weather. A wet hay season, such as we had in 1882, would be no inconvenience. But then the ensilage pits and the appliances for pressing the crops, require some outlay, which a prudent tenant without security would hesitate to incur. The erection of silos should be put on the same footing as drainage is in the new Bill.

(6.) Fruit, vegetables, and flowers are imported in large

quantities annually into this country, although there can be little doubt that much, if not most, of the supply could be provided by home growers. But this would mean the conversion of much agricultural land into market gardens, at an outlay for stocking purposes of from £50 to £80 the acre, and a far larger outlay in cases where it might be desirable to establish "pits" and apply artificial heat for the protection and forcing of early crops. It is unnecessary to say that annual tenants with no protection for their improvements cannot enter upon undertakings of such a nature. In the Landlord and Tenant Bill (1883), compensation for making gardens and planting orchards is dependent upon the will of the landlord, his previous consent in writing being requisite. Unless we are greatly mistaken, very few landlords will give such consent, and fruit and flowers will continue to be imported in increasing quantities.

The general effect of the Landlord and Tenant Bill (1883) is to give complete security to the tenant for temporary improvements—viz., boning, chalking, clay-burning, claying, liming, marling, artificial manures, and the consumption of oil-cake; to give a qualified security to the tenant for drainage; and as to other permanent improvements, to leave them entirely in the discretion of the landlord—viz., the erection and enlargement of buildings; the laying down of permanent pasture; the making of osier-beds, water-meadows, gardens, roads, bridges, water-courses, wells, and fences; the planting of hops and orchards; the reclamation and warping of land. We use the term "a qualified security for drainage," because it will only be in cases where the tenant is in under a lease that he will be really protected in draining his holding; for sec. 11 declares, that a year's notice to quit, ending with the current year of the tenancy, shall be necessary, *except* where the landlord and tenant agree in writing to a six months' notice. Landlords who intend to prevent their tenants from bringing against them a claim for drainage, will be careful to grant them yearly tenancies only, terminable by a six months' notice to quit. We are disposed to think that it would have been better had a year's notice to quit been requisite in all cases, and that it would have been wise to have put compensation for some of the other "permanent" improvements, in the same category as compensation for "drainage." We admit that this would somewhat infringe upon the absolute power landlords now enjoy of preventing any improvement of their property, but there is a third party interested in the development of agriculture and in the development of the fruitfulness of the soil, which can hardly be left entirely out of account, and that is the nation at large. Some are inclined to say that the position of tenants

is already sufficiently strong, and that they do not need any such protection. This view has been to some extent endorsed by Lord Hartington, who, when speaking at Yeovil, November 4, 1881, said, "40,000 acres are lying idle, and we were told that enterprising capitalists, with knowledge and experience, are ready to invest in cultivation. Is it too much to ask them to come forward, and ask what security they considered necessary? The land agents, schooled by adversity, will now adopt new forms of tenure." Yet only a few days after the speech from which this extract is taken was delivered, a letter from an Aberdeenshire farmer, who had been travelling through England in search of a farm, was published, in which he said:—

"I went yesterday to examine 200 acres belonging to the Duke of ———, who has 6,000 acres of the finest farm-land on his hands, and here again I was met with the same conditions which prevail all over England—yearly tenancy and no security for improvements. I could have invested as well as I could desire, if I could get a lease for five years, with some security for outlay. I went away because I could not get conditions I could accept."*

Unfortunately, the experience of the Aberdeenshire farmer is only too common; and as Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen (Lord Brabourne) said in the debate on the Agricultural Holdings Act: "Freedom of contract does not exist in the hiring of land: Freedom there certainly is on the side of the landlord; but the only freedom which the farmer has is freedom to decline the contract, if he does not like the conditions. It is not freedom *in* contract, but freedom to avoid entering *into* any contract at all." We admit fully that it is right to regard with suspicion the interference of the State in such matters as contracts between landlords and tenants. But when we take into consideration that England, which for its size is unquestionably the most wealthy country in the world, ranks far behind many other countries as to the rate at which her agricultural development is progressing, we may well ask if there is not something amiss with the laws, which needs amendment. Mr. Gladstone has pointed out, that while the agricultural income of France increased during the years 1851–64 at the rate of 8 per cent. yearly, in England during the same period the increase was only at the rate of a little over one-half per cent. yearly.† We learn from Mr. Giffen, that "there is a steady tendency to rise in all securities; that capital cannot find an adequate outlet; and that a surplus is always pressing for investment." Yet this surplus does not find its way[‡] into the improvement of the productive

* *Fall Mall Gazette*, November 7, 1881.

† *West Calder*, Nov. 27, 1879.

capacity of the soil of this country; and the reason is, that the security is insufficient.

In one respect, the progress of the tenant farmers of this country compares favourably with that of farmers in other countries—viz., in the quality of their flocks and herds. In the breeding and raising of cattle and sheep the English farmer is without a rival. But the reason is not far to seek. In this branch of his business the tenant needs little security for his improvements. Stock is not fixed in the soil, or dependent upon the kindly disposition of the landlord. Cattle and sheep are easily removable at the shortest notice. Yet even in this portion of agricultural industry there is much room for improvement. Had the tenant farmers some security for their improvements, much of the disease and ill-health which wet pastures and exposure now cause our cattle, sheep, and lambs would be avoided by the erection of proper shedding, to the advantage alike of producer and consumer. The principle that a man has the greatest inducement to exertion when he has security that the fruits of his own labour shall become his own absolutely, which operates to make the English farmer a good raiser of stock, would also, it is reasonably argued, operate to bring him to the front as a tiller of the land. Columella, addressing the landowners of Italy eighteen centuries ago, advised them “to be more rigorous in exacting good cultivation than rent, as good cultivation, for the most part, brought rent.” And if this be true, the State can hardly be far wrong in promoting the good cultivation of the land, even if that be obtained at the cost of some interference with the principle of freedom of contract.

Thus far we have endeavoured to show, that although the demand on the part of the tenant farmers for greater security is of recent origin, it is due not to their seeking to protect themselves against a state of things with which they were formerly able to contend, but against a state of things which is altogether new; the more purely contractual relations now established between landlord and tenant on the one hand, and the increasing competition from foreign countries and the colonies on the other—a competition which renders the outlay of larger sums on drainage, manure, and other improvements, imperative on the part of the English farmer. With this change of circumstances the English farmer feels the full effect of freedom of contract, and hence a demand for a Landlord and Tenant Bill, which shall secure for him certain conditions which he asserts he is unable to obtain when contracting with his landlord in the ordinary course. We may ask, however, whether this claim for protection is due solely to this change of circumstances? It would seem not. The change of circumstances has undoubtedly made

the need for security felt, but it really arises from a want of equity in the English law of landlord and tenant—from the existence of certain presumptions of law in favour of the landlord, which tell most unfavourably against the tenant. What those presumptions are, we will now briefly inquire.

(1.) In the first place, the Roman law relating to the tenure of land, which has been adopted by the countries of Western Europe as the basis of their land laws, differs from the English law in regard to the law of distress. By the English law the landlord has the right of levying distress of common right, without any agreement with his tenant to that effect, and upon the failure of his tenant to fulfil his obligations, has the power of entering upon the property and seeking his own remedy. The civil law also recognizes the right of the landlord to treat the produce of the land as specifically pledged to him for the rent, but the remedy is essentially different from that afforded by the English law. The landlord cannot, under the civil law, summarily seek redress by entry, but requires the intervention of the judgment of a court of law, which can give its assistance upon terms. The existence of this right of distress, which places the landlord in the position of a secured creditor, is a double evil to farmers. The security it affords the landlord tends to unduly enhance rents; the less substantial tenant who offers the highest rent often being preferred to the better farmer who will only give a reasonable rent. Secondly, it places farmers at a disadvantage in obtaining advances, or making purchases on credit. The manure merchant is unlikely to give much credit to tenants whose stock and crop are subject to what is almost a first mortgage to the landlord, with no right or compensation existing in their favour, however much they may have improved the land they occupy. If the right of distress had not the sanction which comes of long usage it could hardly be regarded otherwise than a preferring of one creditor to the injury of others. This is a principle which is repugnant to our modern bankruptcy law,* and is one which we think cannot be justified. Now, whereas at the present time the law permits six years' rent to be distrained for, the Landlord and Tenant Bill (1883) proposes to reduce the landlord's right of distress to one year's rent. Some farmers undoubtedly have a secret liking for the law of distress, for in cases where a farmer is insolvent, his landlord by levying upon the farm stock, and then leaving it in his tenant's hands to continue his farming operations, may protect him against judgment creditors. The new Bankruptcy Bill, however, by abolishing the distinction between traders and non-traders—a farmer is at

* *Mallalieu v. Hodgson*, 16 Q.B. 689.

present a non-trader and the order and disposition clause of the Bankruptcy Act does not apply to property in his hands—will deprive tenants of this privilege, if privilege it may be called; and the right to distrain will then confer a benefit on the landlord, provided he sweeps off the stock and crop at once, but none on the tenant. It would have been better we think, to have left landlords to their remedy by action at law, as other creditors.

(2.) Another point wherein the English law—taking form at a period when the landlord was all-powerful and the tenants' rights were almost wholly disregarded—differs from the equitable principles of the civil law, is in relation to fixtures. The general rule of Roman law, as also of English law, is, that "omne quod inædificatur solo cedit." But while the English law adopted this as a hard-and-fast rule, the civil law admitted a number of equitable exceptions to the rule. For instance, "if a tenant has made a door, or any other addition attached to a building, he has a right to take it away although it be a fixture, provided he gives security not to damage the house, but to leave it as he found it." (D. xix. 2; xix. 4.) "Titius places a new barn of wood on the land of Seius. It is not fixed, but movable. It does not become the property of Seius." (D. xli. 1, 60.) The principle, therefore, of the civil law is, that fixtures which can be removed without damage to the property may be taken away; but it does not sanction removal where removal means injury to the property, nor does it sanction the wanton destruction of property, such as the pulling down of a house built upon another man's land. (D. xli. 1, 7, 12; J. ii. 1, 30.) Yet even in such cases it would seem, from passages both in the Digest and in the Code, that if the owner of the materials used could show it was not his intention to give them to the owner of the soil, the owner of the materials would be entitled to compensation for them. (D. lv. 1.)

(3.) The civil law again allowed the tenant compensation for his improvements, when the tenancy was determined by the act of the landlord. Whatever a farmer did to the land for its improvement, either by building or otherwise, gave him a title to compensation, if such improvements had not been part of the bargain and a consideration in fixing the rent. And this was the case, moreover, even when the tenant was evicted by the landlord for non-payment of rent. A farmer, for example, who planted vines, though under no agreement to do so, and who thereby increased the letting value of his farm, could set off such an improvement in an action for rent. (D. xix. 61.) When, however, the tenant quitted of his own act, the civil law did not recognize that he had any right to compensation for improvements. Yet, even here, he was to a large extent protected by

the right which he had of "removing all such things as were capable of removal, and by this means compelling the landlord to purchase such as were of practical value." The equitable principle of the civil law, which, as Pothier says, "ne permet pas de s'enrichir aux dépens d'autrui," has unfortunately not been adopted as part of the English law relating to the tenure of land. Nevertheless cases might be cited, where tenants owing to the death of their landlord, his insolvency, or from his mere caprice, have either been evicted from their holdings, by which their improvements were confiscated, or have had to pay increased rents solely upon their own outlay. (Mr. Foxton, of Welburn, North Riding, lost £3,000 in 1879, the farm being sold under an Order in Chancery.) Nothing has done more to prevent the development of English agriculture—nothing has done more to give rise to the demand for some limitation of freedom of contract—than this insecurity of the tenants in regard to their improvements.

(4.) We further observe that under the civil law the rent is liable to abatement in the event of serious failure of the crops. It is not difficult to trace the origin of this provision. The lessor and lessee were at first simply partners in the crop, the landlord being entitled to a fixed proportion, and his rent consequently varying with the abundance and value of the crop. This system still prevails in some countries; and even in our own it survived until recently in the form of tithes, which varied with the quality and abundance of the harvest. Moreover, the payment of rent in kind, which has largely prevailed even to recent times, has also to some extent caused the rent to vary with the quality of the crop. The civil law, and the French law following the civil law, requires the landlord, by the nature of the contract (unless otherwise agreed upon), to deliver to the tenant the land in good state, to guarantee that the farm is what is technically called "une possession utile."† From this requirement of the landlord two equitable rules have arisen—(1) that the produce of the land should exceed the rent; (2) that if the crop fails, the lessor shall share the loss with the lessee. Rent, at first the share of the landlord in the annual produce, and afterwards an annual sum paid him as consideration for possession, is still liable, under these laws, to abatement or remission in times of exceptional hardship or disaster. The law of France provides, in cases of tenancy for more than a year, that

* Richey, "Irish Land Laws," 37. See sec. 555 of French Code, and sec. 417 of Canadian Code.

† Richey, "Irish Land Laws," 33.

if the tenant loses one-half or more of one harvest, by unavoidable misfortunes (*cas fortuits*), he may demand a proportionate abatement of rent, unless he shall have been compensated for the loss by good crops in preceding harvests. The amount of the abatement, however, is not ordinarily required to be estimated until the end of the tenancy, when a balance is struck between the landlord and the tenant. But the tenant may demand that on its occurrence an estimate of his loss be made; and the judge may in his discretion relieve him provisionally of the payment of part of his rent in consideration of such loss. In the case also of a yearly tenancy, if the tenant suffers a loss of half his crops or more from similar causes, he is, under tenancies of more than a year, to have a proportionate abatement of rent. By express agreement the tenant may make himself liable generally, for accidental losses; but these accidental losses will only include ordinary misfortunes, such as arise from hail, lightning, frost, vine disease, and do not include extraordinary and unforeseen calamities, such as floods, war, pestilence, famine, fire; but these also may be included in the agreement in express terms.*

This equitable principle is recognized by the laws of Scotland, and by those of the nations in Europe which rest upon the foundation of the Roman civil code. The law of Scotland is thus stated in Hunter's "Landlord and Tenant" (vol. ii. 424): "Where the subject let is totally destroyed by causes not within the contemplation and beyond the control of the parties, the contract, and consequently the claim for rent, ceases; and if there be a partial injury and diminution, there must be a corresponding deduction of rent." Thus in the case of Lord Eglintoun v. his Tenants, it was held that where corn was destroyed by an uncommon storm of hail, so that the product was no more than sufficient to pay the expense of seed and labour, the tenants were not liable for any rent that year.†

(5.) Another instance of the difference between the English and the civil law is afforded by the different view taken of the letting of land on lease. We regard a lease of land as a loan; Roman law regards it rather as a sale, with a reversion to the vendor: "*Locatio et conductio proxima est emptioni et venditioni.*"‡ And as a "sale," having attached to it the equities which would attach to a sale. For instance, in the case of a lease of land, if either party failed to perform his part of the contract, and it was sought to enforce specific performance against him, regard is had to the consideration under the civil

* Arts. 1769, 1773, "Sirey and Gilbert's Annotated Code."

† q. q. Greenwood, on "The Land Laws," 1881.

‡ Just. ii. 24

law which looked upon a lease almost as a sale; and if the lessor had been induced to part with his property at a disproportionately high price, this disproportion was regarded as evidence of fraud, and the civil law would refuse specific performance of the contract, or would only permit the lessor to recover a fair value.*

When the hard and inequitable rule of English law as to fixtures was established, agriculture was the main business of the country. When trade became important, the trading classes struggled strongly against it, and gradually obtained exemptions in favour of fixtures erected for the purposes of business. But the law always has operated, and still continues to operate, most severely against agricultural tenants, although some few modifications from time to time have been made in it in their favour.

Thus we can point to no less than five important points in which the old civil law dealt more leniently with tenants than does our modern English land law; and with three of these points, relating to distress and fixtures, the new Landlord and Tenant Bill (1888) attempts to deal much on the lines of the older law.

Here let us shortly summarize the different causes we have referred to as collectively giving rise to the present demand for compensation to tenants for improvements. First, we have the change in social conditions; the more distant relationship which now exists between landlord and tenant; the extinction of leases for lives which afforded so much security to the occupier; the excessive preservation of game and the letting of shootings. Secondly, we have the economic changes; the abolition of the Corn Laws, and the consequent need for reconverting much arable land into pasture—a slow and costly undertaking; the risks of no immediate return from the outlays on manures which competition renders necessary; and the need of drainage for which no sufficient security exists. The full effect of these changes, as we have endeavoured to show, has only recently come to be adversely felt. Thirdly, we have various presumptions of law, making for the landlord instead of for the tenant; and either lacking, as abatement of rent on failure of crops which told in favour of the tenant; existing in favour of the landlord, as the right of distress; or telling in the landlord's favour, as compensation for improvements and the right to fixtures. Had such presumptions in favour of the occupier existed under our laws, it is not unlikely that they would have proved sufficient to

* D. 5, 3; Cod. iii. 52, 2; C. iii. 32, 5. Ortolan on Just., B. 3, T. 34, Art. 1028.

protect the tenant as a cultivator. . . But the presumptions of the law have been in favour of the landlord, and the tenant farmer under the operation of free contract has not proved strong enough to redress unaided the weight of the balance against him.

We are now in a position to form for ourselves an opinion as to how far the Landlord and Tenant Bill (1883) is likely to meet the real needs of the farmer. The main changes effected by this measure, if carried without substantial alterations, will, as we have seen, be in relation to compensation for improvements and the law of distress. Under it the quitting tenant will have an absolute right to compensation for his temporary improvements, a qualified security for drainage, and a permissive right (dependent upon his landlord's consent) to compensation for other improvements of a permanent nature. The landlord's right of distress, moreover, will be limited to one year from the date of levy. As to the right of distress, we have already expressed the opinion that it would be better to abolish it entirely. Its only effect is to unduly enhance rents. With regard to compensation for permanent improvements, we should be glad to see several of these improvements put upon the same footing as drainage, coupled with a year's notice to quit, in all cases. If this were done many much needed improvements would be effected by tenants; and if it should prove, as we believe it would, that the liability of landlords to pay compensation for such improvements was no injury to them, but on the contrary was more than counter-balanced by the improved value imparted by such improvements to their property, it would be easy at some future time to extend the principle of compulsory compensation to other permanent improvements. Unfortunately, as the Bill at present stands we doubt whether, even in the matter of drainage, a fair trial can be given to the principle of compensation to tenants for permanent improvements.

The erection and enlargement of buildings; the making and improving of roads, water-meadows, water-courses, wells, and fences, and the reclamation of waste land, may well be left to the discretion of the landlord; but the laying down of permanent pasture, the making of gardens, and the planting of orchards, are improvements which we think might be judiciously left to the discretion of the tenant. If the tenant laid out his money unwisely, his compensation would be *nil*, and the landlord would be called upon to pay nothing. The transference of even three "permanent" improvements (coupled with a longer notice to quit) to the second part of the schedule of the Bill (that containing "drainage"), would enable the principle of compensation for permanent improvements to be put to a satisfactory test. The Farmers'

Alliance would abolish the schedule altogether, make all improvements compulsory, and define an improvement as "any work or operation executed by a tenant upon a holding which adds to its letting value as a farm." We regard it however, as being very necessary to mention specific improvements, in order that valuers may know what they have to take into consideration in assessing a tenant's compensation. A landlord for example, may have a farm to let which is thoroughly out of condition (he may have been farming it himself), and a tenant may take it, say rent free for the first year, and at a rental of £400 a year for the four subsequent years. At the end of the fifth year, the farm by ordinary good cultivation may be worth fully £500 a year, and would pay the tenant well to take on at that rent. In such a case the definition of an improvement, as laid down by the Farmers' Alliance, would work unfairly in the tenant's interest.

There remains the question of the "sitting tenant." The Bill provides for the protection of the "quitting tenant" only, and this has caused considerable dissatisfaction. The "sitting tenant," it is said, improves his holding and makes it worth more to let. A new tenant would pay more rent, for the holding will produce more. The landlord may, under the Bill, demand this increase from the sitting tenant, though it may be entirely due to his work and outlay that the holding commands an increased value. He can only recover his outlay by giving up his holding, although he has made the outlay for the sake of the increased profit it will bring. If the "sitting tenant" is not protected he will take care not to improve, and tenants will be no better off under the Bill than they were before. The main argument brought against the claim of the "sitting tenant" for security against a rise of rent upon his own improvements is, that to secure him it would be necessary to constitute some form of land court for the fixing of rents. It certainly seems to us that this argument is a sound one. We cannot see how, if the case of the "sitting tenant" is to be directly met by the Landlord and Tenant Bill, the establishment of some tribunal for this purpose can be dispensed with. We are of opinion, however, that there is a better reason for not directly protecting the "sitting tenant"—namely, that if the quitting tenant is given a real security for his improvements, this security will equally extend to the advantage of the "sitting tenant." If the more necessary permanent improvements were put, as we have suggested, in the same category as "drainage," and a year's notice to quit were required in all cases, we believe that the "sitting tenant" would be well able to look after himself, for a landlord would take a reasonable rent from him rather than drive him out and have to pay him the amount which would be due to him for compensation.

One word as to the necessity for making legislation of this character compulsory. The Agricultural Holdings Act (1875) has been a conspicuous failure owing to its permissive character. Under the Landlord and Tenant Bill (1888) compensation for all permanent improvements (save drainage) is also absolutely permissive. As an illustration of the need for legislation of a compulsory nature as between landlord and tenant in such matters, we cannot do better than refer to the recent legislation in reference to "relief against forfeiture." Almost all leases contain a proviso for re-entry applicable to breaches of covenant of whatsoever kind; and in numerous cases landlords have taken advantage of their right of re-entry, not to enforce the covenants, but for the purpose of taking to themselves the improved value of the demised premises. Thus abused, it was characterized in the words of the late Lord Justice James* as "an odious stipulation, oppressive and offensive beyond measure." The only remedy the legislature provided was that there should be no forfeiture for non-payment of rent, while terribly hard cases constantly occurred for other breaches of covenant—*e.g.*, failure to insure.† As eviction for breaches of covenant was not in the nature of a presumption of law in favour of the landlord, but arose out of free contract between the parties, no opening was afforded for permissive legislation. It was however inequitable; and the Legislature in Lord Cairns' Conveyancing Bill, sec. 15, has put an end to it, and given the Court absolute discretion to grant in breaches of covenant any relief it may think fit. This enactment, moreover, is declared to apply to "existing leases, and that parties to future leases cannot contract themselves out of it." We may remark, that before this enactment the English law differed from the civil law to the disadvantage of the tenant, for the civil law does not permit eviction so long as by payment or otherwise the tenant is able to compensate his landlord for breaches of covenant.

As it is only just that a tenant should receive compensation for his improvements, when by his labour and his capital he has added to the letting value of a farm, so it is also fair and right that a tenant who allows his farm to deteriorate while in his possession, should be liable to his landlord for the loss on the letting value. The obligations must not be all on one side; they must be reciprocal obligations. Under the present law, farmers, when quitting their holdings of their own accord, take care to run out as far as they can any improvements they may have made. The incoming tenant accordingly only too often finds,

* *Hodgkinson v. Crowe*, 41 L. J., Ch. 630.

† *Doe v. Gladwin*, 14 L. J., Q. B. 189.

that he has to devote the first three or four years of his tenancy to getting the land into heart. It has been lately asserted by Mr. C. S. Reed (April, 1883), that if the improvements made in recent years by tenants had been valued, and alongside this valuation, a valuation showing the losses caused by the deterioration of holdings were set, it would be found that the balance of loss would be on the side of the landlords. If this is so it only shows, that in spite of the inducement of a good return upon their outlay upon improvements the insecurity of capital is so great, that tenants cannot at present venture to invest their capital in improving their landlords' property.

Finally, in considering the whole question we have proposed to ourselves as to security to tenants for their improvements, we may come to the conclusion that no rule of law is in itself absolutely good or bad. The one which is best is that which operates most advantageously for the community at large. Freedom of contract is unquestionably to be upheld as a great good, but it must be mutual, and not freedom on one side while circumstances deny an equal freedom on the other. The true development of society lies in the direction of increased powers attained by its citizens generally to contribute to the good of the community. No single class, therefore, should be able to strengthen itself at the cost of others. The freedom—using the word in its wider sense—of the many enjoyed in modern society, is a far greater and nobler object than the elevation of the few and the depression of the many which existed in ancient societies. Freedom is only valuable as a means to an end, and it is for the general good that the free enjoyment of the fruit of his labours should be secured to every man, and that no advantage through prescription of law should be permitted to one class or another. This is all that is asked on behalf of the tenant, and it is all that can be justly claimed on behalf of the owner of land.

ART. VII.—WALLENSTEIN IN THE DRAMA.

ALBRECHT WENZEL EUSEBIUS VON WALDSTEIN, or Wallenstein, was born at 4 P.M., September 14, 1583. Johann Kepler worked out the horoscope of the infant; and the great astronomer, who was also astrologer, points out that Wallenstein was born under a combination of Saturn and of Jupiter, both in the "first house," or astrological house of life. Saturn, the "swart star," bestows and causes melancholy, wild

thought, dark ambition, contempt of human authority, disregard of religion, and want of human tenderness and softness. Men born under the influence of Saturn are quarrelsome, impatient, haughty; but then the counter-influence of brilliant Jupiter gives ground for hope that such dark and dangerous characteristics will soften and brighten with the progress of the years. The regal planet lends a thirst for glory and for power; it also inspires defiant daring and audacious courage. The combination of saturnine and jovialistic influences promises greatness, but predicts danger. A man born under this aspect will play a lofty part, will do mighty deeds, will provoke deadly enemies, but will, in the main, succeed, prevail and rule. It is a combination which points to a great career, and to splendid fortune, though it indicates great possible peril. Elizabeth of England was born under the same astral aspect. Wallenstein's high, dark path of life, seems always lighted by the stars, and above his towering figure we fancy great, bright, meaning planets gleaming upon him out of the vast gloom of night's sombre darkness.

Wallenstein, if not always great, was yet always grandiose. His splendid career and tragic fate, his life of political power and of war-like action, the magic of his personality and the romance of his career, all pointed him out to the discerning dramatist as a fit subject for grand, if gloomy, tragedy. Not that the Thirty Years' War is wanting in most picturesque figures and most dramatic fortunes. Take Count Mansfeld, Johann Ernst von Weimar, Herzog Christian von Braunschweig. Mansfeld, the greatest of the *Condottieri* until Wallenstein himself arose, was a soldier of fortune, daring and astute, who, with as little real religious conviction as Wallenstein himself possessed, had transferred his sword from the Catholic to the Protestant cause, as Wallenstein had deserted Protestantism for Catholicism. Mansfeld possessed a singular faculty for recovery after defeat, and passed for a long time as the leading captain on the side of Protestantism. He was born of an illegitimate connection, and was afterwards legitimized by his father, Peter Ernst von Mansfeld. Mansfeld himself had been in the pay of the Duke of Savoy, of the States of Bohemia, of the Pfalzgraf Friedrich, of England, and of Denmark. As Alcibiades, when marching on Athens, was accompanied by Phrynia and Timandra, so Mansfeld was accustomed to be accompanied on his campaigns by females of a suspicious (*verdächtig*) character. The end of Mansfeld was singular as characteristic. On the road to Venice he was seized with a mortal illness. Feeling his end near, he put on his armour, buckled on his sword, and, leaning on the shoulders of two of his servants, he *met death standing*.

Johann Ernst von Weimar, a man of grave and earnest

character, was a Protestant from sincere and profound conviction. A descendant of the princely disciple of Luther, he held firmly to the Lutheran tenets. Deeply learned, and strictly moral in his life, he was an enthusiastic and conscientious supporter of his faith. He was an adherent of the Pfalzgraf Friedrich as King of Bohemia, and was ripening fast into a great captain when a fever, brought on by his exertions in the field, seized him. Fourteen days after the death of Mansfeld, Johann Ernst also passed away.

Herzog Christian von Braunschweig chose aptly for his motto, "*Gottes Freund und der Pfaffen Feind*."—"the friend of God and the foe of the priest." Romantic, noble, knightly, with a certain touch of greatness in his nature, the Duke's personality charmed women, and almost all men. He was liberal to profusion, and recked no more of his life than of his gold. A contemporary song, which recites his victory at Fleurus, mentions the gay joyousness with which, his sword in one hand, a pistol in the other, the young Duke rode into battle. His chivalrous devotion for the fair and unhappy Queen of Bohemia intensified his efforts in the cause of Protestantism. During the siege of Grubenhagen, he was seized with fever, and died in June, 1626, preceding, by a few months, Mansfeld and Johann Ernst to a soldier's grave.

Of Bethlen Gabor, also one of the great and active Protestant leaders, history records one pregnant anecdote. His brother-in-law, Christian Wilhelm, made him one day a present of a beautiful Venetian glass. Bethlen Gabor let it fall to the ground, where it shattered into pieces. In return, he presented to his brother-in-law a fine sword, saying: "This will not break if it falls."

But no other figure among the crowd that rises up when we think of the Thirty Years' War can compare with that of Wallenstein. His personality alone is magical to a poet-dramatist. The majesty and mystery of his tall form and inscrutable face; the saturnine, mystic power which he exercised over the wills and imaginations of contemporaries; the meaning eyes, which speak so much more than do the compressed lips—all indicate a portentous individualism of most working effect upon the stage. The suspicion, amid which he always moves and acts, of complicity with the black art, lends more terror and awe to the stately, reserved chieftain. His prowess in war, the wonder of his dazzling career on the world's restless stage—and that terrible murder which cut the thin thread of such a life—all distinguish Wallenstein as one of those powerful heroes of ideal tragedy who fascinate and dominate the sympathies and the imaginations of men.

It has happened that German legend and history have, though

rarely, been used as material by early English dramatists. The old Faust legend was well enough known to Marlowe to form the subject of his "Tragical Historie of Doctor Faustus." With that play we have, however, no present concern. It will be sufficient to cite the opinion of Mr. G. H. Lewes, to the effect that Marlowe's drama is "simply the theatrical treatment of a popular legend" . . . ; "he has taken the popular view of the legend, and given his hero the vulgarest motives;" "the vulgar conception of this play is partly the fault of Marlowe and partly of his age; another and higher mode of treatment would perhaps have been less acceptable to the audience. Had it been metaphysical, they would not have understood it." Before quitting Marlowe's "Faustus," it is almost a necessity to repeat the mighty and immortal lines contained in his address to Helen:—

"Oh! thou art fairer than the evening air
Clad in the beauty of a thousand stars."

The instance in which German history has served the purpose of an English writer for the theatre is that of Wallenstein himself, and the dramatist is Glapthorne. Our subject will properly require a few words of allusion to a singularly quaint but almost unknown play. Glapthorne has not the hold upon posterity which Marlowe yet vitally enjoys.

Henry Glapthorne was a popular dramatic writer in the times of Charles I. Of Glapthorne himself but little is known, and his plays are now almost forgotten. He is known to have produced nine dramas, but of these five only are now extant. It is worth while to linger here, for a moment, over one of these: "The Tragedy of Albertus Wallenstein, late Duke of Friedland, and General to the Emperor Ferdinand II." This play was acted, "with good allowance," by his Majesty's servants, at the Globe, on the Bankside; and is dedicated to that "great example of virtue, and true Mæcenas of liberal arts," Mr. William Murry, of His Majesty's Bedchamber. Glapthorne, in his dedication to Murry, thus excuses his "offence." He says: "The native magnificence of your disposition is so replete with mercy, that it would be an error in the religion of my duty should I question your remission of this audacious crime (*i.e.*, the dedication to Murry of the play), the offence being only the acknowledgment of my respective service to you." The play was probably produced about 1638-39. The work is of slight merit. It belongs to the rhetorical declamatory school, and is wanting in any power of characterization. Compared with dramatic work of the Elizabethan and Jacobian times, it indicates the decline under Charles I. of the English drama. The son-less Wallenstein is provided with two sons, Frederick and Albertus, and these youths

are employed in two uninteresting love affairs. Frederick woos and marries Amelia, daughter of "Duke Saxon Weimar;" while Albertus is more unfortunate in his amour and its issue. He tries to convince the virtue of Isabella, woman to the Duchess; but the maiden rejects his illicit advances, and her noble resistance arouses in Albertus a virtuous attachment, which leads to a proposal of marriage. Such a union is vehemently opposed by the father, mother and brother of Albertus. The brothers even fight upon the argument, and Albertus is wounded by a sword-thrust. The "Duchess" accuses poor Isabella of a theft of which the girl is innocent, and the savage Wallenstein of Glapthorne's drama orders Isabella to be at once hanged in his presence. Albertus interferes with considerable warmth; he kills one of the guard employed in executing his furious father's sentence, and is stabbed to death by Wallenstein. Later on, Wallenstein, in a paroxysm of blind rage, stabs a page who, by the orders of the "Duchess," awakens Friedland to announce the arrival of Gordon and of Leslie. The incidents of the murder of Wallenstein, of Tertzky, Kintzki, Illawe and Newman, are depicted with very little art. The low-comedy character of the piece is Colonel Newman, in whom we may recognize some faint shadow of the Rittmeister Neumann of history. Wallenstein is painted as a constant prey to melancholy madness and to remorse for many crimes. The finest passage in Glapthorne's play is, perhaps, the following part of one of Wallenstein's soliloquies. After having been troubled by the ghosts of his victims, he says:—

"To die——

Why, 'tis man's nature, not his punishment :
 With this condition we all enter life,
 To put it off again ; 'tis but a garment,
 And cannot last for ever ; both its fashion,
 And stuff will soon wear out : why then should death,
 If I were now creeping into my marble,
 To me be terrible, since 'tis main folly
 To fear that which we can no way avoid ;
 Nor is't much matter how we die ; by force,
 Unnaturally chequer'd with grisly wounds,
 Or in our beds, since all's but the same death still."

He then enlarges upon the serious annoyance to the conscience produced by the chronic commission of violent homicide.

Poor as Glapthorne's play is, it is yet curious in respect that it reflects the then popular impression of Wallenstein as an inhuman monster, and as a mere conspirator against Cæsar. Glapthorne gives us, no doubt, the vulgar view of the Duke; and, considering how lowly and imperfectly Continental news was

then transmitted, it is of some interest to us to learn how Wallenstein's aims were misapprehended, and how his personal character was misjudged. Not in the days of Charles I. could Friedland be rightly understood in England. From Henry Glapthorne we turn to Friedrich von Schiller.

Gottschall says, happily: "*die Wahl des Stoffs ist die erste künstlerische That die das Genie vom Stümper unterscheidet*;" "the choice of subjects is the first art step which distinguishes the genius from the bungler:" and this truth is true of painter as of poet. In selecting Wallenstein as the subject of a tragedy, Schiller showed a note of art genius; but, unhappily, he could not fully control his subject, or compress his material within the limits of a single adequate play. Hence his tragedy grew into a lengthy trilogy; and he required two parts of the trilogy in order to explain the third. We have, accordingly, three plays: 1. *Wallenstein's Lager*, a prologue; 2. *Die Piccolomini*; and, 3. *Wallenstein's Tod*. Part 1 is in one long act: parts 2 and 3 are each in five long acts; and of the second part it may be observed that it has in itself no independent completeness, although it is necessary as a preparation for, and an explanation of, the third part.

Schiller's "Wallenstein" was the work of seven years. It first appeared in 1799. It was Schiller's return to the drama, after an epoch of historical study and of philosophic effort which, for a time at least, had wholly diverted the poet from dramatic composition. "Wallenstein" is the laborious production of a poet who had, unconsciously, sacrificed some spontaneity to critical theories and analysis. Schiller's high aim and strenuous endeavour are, in "Wallenstein," perhaps more strikingly conspicuous than the impulse of genius. The work is earnest, noble, able, conscientiously laborious; but it is self-conscious, somewhat mechanical, and misses the nameless magic of subjective creation. Schiller is quite first-rate in the second rank of dramatists. When we either read or see "Wallenstein," we feel at once that we are not in the presence of a Shakspeare or of a Goethe. Schiller himself is never wholly hidden in his work; the dramatist shows through the drama. His characters do not so much unfold themselves, working from within outwards as they show to us their author's intention in them. You seldom lose yourself in the characters as creations possessing a life of their own, which act and speak spontaneously from inner impulse, and have a mystery of actual being which excludes any suggestion of mere authorship; you always admire the skill of the poet rather than feel the magic illusion of dramatic characters. In this respect, as in so many others, Schiller is wholly unlike Shakspeare, who remains invisible behind the creatures of his

own mystic creation. In the case of Shakspeare, you must work analytically to comprehend creation ; in the case of Schiller you see, not a Wallenstein, or a Max Piccolomini, but a most grave, noble, earnest, poet who is energetically engaged in constructing his puppets, and is plainly to be seen while at the work. Schiller works with exalted enthusiasm, and with infinite painstaking. His aims are always high, and his ideals are never ignoble. His genius is of the sort which wins instant and the widest popularity, but is not of that superlative kind which ever gains and increases in fame as the ages roll. In stopping short at effect, he often misses the higher and more poetical essence. His Wallenstein is cruelly verbose ; we know that the real Wallenstein was eminently silent and self-contained, emitting those curt, heavy, pregnant sentences which come only from the man who acts much and who talks but little. We miss the mysterious grandeur of the silent hero, who does not explain himself solely through mere words. Schiller's Wallenstein is far too confidential and communicative. When thinking aloud, in soliloquy, Shakspeare's characters are ever true to their ideal key-notes ; as Hamlet to imaginative thought, Iago to dæmonic intellect : but Schiller's characters tell you, through soliloquy, chiefly the dramatist's meaning, and explain his set and laboured purpose. They do not think for themselves ; Schiller is thinking for them. He never touches the moral essence of Wallenstein's great conflict. Entangled in many theories of art ; influenced, theoretically, from many sides, he often misses the lightning insight and inspiration of a more spontaneous genius. He uses the Thirty Years' War only as "stuff" which can be employed for dramatic effect. In Schiller's art the only god is the god of battles, and his characters are enmeshed in military fatalism. With true dramatic talent, Schiller thought always, practically, of the stage itself, and he wrote, with rare skill and tact, for that ; and yet he cannot be said to be let and hindered by merely theatrical considerations. Wallenstein was to the Reformation almost what Napoleon was to the Revolution ; but Schiller never depicts the profounder meanings of Friedland's workings and career. The loves of Thekla and of Max are drawn in large ideal outlines : we are interested less in their love than in their tragic fate ; and herein Schiller has displayed supreme art. His Wallenstein trilogy was, as German critics all admit, singularly favoured as respects popularity by the historical events of its time surroundings. Men had them living before their eyes and thought a terrible soldier-like hero, and the people which had a Jena in the land, the people of the War of Liberation—the nation which was struggling so desperately against Napoleon—must have gazed with

profound national emotion on a dramatic presentment of the death of Wallenstein.

We will next enter the camp, and consider the first part of, or prologue to, Schiller's great tripartite drama. His picture of the camp of Wallenstein is one of Schiller's masterpieces. He had some advice and help from Goethe, who is believed to have written the immortal sermon of the Capuchin, which was suggested by a real sermon preached at the period of the Thirty Years' War, by the Jesuit, Santa Clara. Certain it is, that this camp sermon has more of the humour of Auerbach's cellar than direct traces of Schiller's style. The camp depicted is that of Pilsen in Bohemia; the time is that in which the last breach between Wallenstein and Vienna is dangerously widening. The order has come from the Court to Friedland to send eight of his best regiments with the Spaniard to fight for Spain in the Netherlands. The object of this order, was to weaken the Duke, and to curtail his power to resist the Court; and Wallenstein refused compliance. Schiller has grouped together, in a picture full of life and movement, all the elements of the singular military horde which formed such a terrible weapon in the hands of its great commander; and he has caught the ruling ideas, and the wild, restless fermentation of the fierce soldiery. The peasant, driven by oppression into cunning roguery; Gustel aus Blasewitz, the much-travelled sutler, and her pretty niece; the 'raving monk; the sententious Wachtmeister, sergeant of cavalry in Terzky's carabineers; the trumpeter of the same corps; Holk's wild Jägers; Buttler's dragoons; Tiefenbach's arquebusiers; Walloon cuirassiers; Croats, Uhlans, recruits—all move and mingle in a noisily surging, shifting, soldatesque crowd. The soldiers note with suspicious dislike the appearance in camp of some of the "old perukes" and gold chains from Vienna, and they feel that such visitors bode no good to the general. A messenger arrives hurriedly with the news that Regensburg is taken by the enemy; but the pragmatic Wachtmeister does not think that the Friedländer will put his soldiers to much trouble to help or support Maximilian of Bavaria. There is an uneasy feeling in camp, to the effect that the position of the "soldier's father," Wallenstein, is seriously threatened, and the majority resolve to lean to their own general rather than to the Emperor. Schiller has drawn, in a masterly way, the soldier-product of the Thirty Years' War; the man who has quitted civil life for the trade of arms, and who, without much care for a cause, has become merely a soldier. The second Jäger boasts of his regiment, called "des Friedländer's wilde Jagd." In one of Schiller's finest passages of the sort, the Jäger tells how Holk's dreaded corps marched through the land of friend or of foe, straight over the

seed, and through the tall corn: "Sie kennen das Holkische Jägerhorn!" Neither fighting nor flight avails; there is no order, no restraint, in the pitiless corps which sweeps through the devastated land, and will leave memories of terror to children and children's children, who, after more than a hundred years have gone, will still tell terror-stricken tales of Holk's wild Jägers.

The first Jäger expresses well the motives of many of these war-hardened mercenaries. He wants to live gaily and every day; not to look before or after. Order him, under fire, to plunge into the deep and rushing Rhine, when every third man must perish, and he will not hesitate an instant; but he does ask that, when not on actual service, he shall not be incommoded by superfluous supervision. He complains of the strict discipline and rigid morality of Gustav Adolf; a system so hateful to him, the Jäger, that he took service with the *Liga*, and saw the merry sack of Magdeburg. In Tilly's army all went on pleasantly; there were women, drink and dice, and no one restrained the soldier in his pleasures or his gains. But fortune deserted old Tilly after Leipzig, and our Jäger went over to the Saxons, but found their service almost as unpleasant, and on mainly the same grounds as that of the Swede; but now, at last, he has found a general who delights him, and is ready to live and die with the Friedländer. They repeat, with approbation, Wallenstein's pregnant saying: "Speech is free: the deed is dumb; obedience blind." All the soldiers concur in attributing to their leader supernatural assistance. One says he has a devil from hell in his pay. Another reminds them how, on the bloody day of Lützen, Wallenstein rode calmly through the rain of bullets, while his hat was riddled with shot, and balls passed through boot and collar without hurting him—because he was anointed with a salve from hell. His collar is of magic elk's leather; he reads the stars; he has a little grey man who visits him secretly at night, who has often been seen by the sentries; and, in short, having given himself over to the devil, can secure for his soldiers glory, gain, and a merry life. The cuirassier points out that the sword is no plough; that for the soldier no harvest ripens and no home exists; and yet, he adds, that he would not change his iron doublet for any other coat. Seated on his war-horse, he looks down with contempt on the mass of civilians and ordinary men; loves his wild, roving life, and respects himself. These soldiers are wonderfully drawn as products of their time of long, wild war. They have all grown into their career, and they all love the soldier's friend, the great, mystic general, Wallenstein.

Suddenly we hear:—

"Heisa, Juchheia! Dudeldumdei!"

and the Capuchin is stilling the voices of the bustling, talking

crowd with his wonderful flood of rant ; stuffed with misapplied Scripture ; studded with verbal puns ; tawdry with scraps of Latin ; eloquent with vulgar vernacular ; furious with the bigotry of a coarse, stupid nature. The soldiers listen with calm complacency while the preacher attacks the vices of the camp ; but presently the excited orator begins to pour forth virulent abuse of the general, as a heretic and unbeliever, as a traitor who sits still in Bohemia, and does not fly to the defence of Bavaria. At this point the patience of the military runs short, and the zealot owes to the intervention of the Croats an escape from violent ill-treatment. Abuse of the general could not be tolerated in the camp of Wallenstein.

Scott has drawn admirably a Scottish soldier of the period in his immortal Major Dugald Dalgetty. The Major, who, as a *soldado* of fortune, has changed sides and services so often, is always eloquent in praise of the invincible monarch, the bulwark of the Protestant faith, the Lion of the North, the terror of Austria, Gustavus the Victorious. Before joining Walter Buttler's Irish regiment serving under Wallenstein, the Major had fought —on the other side— at Lützen and at Leipzig. He boasts that his name will be found in the *Swedish Intelligencer* ; but that publication is now lying before me, and I regret to say that I do *not* find the name of Dalgetty mentioned anywhere in it. It is painful to be compelled to refute a statement made by the worthy and veracious Rittmeister.

And now the blare and bustle of Schiller's most picturesque and working camp of Wallenstein cease, as the songs and choruses of the wild, fierce soldiery die out ; and we pass to the more regular dramatic form, as we take in hand the second part of the trilogy, and begin to analyse the "Two Piccolomini."

There is dramatized history, as there are historical dramas. It may be open to some question whether the "Piccolomini" belong distinctively to the former or to the latter category. Schiller's departures from the facts of history are not very many or very great ; and he has evidently been anxious to present vividly the body, form, and pressure of the time. In the cases in which he has deserted the facts, or expanded to his own purposes the material points of history, the main question, of course, is whether his divergences are required by the necessities or contribute to the success of his dramatic art ? For instance, he has, with a view to intensifying the interest of a dramatic conflict, depicted the struggle between Wallenstein and the Emperor as a sort of personal duel between two rival potentates ; and Wallenstein's action is narrowed to the issue of his individual success or failure. Again, he has, and with decided dramatic aptitude, amplified an historical hint of some strong personal

grudge entertained by Buttler against the Duke, into a distinct cause of such strong hatred as would lead the Irish mercenary to compass the murder of Friedland. Apart from a great cause, the workings of a human soul entangled in the meshes of a merely human ambition are—as in the cases of Richard III. and Macbeth—worthy subjects for the tragic poet; but Schiller, though he has obviously studied closely the history plays of Shakspeare, fails wholly to attain that intense power of dramatic representation through compression, that imaginative force of portraiture of the psychology of the hero which distinguish the work of Shakspeare in this branch of dramatic art. Schiller's characters are all terribly prolix, and our young friend Max is somewhat specially given to prolixity. Schiller's method of production requires great space in which to move freely. Eclectic in his study of models, he, at times, adopts the epigrammatic, or French "cut and thrust" style of dialogue; a style better suited to high comedy than to gorgeous tragedy. In the "Piccolomini," Wallenstein is a traitor, surrounded by traitors; his treason is directed against the Emperor, and the treason of the Duke's officers is directed against the Duke. Friedland is besotted by the stars, and reposes a blind, dream-born trust in his most dangerous enemy, Octavio. Wallenstein's ways and objects, as his character, are, like those of his opponents, dark and tortuous; and the spectator watches, with growing interest, the dramatic representation of the wily machinations of the Duke's occult but deadly foes, when a fatal destiny begins to narrow round the haughty Friedland. The scene presents a dark drama of great political passions. At the opening of the play we see Questenberg arrive from Vienna as the astute representative of Court intrigue and jealousy, and we see Octavio Piccolomini, the dramatic rival of the Duke, commence to weave that wily network of toils, and to construct those mines which gradually render hollow the whole ground upon which stands the stately figure and the lofty fortunes of the dark and death-doomed Friedland. Our passions are excited; like the genie in the Arabian Nights, who, when released from his casket, spread over earth, and darkened all the sky, the passions of an audience moved by a great dramatist, and by the cunning of his scene, begin to rage on earth, and to question the unseen powers in the heavens. In those days man played direct with death. As with us in Tudor times, political opposition meant the risk of scaffold; and men who lost paid the forfeit gallantly and lightly; as, in a later age, Fergus M'Ivor went calmly to death, so Wallenstein, in resisting Emperor and priest, risked consciously the dagger or the sword. There was a stern earnestness in such a game, and men were prepared for a

possible death rendered familiar by anticipation. Schiller's tragedy is sad, high, and working; and yet, when the theme is considered, the reader is somewhat lightly touched; his mind is neither moved to its depths nor distended to its heights. Schiller's art is not quite great enough for its great subject; and a countryman of Shakspeare will always miss, in the "*Piccolomini*," that magic which is the last and highest gift of genius. Orion, a giant on earth, was translated to the skies, as a constellation, and Wallenstein deserved to be lifted to the stars in noblest drama.

Side by side with the sombre funeral march of great political events, big with the fate of heroes and of kings, grow up the noble loves of two of Schiller's most ideal characters. These are, of course, the Princess Thekla, Friedland's daughter, and Max, the son of Octavio Piccolomini. Romance has seldom produced a purer or more unhappy pair of lovers. Caught up and swept away by the stream of destiny, coming between the fell pass and incensed points of mighty opposites, the daughter of Wallenstein, the son of his chiefest foe, are hurried to heroic and hapless death. The young, high-hearted, purely passionate pair—for their love has nothing in it of the commonplace of sexualism—remain wholly lofty, abstract, poetical conceptions. They are full of sentiment; also, alas, of sentimentalism—a sentimentalism characteristic of Schiller's day, and of Schiller's mind. The beginning only of their ill-starred loves is pictured in the "*Piccolomini*;" but they are two gentle and yet heroic figures which will remain ever dear to ever young romance. They are chivalrous, brave, tender, beautiful. Their introduction into the dark tragedy is poetically appropriate, and their sad fate wins from us a pity which Friedland himself is too great and too complex to command. Love plays his fitting part in the drama of ambition, hate, revenge. Thekla and Max touch the heart and delight the imagination. They remain for ever charming types of noble passion and of lofty love.

The scene of the "*Piccolomini*" is Pilsen; a circumstance which at once dates the drama for the reader of history. Schiller, with excellent effect, uses the loose tradition of the substitution of the one document for the other when his generals sign the deed which pledges them to stand by their great leader. Without very distinct individual value, this play, if we once accept Schiller's method, prepares the ground subtly for the coming death of Wallenstein. The time comes in which the two Piccolomini divided, not only by their deeds, but by the differing natures from which actions spring, go apart, father and son irrevocably separated for ever. Schiller has transferred the qualities of the real Octavio to the ideal Max. Octavio appears in this

play as a wily but able traitor, occupied in preparing the fall and death of the friend who blindly trusts him. He is a mere tool of the Court faction at Vienna, and, actuated by the promise of high reward, he works in the dark to detach from Wallenstein the love and faith of nearly all his comrades. Terzky and Illo alone remain entirely true to him in life, as they will have to pass to death with him. The "Piccolomini" contains many passages of poetic beauty, and some of its lines have become German popular quotations and proverbs.

Having thus considered the introduction, we will now—and, as we take the step, something of gathering gloom and tragic awe surround us—cross the threshold, and enter the great, last part—the "Death of Wallenstein."

In this last part of the trilogy the poet's power increases greatly; his grasp of the subject becomes clearer, firmer; his genius sweeps upon a grander wing. The somewhat dragging movement of the "Piccolomini" is exchanged for quicker and more decisive action. Wallenstein's long irresolution ceases; he is impelled by circumstances to the final momentous breach with the Emperor; and, although his decision comes too late, the effect of the step increases the gloom and working of the tragic end. The great general learns what a tower of strength is the king's name; what a potency exists in the *prestige* of the Emperor's power and position. The soldiers who, in the *Camp*, were Friedland's fond partisans, are nearly all detached from him. Their military enthusiasm for their mighty leader has vanished, and the warriors of the future desert the falling hero, and transfer their faithless swords to his deadliest enemies. Only the Terzky regiments, the Pappenheimers, and the Buttler dragoons remain with him, and the two latter will soon turn fatally against him. He trusts Buttler as blindly as he did Octavio; and the second traitor, Wallenstein's evil genius, proves more deadly to him than the first. Terzky brings the news that, in one night, Isolani and his Croats, the Jägers, Diodati, Maradas, Tiefenbach, Esterhazy, Götz, Colalto, Kaunitz, and others, with all their troops, have abandoned their leader, and have gone to the rendezvous at Fraumburg to join Gallas and Altringer, under Octavio Piccolomini. The forces of Ferdinand increase every hour. The ban of the Empire is upon Friedland, and the question of his murder begins to float in the air; but, when he is thus deserted, when his cause seems almost lost, the old Wallenstein awakes again—clear purpose and fiery resolution inspire his actions; although, as it was with Macbeth, the old valour revives too late—too late.

"Nacht muss es sein, wo Friedland's Sterne strahlen;"

"Night must it be e'er Friedland's stars shall shine,"

cries the still terrible warrior, who, brought at last to bay, has to fight with the fury of despair, for cause and life. Doubt has vanished; he feels himself again all that he was when his genius and his name did such wonders for the Emperor. His dispositions are able, and are swiftly carried out. His alliances with the Swede and the Saxon are perfected. He has still the nucleus of an army, and knows that the Emperor has no captain who can measure swords with Friedland. Protestant Germany will gladly rally to the standard of such an ally. One sad and tender human episode interrupts the stern march of the great events which circle around Friedland's fight and fall. Max Piccolomini, colonel of the Pappenheimers, is distracted between love and duty, between faith to the Emperor and attachment to Wallenstein. The dark chief condescends to appeal to Max not to desert him. In a speech of great force and beauty he expresses his love and tenderness for the youth to whom he had been a second father. The pathos of the expression,—

"Du warst
Das Kind des Hauses,"

is not to be translated. Coleridge, confessing his inadequacy, renders it—

"Thou wert;
Our child and inmate."

Max has pledged his honour to bring away his regiment from Pilsen true to the Emperor; but he will never, he declares, fight against Friedland. This decision separates him for ever from the high-souled Thekla. The Pappenheimers revolt, and rush in, with drawn swords, to rescue their colonel from the traitor. The scene fills with crowds of the cuirassiers, the trumpets blow the march, and Max, in an agony of desperation, places himself at their head, and cries out, in a fine speech of fire:—

"Blow! Blow! O were it but the Swedish trumpets!
* * * * *

It is not well done
To choose a man despairing for your leader,
You tear me from my happiness. Well, then,
I dedicate your souls to vengeance. Mark!
For your own ruin you have chosen me,
Who goes with me must be prepar'd to die!"

The despairing young lover proves indeed a fatal leader. He seeks out the Swedes about to join Wallenstein. He comes up with them at Neustadt, and, without regard to the disparity of numbers, he attacks, at full gallop, with his doomed regiment. Max himself, his long fair hair floating loose beneath his plumed helm, fights as he only fights who seeks but death. He refuses

quarter. Every Pappenheimer is cut down. Max's horse is pierced by a pike, and falls, with his rider, among the trampling throng of horses and of men. Their leader dead, his cuirassiers sought only to follow him to death, and not one man survived to tell the tale. A Swedish captain bears the news to Thekla. The noble maiden cries out—

“Das ist das Loos des Schönen auf der Erde!”

She starts, by night, in storm, to seek her lover's grave; and to find the kind death which will re-unite her to him she loves.

Max and Thekla having thus passed to their sad rest, the tragedy concentrates itself round the fall of its hero. From this point there is always more swing, fire, nerve, nobleness in Schiller's writing. The march of events is hurried, fierce and feverish; the action is rapid, brief, intense. The play rises to the ideal greatness of true tragedy. The conflict is one between man and fate. His doom closes slowly but surely round Friedland, as the *Piombi* narrowed round the Venetian criminal. The terrible constriction of destiny enfolds the still mighty and yet living Wallenstein. We watch with awed suspense, and with a beating heart, the inexorable doom descending darkly upon the victim. We know what is to come, and yet strain our eyes to witness every step in Fate's awful progress. The banging of the doors in Eger echoes hollowly down the long corridors as Friedland shuts himself into the room which he shall never leave alive.

We shrink back involuntarily as we are hurried forward towards the death of Wallenstein; we are stirred, towards the close of the tragedy, by feelings somewhat akin to those which move us at the close of the “*Agamemnon*,” or at the grand consummation of the play of “*Macbeth*.” That reader has no imagination whose nerves are not thrilled, whose fancy is not engrossed, by the terrible end of Friedland's high career.

We have moved from Pilsen to Eger; to the house there of the *Bürgermeister*. One day, one night, alone are left to us. On the next day Wallenstein will join forces with the Swede, and try the fate of battle against his Imperial foe.

Gordon, a youthful friend of Wallenstein, is commandant of Eger. Evil Buttler, the dark spirit of the murderous conspiracy, is also there: his dogged purpose and relentless determination dominate the wills of those whom he selects for the instruments of assassination. Gordon's scruples are overcome; Devereux and Macdonald are won over as his tools. Terzky and Illo are invited to the citadel; there, while guests at a banquet, to be slaughtered by Major Geraldine.

A German poet may well feel a sort of pride in having to

draw, as murderers, only foreign mercenaries. The bloody deeds were done by Irish and by Scots. No German assisted at such hateful slaughter. Schiller depicts, with a sort of contempt, the way in which Devereux and Macdonald are convinced by Buttler's promises and arrangements. Compared to these two, the murderers in "Macbeth" are exalted assassins. Macdonald determines to have his sword and pike bathed, by an Irish Dominican, in holy water. Devereux has to wrestle with a little scruple caused by the fact that Wallenstein had just given him twenty gold pieces and a warm winter coat; but the objections raised by such low, venal natures are easily overcome, and all is arranged.

Wallenstein, meanwhile, relapses into blind infatuation. He is full of hope for the morrow. He rejects the prayer of Gorden, the warnings of Seni, the forebodings of Countess Terzky. He retires to rest, intending a "long sleep," after the fatigues of the eventful day, and giving orders that he may not be awakened too early.

It is midnight; the lights are extinguished in the citadel; the night is stormy, dark, and starless; silence reigns in the house where murder steals creepingly to the Duke's chamber door. The terrible deed is done; Friedland is dead; and the gashed body that once lodged that mighty spirit is covered hurriedly with a red carpet. Buttler rides to Vienna for his reward; and the play closes as the dramatic rival of great Wallenstein—that rival himself childless now—arrives at the house of blood, and receives there an imperial missive creating him Prince Piccolomini.

So falls the curtain, and the play is over.

Coleridge, in his translation of Schiller's drama, has left several lengthy passages untranslated. He says, in a note, that he "ventures to omit a considerable number of lines." "I fear that I should not have done amiss had I taken this liberty more frequently." When rendering the fine appeal of Wallenstein to Max, Coleridge says that the speech is in the style of Massinger, and adds, "*O si sic omnia!*" The poet translator has hit a blot in the poetical dramatist. There is, in Schiller, a certain feminine strain of mind; a making of many words to do the work which ought to be done, dramatically, by terser, tenser expression; and he has a constant vein of superabundant, sometimes sickly sentimentalism, and tends too much to tearfulness. Max is really a weakling; he is not sufficiently nervous and virile. A young soldier, brought up from childhood in the camp and in the wars of Friedland, would not have been continually in such terrible agitations of almost womanly emotion; he would not have maundered about the early violet. His feelings would have been manlier; his expressions more full of

vigour and of soldierly intensity. Schiller does not succeed with the great, stern heroes of the rough, strong life of stormy action. He does not realize the tone of character which would make such men great under such circumstances. It has been our duty to toil through many historical records of the life, the sayings and actions of Wallenstein. As we read, trait upon trait, characteristic after characteristic, come out living from the old pages, and gradually a clear picture of Friedland, as a whole character, developed itself in our imagination. We cannot say that Schiller has, in our judgment, successfully grasped the deeper meanings of a character so complex, many-sided, and intense, or that his Wallenstein is quite the true Wallenstein; nor can it be maintained that his character is superior to the wonderful reality. The dramatist has created nothing that can be compared, for value or for interest, with the hero as he lived and moved and had his wondrous being. Schiller's Wallenstein conveys but an imperfect impression of the ideal grandeur of the self-contained, reserved, dark, mystic Friedland, who did so much, and used so few and such pregnant words. We do not find the true image of the real Wallenstein in Schiller's drama. Wallenstein cannot be expressed in an efflux of declamation. Words many and weak are not art's best vehicles for presenting Wallenstein. A deeper art is wanting for that purpose. The great warrior-politician, the prince, whose proud ambition grasped at airy crowns, is himself overshadowed by his own *Ego*. He towers distinctly and lonely above the mass of adventurers and intriguers. He is, in very essence, lonely; and he should be depicted as essentially sublime. Schiller's art falls something short of its great theme.

Niebuhr says—and surely he speaks too harshly—of Schiller's historical works ("The Revolt of the Netherlands" and the "History of the Thirty Years' War") that they are "*unbedingt nichtig*" (unconditionally worthless). There is, however, in them much graphic and picturesque rendering of recognized facts, although they are wanting in deep research, and in that clear insight which pierces below the truth upon the surface. Schiller's histories, like Voltaire's "Charles XII.," may properly be defined as class-books rather than as classics. The method which obtains in Schiller's historical writing is observable in his way of dramatically treating Wallenstein. The poet is highly successful in painting the background and the surroundings; he has reproduced admirably the characteristics of the age and of the land in which Friedland lived and worked; but the very essence of the lofty central figure seems to have somewhat eluded his grasp. Wallenstein cannot be likened to Biron; still less does he resemble our Cromwell: but allowing for the wide difference

between a grandiose adventurer and a pure patriot, he has some of the characteristics of William the Silent. All but the greatest men belong wholly to their time ; but there is always something in a man of real greatness which transcends the limitations of a particular age, and passes into the wider atmosphere of the abstract and perennial. Wallenstein, though his action was modified by possibilities, and lowered by egotism, just passes into the great class. His power of self-command was commensurate with his power of commanding others. With all its faults, his "Wallenstein" is yet Schiller's noblest drama.



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.]

PAYMENT OF MEMBERS AND COLONIAL CORRUPTION.

ENGLISHMEN are never tired of prating of the corruption that distinguishes the working of self-government in the Australian Colonies. It is certain that it is present there; for all Governments must pass through certain stages of the corruption malady before the process of fermentation has been perfected and the mass works itself clear. But Colonial corruption is integrity of the brightest and most conspicuous type when brought into comparison with that which distinguished Parliamentary Government in England up to some fifty years back. At that date, too, political and Parliamentary proceedings were model expositions of immaculate purity when compared with the jobberies actively assisted by the advisers of His Gracious Majesty King George III., of ever-blessed memory, and influentially supported by the royal countenance. If we wish to find more recent examples of gross corruption, let us turn, not to Colonial or American history for those of greatest magnitude, but to the recorded proceedings of European States administered by individual wills. Let us instance the late French Empire, the past and present Russian despotisms, the rule of a Spanish Queen, of petty Italian despots, of a Turkish Sultan. Let us place them side by side with Colonial illustrations, or even let us cull incidents at random from the last general election in our own purified and reformed country, if we would see that, by comparison with these, Colonial and American corruption furnishes a lofty standard of morality, to which less popularly favoured countries have as yet failed to attain. Of courtesy—the courtesy that obscures the plain meaning of ordinary language, the veneer that conceals the hidden thought and gives colour to a false sentiment—there is in European States

enough and to spare, and in the Australasian Colonies a very meagre supply. But these æsthetic refinements are scarcely proof of excellence in political arrangements, or even of the absence of corruption. They are rather indications of the absorption of power by a leisure class versed exclusively in the amenities of discourse, than significant of the healthy participation of the lower orders in the government of the country, through the medium of popular, energetic, and earnest representatives.

It was during the period when Parliamentary eloquence in England was most plentifully besprinkled with classical tropes and similes, when polish of language and style were the convenient substitutes for profundity of thought or depth of sympathy with popular needs, that corruption and jobbery ran their greatest riot. Language, not legislation—assertion of privilege, not performance of a delegated duty—were the chief requirements for Parliamentary success; and corruption in all things, not correction of abuses, was the invariable object to which the struggles of every-day political life were directed. How could it be otherwise when all power and all influence were monopolized by a small but rapacious clique?

The more limited the basis of representation, the less limited is the monarchy of a ruling class composed of men of wealth and leisure, whose guiding principle is the preservation of their own narrow monopoly of the right to-misrule. The more pronounced their general tone of courtesy, the less likely is it that they concern themselves with discussing questions of popular reform, for as soon as they do this violent language is sure to take the place of studied courtliness of expression.

The revenue; the multitudinous sinecure posts of emolument; the seats in Parliament, were conveniently apportioned between the members of one small ruling class, and debate was rather confined to general declamation, or to contests of invectives between rival leaders on points of personal interest, than used as an instrument for ventilating and asserting urgent popular demands. There was none of the "*scœva indignatio*" which is the invariable accompaniment of conflict between distinct classes at opposite ends of the social scale. The voice of the people was unheard in the House of Commons, and there was nothing to interfere with the general tone of suavity and harmony of the Assembly. Courtesy was, however, an incident of the situation rather than a merit. For no sooner had the wants of the lower orders found forcible expression, than the polished classical orators were found capable of descending to a depth of abusive and incendiary language, with which Colonial debaters could with

difficulty vie, and such as would not be tolerated in any Colonial Legislative House.

The truth is, that general suavity of bearing or polish of language, when characteristic of a popular legislative assembly, are indications of a spirit of contentment with existing conditions, and of a general desire to do as little as possible towards reforming them. What business has to be transacted is done mechanically, perfunctorily, and badly, according to recognized forms. Such a body can never be representative of the people at large, for if it were so, it would be overwhelmed with business, and that of a type which, where there is an aristocratic opposition, is eminently productive of envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness. A courteous legislative assembly, therefore, must be one which is not under popular control. It is, therefore, practically unchecked in its power of disposing of public offices, or of appropriating the public money according to its own sense of the fitness of things. Who can doubt that power so unlimited and centralized would be utilized by the possessors of it entirely or chiefly for their own benefit; that the habit of doing so would in time acquire the strength of an organized system, to be branded by an unappreciative posterity with the name of *corruption*?

“In a democratic country (says an Australian writer) corruption exists only as a parasite or adventitious disease, caused by a number of dishonest men trying to live by politics in any possible way. In England it existed as a system, established for the purpose of poisoning the springs of government, and diverting them from their several channels, solely for the benefit of a ruling caste, who saw power slipping from their hands, and were ready to resort to the most degrading means to retain it.”

The reasoning seems to be that the prominent cause of corruption in Australia is attributable to the fact that politicians there make a trade of their calling. But one may, perhaps, be permitted to doubt, while agreeing generally with these conclusions, whether the cause assigned as peculiarly productive of corruption in Australia is not equally the cause of it everywhere where it exists.

During the period of English history just glanced at, what were politics but a trade, and that too the *sole* trade, of a class. Bargains and sale of office, of places of trust, of Parliamentary boroughs, of Church dignities, of all appointments great or small, whether in the Army or Navy, the Law, the Church, or the Civil Service, and nothing but bargain and sale, go far to establish politics on general trade principles. The wholesale dealers were the Lord Chancellors and heads of departments; the retail dealers were the boroughmongers, members of Parliament, minor officials and a host of subordinate agents. A roaring trade was

politics ; but its palmy days are over, and the self-seeking Colonial politician can but hope to do a little underhand risky dabbling in the local trade of politics, in feeble imitation of the open, remunerative and extensive dealings of Englishmen more fortunate in their time and opportunity.

Between the trading politician and the professional politician there is this world-wide difference, that the one lives by politics, the other *for* them. As a plunderer on an extensive scale the first is out of date now-a-days, and the last is by no means immoral in his aims, but may, and in the Colonies generally does, become a valuable custodian of the charge imposed upon him by his constituency. Professional politicians are frequent enough there, and it is the fashion both to cry down the pretensions of such to disinterestedness or capacity, and to attribute their choice of a calling to the payments they derive in most of the Colonies, as members of one or both of the legislative houses. Undoubtedly many of them would not seek for membership, if they were not remunerated for their services, but it is contrary to the fact that the majority of them are worthless or disposed to be public wreckers. If a certain number of reckless, self-seeking men are attracted to politics in the Colonies to gratify ambition on trade principles, it is because of the large amount of patronage unfortunately thrown into the hands of political men, a consideration quite outside the inducement offered by the small salaries paid to members of the legislative bodies.

If we set to work to reason ourselves into the belief that legislation, the most important, because the most comprehensive in its scope and the most wide-reaching in its effects of all businesses, is to be carried on at the expense of concentration of energy and specialization of function ; if, in brief, we arrive at the conviction that it is better to have two Houses to do legislative business badly, than to have one to do it comparatively well, we shall have little or no difficulty in adding as an additional article to our creed, that the less individual members care and know about the matters they are chosen to transact, the more wisely and effectively will legislation be conducted. But if imagination fails to grasp the line of reasoning by which the major premiss is supported, it is difficult to follow out the conclusion, except on the general supposition that everything that is right in private life is wrong in public life. That that is a principle consecrated by use may be unhesitatingly admitted, but that it is a sound one may be stoutly denied.

In legislation as in ordinary affairs it is desirable that the men chosen for the purpose of moulding the national laws should find their chief interest in politics as a business, rather than as a recreation. The more they know about the business delegated

to their charge, and the more they are inclined to stick to it, as one calling for unremitting attention and thought, the better for the country at large. But how are such men to be procured in sufficiently large numbers to constitute the sense of any legislative body, unless inducements to competition for membership are held out to make political life attractive as a profession. Look at the *personnel* of our own House of Commons? If the recurrence of the same names in the lists of members year after year, election after election, does not mean that a majority of the House of Commons consists of professional politicians, what does it mean? It means, unfortunately, just the opposite, if work is to be taken as the test of the application of the term, for it is certain that very few of the members can pretend that they come up to Westminster to practise politics. They come not to a workroom, but to a playground, where there are few workers and plenty of playfellows. They are professional politicians of a sort—the worst sort—for they neither know nor care anything about the duties of their profession. More corresponding to the model professional politicians are the men who live but for politics, and who by strict attention to business attain by degrees to the highest offices of the State. But how infinitesimally meagre a minority of their fellow-members do these professors represent! The rest are better out of the House, to make room for others anxious for and interested in the national business. So long, however, as the House of Commons is the leisure lounge of the rich, so long will every means be adopted by the drones to prevent any considerable number of poorer but more earnest politicians from supplanting them.

“An unpaid legislature (says John Stuart Mill) and an unpaid magistracy are institutions essentially aristocratic—contrivances for keeping legislation and judicature exclusively in the hands of those who can afford to serve without pay. . . . Of the able men the country produces, nine-tenths at least are of the class who cannot serve without pay. . . . In political, as in all other monopolies, if you would stimulate exertion, you must throw open all monopolies.”

The cry against professional politicians is a cry against entrusting the national business to those most interested in carrying it on in the best possible way, in order to keep it as an exclusive possession for those interested in doing it in the most careless, that is, in the worst possible, way. To offer an inducement to capable and earnest men to become legislators is the readiest means for breaking down the monopoly of uncaring, whip-driven, rich legislators. And why not offer it? “Because,” say the monopolists, “the form of inducement suggested—a money payment—can procure none but corrupt legislators.” Let us be

reasonable. The proceedings of a paid member will be watchfully scanned by his constituents. Is corruption the necessary or probable course of tactics to which poor men, responsible—probably more so than if unpaid—to a keen-eyed constituency, will resort? Is it not certain that bribery, corruption, and treating, are the weapons on which our wealthy legislators can rely in the last resort, if so disposed? And is it not equally certain that without those means of nursing and fostering venal boroughs, corruption, in the style we are accustomed to in England, would be impossible? Let it not be supposed that bribery represents merely the power of wealth to secure the return of a member. By just so much as it secures the return of one does it prevent the return of another. When, therefore, wealthy legislators unite their efforts to keep less wealthy politicians out in the cold, by refusing to sanction the payment of their services, what is this but bringing the power of wealth to bear in the most extended form of bribery, aimed too at the suppression of popular rights? The present system affords a fine field for the exercise of every variety of corruptive influence; but to say that payment of members would probably eventuate in corruption is to rashly foreshadow an agreement between what Paley would call “opposite improbabilities.” The hard facts are against such a supposition; deductive reasoning is opposed to it; there is no connection between one and the other, so it may safely enough be dismissed from consideration.

If it be wrong to pay those who make the laws, why should it be right to pay those who carry them into execution? Why should the money prize attached to ministerial offices be so great as to constitute a potent attraction, even to men of considerable wealth, to make politics their sole profession, if the objection to payment of private members is, that it would induce them to turn their attention to nothing but politics? The principle of payment to the executive is exactly the same as that which regulates the payment of a bank clerk, that is, to secure the services of the best men available, and to make it their interest to attend faithfully and assiduously to their duties. Is not the carrying out of laws dependent on their being framed efficiently to secure their end? If so, then why should it be necessary to stimulate the due execution and not the right framing of a law? “All very well,” it will be said, “but high ministerial officers receive not payment for their services, but salaries to enable them to support high social positions.” Is it really true that Lord Chancellors, Prime Ministers, and others, are heavily subsidized in order to give a round of balls and garden parties? If so, the Lord Chancellor and Ministers should be qualified for their posts by their capacities for social dissipation, and youth and volatility

should confer the right to administer the high departments of State.

We know that this part of the Constitutional theory has not yet sunk to so low a level. We know that high official position requires a high expenditure to support its manifold duties; but these duties are official, not social, and are paid for as being all in the day's work. High official salaries are paid in part for the maintenance of ministerial salons on a respectable footing as an official, not a social necessity, and these salaries carry with them the obligation of advancing the national business. The drawing-room work is but a part of the office work, and is paid for as such. Leave hair-splitting as to terms on one side, and it is evident that the salary, remuneration, payment, or what you will, is given to secure efficient service. Not only to secure it, but to attract it; for the latter is implied in the former—to attract men, that is, to politics, as a profession, by the offer of a large money payment. It may be said that these payments do have the effect of stimulating the best efforts of individual members, or that, at any rate, they are devised so as to operate in that direction. In that case it must be admitted that the Constitutional theory is not averse to the payment of members, but that its intention is to induce every member to devote himself exclusively to politics—in other words, to become a professional politician; that the existing system, in effect, contemplates general professionalism in politics as an object to be attained. We know that members of the House of Commons used to be paid in order to secure their attendance; and as Constitutional theories seem never to wear out through decrepitude, it may reasonably be presumed that what was once desirable in the view of the Constitution is so still, only with the difference that Ministerial salaries are now substituted as inducements to political work, instead of individual payments being made with that object.

Would that the result accorded with the expectation, but it is clear that only a very few men, of exceptional talent and industry, can hope to arrive at the highest dignities of the State, and that the official payments are no premium on the exercise of the talents and industry of the nineteen members out of every twenty who cherish membership as a privilege, instead of regarding it as a duty, however much they may stimulate intrigues among the would-be official individual "outs" to grasp at the sweets of office. The working of the system proclaims in effect that a very limited number of men are to be encouraged to become professional politicians for the sake of place and office, while very large numbers of men are to be discouraged from taking any interest in current questions by the inducements to become pro-

fessional *working* politicians being withdrawn from them. This last effect is produced by the exclusion from membership of all who are not wealthy enough to legislate without being paid for it, quite as much as by the fact that the prizes are hopelessly beyond the reach of the vast majority of members.

In a youthful and widespread community the necessity for paying the members of the local parliament is most easily apparent. Inferior means of locomotion and communication prevent the candidature of men pursuing busy avocations, requiring constant personal supervision, and residing at remote distances from the place of assembly. The representation is, therefore, chiefly confined to men living within the city which is the seat of Government. It was found that in Victoria, in 1858, out of a total number of sixty members of Assembly, no fewer than forty-five were residents in Melbourne. In all the Australian Colonies, as well as at the Cape or in Canada, the great majority of members of the respective assemblies were resident in the several capitals, and knew little or nothing of the country beyond the urban limits. To secure adequate representation for the country districts, it was absolutely necessary to compensate country members for having to employ paid superintendence for their private concerns, otherwise the entire conduct of affairs would have continued to be monopolized by a knot of metropolitan lawyers.

But is not the reason for the advocacy of payment of members in England the same as it was in the Colonies? Is it not the cost of representation in our own country that prevents representation from being representative? Distances may be short and easily traversible in quick-running trains, but still the fact that most men cannot delegate their private duties to others in order to enter on political life, without incurring heavy additional expenses, reduces the question to one of cost, just as is the case in new Colonies.

Supposing a wealthy class, enjoying plenty of leisure, to be established in the youthful colony; supposing railway and other modes of communication to be brought to a high point of perfection,—then it may be said that the original reason for payment of members of the Colonial legislature falls to the ground. By no means is this so. Let the rich men become legislators if they can, but let poorer men have inducements to strive for the honour if they will. If it was politic to pay members once, it is right to pay them still, for the principle—the extension of representation over the widest possible area, to all sorts and conditions of men, and so to get the benefit of the most diversified intelligence—holds good equally now as then.

A paid member must, it is said, be a delegate. If by this is

meant a delegate with a general mandate, why not? Is it disgraceful to redeem pledges given on the hustings, or to conform to the wishes of a constituency with which one can conscientiously sympathise, rather than to become the tool of a party leader? Those who declaim against the evils of delegation, seem to think that it is better for a man to be the delegate of his own political chief, rather than of the constituency to which he stands pledged. The mind obedient to the crack of the party whip is all honour and purity, according to them, while he who, in accordance with his convictions and promises, keeps faith with the majority who elected him to serve a purpose, is the personification of dishonest sycophancy. He may wreck his own hopes of personal advancement by so doing, and yet we are told that the member who regards the interests of his constituents as of prior importance to his own, is necessarily devoid of the first principles of honour.

It is usually assumed—why, it is impossible to say—that delegates who would endeavour to give effect to the instructions of their constituents, must necessarily surrender their right of private judgment. Even if so—and the supposition is by no means an admission—how would delegates compare in point of morality with the present unpaid members of the House of Commons. Do these last never surrender their private judgment, nay, even their firmest convictions, according to the exigencies of party tactics? Is it not constantly and notoriously the case that party not principles, moves not measures, convenience not conviction, regulate the political lives of our blameless senators? Pledges may be broken by them, principles trampled on by them, to suit the whims of an intriguing party leader, and yet “are they all, all honourable men?” “Let the system of representation be what it may,” says John Stuart Mill, “it will be converted into one of mere delegation, if the electors so choose. As long as they are free not to vote and free to vote as they like, they cannot be prevented from making their vote dependent on any condition they think fit to annex to it.” In effect, Members of Parliament will become delegates, if it suits the convenience of the nation that they should be such, whether they receive payment or not.

But is it certain that paid members would of necessity become delegates either in a general or particular sense? The probabilities are not all in favour of such a result. Ministers in receipt of payment are not delegates, however nearly a Premier, who has to submit the outlines of every proposition for the approval of the country, may resemble one by virtue of his position. Why, then, should private members become delegates as a consequence of being paid? Whether they would so become

or not would depend upon the fund out of which they were paid. If out of the Imperial revenue, they would probably be much on the same footing with their constituents as they are at present; if out of local funds, it is more likely that they would become delegates, but only in a general sense. At any rate, a member so paid would certainly feel himself under a greater sense of responsibility to his constituency, while the latter in turn would be more jealous of the proceedings of its salaried representative, and would be able to secure from him better service. Payment out of local funds would probably in time take the form of payment by results—a principle which it might be as well to establish in politics as in other things—as being far and away the most equitable, unless we are to reject the belief that constituencies are as a rule the best judges of their own concerns.

To speculate thus is to wander off into a future which may be far distant. In those countries, whether European, American, or Colonial, where members of the legislative bodies receive payment for their services, no representative has as yet become the delegate in all things, of his constituency. The inconvenience of such a system, even with much shortened parliamentary terms, would be too great to allow of the practical application of such a method of representation. The members of the States-General of the Dutch United Provinces were delegates of the most particular type, but in our own time, such an arrangement as referring back to constituents for instructions on every point of principle that might arise, would be out of the question. Locomotion and means of communication may be quicker than they were, but they have not been quickened so much in proportion as has the political intelligence and activity of modern nations. A general mandate renewable periodically, may be possible and even desirable, but a particular mandate for every detail of legislation would be found unworkable in practice, as involving constant inconvenience and political ferment on the one hand, constant risk and expense on the other.

A Parliament the members of which are paid, need not be by any means a perfect assemblage, but it will in all probability contain a far greater percentage of men of serious purpose than are to be found in an unpaid legislative chamber. It might possibly consist of men to whom the annual payment would be a matter of small consideration, but even in that case it would throw open the entrance to political life to a keener competition than can be expected in England at present. The mere dread of being supplanted by a large number of possible rivals would stimulate the energies and the liberal instincts of members, however wealthy. The system, too, would tend to prevent the re-election of men who had shown themselves incapable of work,

or unwilling to undertake it ; of those who obstructed legislation for obstruction's sake, or who turned the political debating ground into an arena for the continual exhibition of private animosity.

Payment of members is not an ideally perfect system. Nothing is in political arrangements. The most that can be expected of the best is, that it will not work as badly as the worst. But this system of paying members is not so bad as the one prevailing in England to-day. It has, on the whole, worked well in the countries in which it is in use, and that is high praise considering the adverse conditions interfering with its fair working. In the Australian colonies in especial, excessive centralization of business undertakings, usually conducted in other countries by private enterprise, in the hands of Government, has introduced an element of corruption into political dealings which is usually placed to the account of payment of members by people too careless to analyse cause and effect. In the United States the system is held answerable for evils entirely unconnected with it as a consequence, but which permeate through the political and social life of the people. The immense area of patronage thrown open to every member of the Legislature, as the result of the periodical redistribution of every official appointment, down to that of the pettiest post-office clerk in the most remote corner of the Union, furnishes an incentive to men to become political jobbers,—incentives such as the small salaries of members of the Legislature could never furnish.

It is unfortunate that a vicious principle can never be associated with another, however harmless in itself, without impairing the benefits that might have flowed from the unhampered operation of the latter. Good and bad are confounded together in sweeping condemnation, by indiscriminating mankind ever ready to accept what they are willing to believe. In Australia and also in the United States, payment of members and universal suffrage, the two bugbears of wise and wealthy men of leisure, are written down by them as the authors of all the evils attendant on the otherwise excellent working of thoroughly democratic forms of government, because it suits their inclinations that there the fault should be placed. The allegation is a false one. It may be unhesitatingly asserted that no one who has attentively and impartially seen for himself the actual political conditions of these countries can fail to be satisfied that the two alleged causes of evil are by themselves at once beneficial and necessary to their prosperity.

There is nothing so calculated to infuse activity of political interest throughout a community, as the throwing open of the possibility of entrance to the Legislature to worth unaccompanied by wealth—to all men of ability, however devoid of grace of

manner and polish of diction. It is one of the most satisfactory features of a liberal system of self-government in the Colonies, that it has introduced to public life a number of men who at home would probably never have had an opportunity of an audience outside the limited circle of their immediate acquaintances. That these men have done excellent, useful work; that they have taken the initiative in all the great reforming acts which mark the difference between Home and Colonial legislation, is conclusively shown by the local Hansards and the local division-lists. It is because men of a class, part and parcel of the working mass of the people, make up a large proportion of the members of the Colonial Assemblies, that, legislation in the various parts of Australasia has always been, by comparison with our own, drastic, popular, and to the point. All the power implied in working-men membership, of ascertaining the requirements of the multitude and applying to them effectual remedies, is notably absent from the English Legislature, and prolonged outside agitation has consequently to be resorted to if urgent reforms are to be pressed through Parliament. There, they have to make their way against opposing class prejudices of members who, though convinced of the necessity of popular measures, are unwilling to concede their expediency, or who, however earnest in support, must lack the knowledge which practical experience of working-class life can alone give. However well-informed, these last are never more than an insignificant minority, which may give shape, but cannot impart life, to the measures it advocates. So popular legislation is rendered slow, partial, and shifty: ambiguous, too, in meaning and construction, instead of being terse, clear, and easily workable. Colonial statutes cannot claim an absolute degree of efficiency or thoroughness, but the materials for improving them are always to hand, and it takes but little time in the Colonies for a badly framed measure to be superseded by a better. The men whose chief interest is in forward progress are present in force in the Legislative Assemblies, and are ready and eager to push on reforms to completion; not to finality, for such a state is neither to be expected or desired, but so as to comprehend the popular wants of the day. This is the stamp of member of which every legislative body terming itself representative stands in the greatest need; because the aim of legislation should be to give as fair play to the legitimate aspirations of the lower orders as to those of the upper orders. Many will differ *in toto* from this view. "Let laws be made," they will tell us, "for the behoof of the propertied classes, as those who have the greatest stake in the country; and let the lawmakers be of the 'great stake' class—men who have everything to lose and nothing to gain." They assert, in

effect, that the wealthy interests of the kingdom are those which are most in need of privilege conferring legislation. Is it in any sense true, that those who have nothing to gain are as interested in good legislation as those who have all to gain? Which of any two men has the greatest stake at issue, depending upon the course that Government may take—the man who need anticipate no more than decreased luxury, even from the worst of measures, or he to whom bad Government brings scanty food and low wages?—the luxurious man of leisure, indifferent to the wish to better his condition, or the humble toiler, feverishly anxious to avail himself of every slice of legislation that may by possibility afford him a fresh avenue for subsistence? The answer is too plain for argument. The man who has the greatest stake in the establishment of the best or worst form of Government is undoubtedly he who has all to gain, and whose nothing to lose is all his livelihood. Listen to Jeremy Bentham:—

“Property, it is continually said, is the only bond of pledge and attachment to the country. Not it, indeed. Want of property is a much stronger one. He who has property can change the shape of it, and carry it with him to another country, whenever he pleases: He who has no property can do no such thing. In the eyes of those who live by the labour of others, the existence of those by whose labour they live is indeed of no value; not so in the eyes of the labourers themselves. Life is not worth more to yawners than to labourers, and their own country is the only country in which they can so much as hope to live. Among a hundred of them are no ten exceptions to this, you will find.”

Which is the class whose well-being is most beneficial to the State? the class of those who by their work increase the national wealth and prosperity; or of those who add nothing to either? Should Parliaments legislate for the benefit of bread wasters or of bread winners—if legislation *must* be preferential?—of idle consumers, or of thrifty producers?—of men who have the means of procuring every luxury, or of those who must struggle and toil to avoid starvation?—of the men who enjoy fortunes, or of those who are adding to the resources of the nation by striving for a competence?

Heaven forbid that there should be exclusive legislation for one set of men more than for another,—the country has had centuries of it—but if it must incline to one side or the other, let it lean in favour of those who are most willing but least able to help themselves, rather than towards those who have no wants that they cannot themselves supply. Let the working man have his full share of representation. If that cannot be hoped for so long as membership of the legislature is tabooed to all save the representatives of the rich, who need no prepon-

derance of representation, let means be taken to give the working man a working majority of his own kidney. If it cannot be done as long as members are not paid, by all means let them be paid. It has been done in the greatest of all free countries, in the most progressive of all communities, in the United States and in Australia. Those portions of the globe derive their unexampled prosperity from the reign of the working man, rendered possible by the system of payment of members.

The privileges of the wealthy stand on the most secure footing where the working man is king, for the kingship is representative of those whose interest is the universal interest. The demand of the rich for exclusive social and political supremacy may be scouted as fanciful, their would-be social distinctions may be ignored as presumptuous; but where the paid member, the poor man's representative, holds undisputed sway, legitimate rights are best preserved, and equitable claims of property chiefly respected.

C. J. ROWE.



CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

THEOLOGY.

[In consequence of the grave illness of the writer of the Section on the Contemporary Literature of Theology, that section is unavoidably omitted from the present number of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW.—The Editor.]

PHILOSOPHY.

THE earlier philosophical writings of the late Professor Green¹ consisted for the most part of a detailed and special criticism of the doctrines of certain representative English philosophers—notably Locke and Hume, Mr. Herbert Spencer and the late Mr. Lewes—from the standpoint of that modification of the Critical Philosophy of Kant which is more closely associated with the name of Hegel than with that of any other philosopher. After his appointment as Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford, he devoted himself more freely to independent and constructive work in connection with ethics, which seems always to have been his favourite subject. The present volume is the result. It is edited by Mr. Bradley from the almost completed manuscript of the author, and part of it has already appeared in *Mind*. It is a work of great interest, upon lines which are unfamiliar to those who are only acquainted with English writing on the subject. In the introduction, Professor Green asks whether the problems of Moral Philosophy can be answered by a natural science of man. If such a science can explain conscience and free-will, the preceptive part of ethics must be given up; moral obligation will be accounted for, and we shall be forced to admit that, "in inciting ourselves or others to do anything because it ought to be done, we are at best making use of a serviceable illusion." Such a result leads to a reconsideration of the matter, and this can best be done by a return to that analysis of the conditions of knowledge which is the basis of the Critical Philosophy, in order to ask whether the knowledge of Nature does not imply a principle in man which is not natural. If we find that it does, then we shall be in a position to inquire "whether the same principle has not another expression which consists in the consciousness of a moral ideal and the determination of human action thereby." The subject, therefore, of the first

¹ "Prolegomena to Ethics." By the late Thomas Hill Green, M.A., F.R.S. Edited by A. C. Bradley, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1883.

book, is the *Metaphysics of Knowledge*, and Professor Green arrives at the conclusion that a spiritual principle is implied both in knowledge and in Nature as the condition of the possibility of either. Knowledge, as the consciousness of change, implies in every part of it a self-distinguishing consciousness which cannot be explained, as produced by that which never exists without it. Nature, as an orderly system of relations, also implies such a spiritual principle. And the fact that we can know the order of Nature implies that the spiritual principle, which is the condition of the possibility both of that order and of our knowledge of it, is one and the same, and is a self-distinguishing consciousness. This consciousness can never be complete in us, however, as it communicates itself to us in time through a series of sensuous events; but its presence is necessary to explain the simplest beginning as well as the growth of knowledge. Man, as intelligence, is therefore a free cause, for although his natural life is determined like other phenomena by the eternal consciousness, yet as a knowing subject he is not determined by it, but is a reproduction of it. In the second book Professor Green treats of the Will. Here we pass from the world of knowledge to the world of practice, which is shown to arise from the distinction of self from wants, and impulses to satisfy them. The determining causes in the world of practice are motives. Now motives are not natural phenomena, but involve the action of self-consciousness upon the want. For "a motive is the presentation of a want by a self-conscious subject to himself, and with it the idea of a self-satisfaction to be attained in the filling of the want." So that the world of practice, like the world of knowledge, cannot be explained as the production of a series of events in time. "It implies the action of an eternal consciousness which makes the processes of animal life organic to a particular reproduction of itself in man." Thus the will as determined by motives is free, in the only sense that has any meaning. An unmotivated will has no meaning, as the only expression of will we know is a motive. A very acute analysis of the relation of desire, intellect and will, leads to the conclusion that will is the man himself, as at once feeling, desiring, and thinking. "The motive issuing in his act, the object of his will, the idea which for the time he sets himself to realize, are but the same thing in different words, the reflex of what for the time the man is." We now come to the more distinctively ethical part of the work. The metaphysical basis has been found in a spiritual principle, not only in knowledge, but also in practice. Motives, which are the determining causes of conduct, and the only expression of will, involve the action of a self-distinguishing and self-objectifying consciousness, and in every case consist in an idea of a present good. Ethics, then, must rest on a distinction among motives—that is, in the distinction of the good and the bad will. Now the good in general—not merely moral good, but good in the wider sense—is not to be defined as the pleasant, but as that which satisfies some desire. It is true that everything that satisfies desire gives pleasure, but it gives pleasure because it satisfies desire; whereas the

Hedonist must say that it satisfies desire because it gives pleasure. This is important, because it allows the distinction of qualitative differences among objects desired, while pleasure can only differ in quantity; and the definition of moral good depends upon the possibility of such qualitative distinctions among objects. Moral good is that which satisfies a moral agent as such. And the morally good will is the will which is determined by an idea of personal good such as will satisfy a moral agent. What will so satisfy a moral agent—what in its fulness this moral good is—we cannot know, but to a certain extent it is realized in the institutions and habits of men which make the welfare of all the welfare of each; and in any case, the conception of such a moral good as an end or ideal is implied in all moral action, just as a conception of Nature, as an orderly system of relations, is implied in all knowledge. Although we cannot know what this moral good in its fulness is, it is open to us to consider its general characteristics, logically implicated as the conditions of its possibility, and also its origin and development in the history of the human race. The chief characteristics of the moral ideal are that it is personal and formal. It must realize itself in persons, for personality means self-consciousness, and it is just because we cannot reduce this self-consciousness to anything else, cannot account for it as an effect, that we are compelled to look on it as the presence in us of the mind, for which the world exists. Further, the moral ideal or law is purely formal. It presents to us an unconditional good, but this good is simply the goodwill or the object of the goodwill—such an object as will satisfy a moral agent. But while it is true that the moral ideal must realize itself in persons, it must not be forgotten that the true self of man is social. His good includes that of others who are conceived as persons like himself. The mere individual is a false abstraction, but so also is humanity or society. Society is not an end to which the individual person is a means, and yet it is the medium in which alone he can realize his personality; just as thought realizes itself in language. Thus we see how it is that the moral ideal, the idea of unconditional good, will express itself as a good which is absolute—i.e., irrespective of likes and dislikes; and common—i.e., some form of social requirement. The idea of such an absolute and common good is due to reason, and thus reason is the source of the realization of the moral ideal in the world. Having thus reached the germ of a realization of the moral ideal, Professor Green proceeds to trace its development, first in the extension of the area of common good as it gradually widens from duty to a narrow circle to duty to the whole of humanity, and looked at in this one-sided way the result is "the intuition of the educated conscience that the true good must be good for all men, so that no one should seek to gain by another's loss, loss and gain being estimated on the same principle for each;" secondly, in the determination of the idea of common good, the development of the content of the moral ideal. In this regard the development begins with the demand for some wellbeing which is not confined to the person desiring it, but common to others. This

yields the institutions of the family, the tribe, and the state. The development of these institutions and reflection upon them, and upon "well-reputed habits of action" formed in connection with them, lead to fuller conceptions of the end. "The conception of virtue is the conception of social merit as founded on a certain sort of character or habit of will." "The developed ideal of virtue is devotion of character and life, in whatever channel the idiosyncrasies and circumstances of the individual may determine, to a perfecting of man, which is itself conceived not as an external end to be attained by goodness, but as consisting of such a life of self-devoted activity on the part of all persons." A comparison of the Greek with the modern conception of virtue, leads to the conclusion that the Platonic or Aristotelian definition of the good as goodness is final, but the moral progress that has since taken place leads to a higher concrete ideal, because the end is sought for all and calls out wider activities. It only remains to ask, "What is the practical value of this moral ideal? Does it help us to decide what ought to be done, and whether we are doing it?" Accordingly, in the fourth book, Professor Green argues that if the moral ideal is not a speculative judgment but a practical consciousness, a habit of action, it is of great value in guiding conduct, and indeed it is "the creator of existing moral practice, and in its various forms the condition of all further progress." But a theory of the moral ideal, a philosophy of the subject, can only render service of a negative kind, principally by undoing its own work, in correcting the defects of inadequate theories which give an excuse to the lower nature to rebel. He then compares his own doctrine of the moral ideal with the Utilitarian and Hedonistic theories, and with Mr. Sedgwick's view of ultimate good with reference to their ability to afford guidance in the exceptional cases in which philosophy may be appealed to, and concludes that his own theory is more available and less dangerous than any of them. Whether it is possible to accept the conclusions of Mr. Green's last work or not we do not decide, but it is clear that British philosophy cannot fairly proceed on its old lines without examining and answering, not only the close criticisms to which he has subjected its methods, but also the constructive system which he has elaborated on principles that are altogether foreign to its character.

We turn to a book of a very different nature. It is one of a class which discharges an important function in philosophy. Remarkable rather for freshness of treatment and insight than for knowledge of the work of the author's predecessors, "Physical Metempiric,"² like "Physical Ethics," possesses the distinguishing characteristic that it imports life and vigour into the treatment of a dry and abstract subject. The predominant conception in the mind of its author is the application of the method of physical science to metaphysical problems, and in this, as in many other respects, Mr. Barratt resembles his con-

² "Physical Metempiric." By the late Alfred Barratt, Author of "Physical Ethics." London: Williams & Norgate. 1883.

temporary, the late Professor Clifford. Indeed, the resemblance between the two is very great, both in a personal and in a literary regard. The book begins by dividing the possible objects of speculation into those which lie within, and those which lie without, experience, and subdividing the former class into objects in space and objects not in space. Physic is defined as treating of objects in space, metaphysics of objects not in space, and Metempiric of those speculations which are not verifiable by sensation, but transcend experience, and belong to the region of the unknowable. The method of Metempiric is found to be that by which physic and metaphysic have both made such strides in late years, and which is capable of extension by analogy, to speculations which transcend experience. The primary postulate, the confessedly unverifiable assumption which the author makes, is that of the existence of other consciousnesses than that of the percipient. This being assumed—as he contends, and as few will dispute—reasonably, he proceeds to apply the analogy of the doctrine of evolution and other conceptions drawn from experience to the determination of what is imported by the physical symbols which we see around us. The result is the conviction that consciousness is everywhere, is the noumenal "mind-stuff" of which the universe is really constituted. Then follows some ingenious criticism of the teaching of Kant, and the more modern exponents of the Critical Philosophy. But the whole point of this criticism, and the whole foundation of the book, rests upon an assumption which a deeper study of Kant would probably have made evident to the mind of a thinker so acute as Mr. Barratt, and which, nevertheless, both he and Mr. Clifford tacitly treat as not merely admissible, but inevitable. It is taken for granted that consciousness may be regarded in the same way as objects in space—in the language of Kant, brought under the category of substance. We do not discuss here the point of view from which this objection arises, nor do we desire to suggest any identity between the tone of these pages and that of the post-Kantian Criticism. But the difficulty is one of the last importance, and it is impossible at this time of day to avoid facing it. How can it be justifiable to assume that that of which it is the very nature to be subject in knowledge can be reasoned about as though it were an object. And if not, how can the analogy of physical methods and conceptions have any bearing which is not misleading on such problems as those which are here treated of. The difficulty is one of which Mr. Barratt and Professor Clifford were too able men not to be at times conscious, but the fact remains that neither of them faced it.

Not long ago Mr. Hale White published a remarkable little book, which attracted very much less attention than it deserved, the "Autobiography of Mark Rutherford, Dissenting Minister." He now comes before the public with a translation of Spinoza's "Ethics." In "Mark Rutherford" Mr. White disclosed, not merely a power of treatment of a singularly sincere and sympathetic character, but a very good style.

³ "Spinoza's Ethics." Translated from the Latin by William Hale White. London: Trübner & Co. 1888.

One cannot help feeling that he has been impelled to the study and translation of the "Ethic," not as a student of philosophy, but by the motives which led him to write "Mark Rutherford." And it is not from any want of appreciation of his work that we make the remark that he was much more at home in writing "Mark Rutherford" than in translating Spinoza. The translation is done with care and pains. It is in this respect a great contrast to that of Dr. Willis. Indeed, it is not difficult to see that Mr. White and Miss Hutchinson Stirling, who assisted him, have done their work most conscientiously, and with an accuracy which was altogether absent in the case of their predecessor in this field. In this regard the book may be recommended to everybody, whether expert in the study of philosophy or not, as a faithful, and on the whole graceful, reproduction of the words of Spinoza's great work. But Spinoza is a very difficult author to translate, in the higher sense of the term—that is, to render into English ideas as well as words. And the reason is that he is one of the most difficult authors to understand. Mr. White makes no attempt to grasp the relation of Spinoza's language to its context in the history of philosophy, and hence his translation is at times altogether devoid of suggestion either of what Spinoza meant or of what he did not mean. The truth is that the "Ethic" will never be translated as it ought to be until some one who is familiar, not merely with philosophy before and after its date, but with all the controversies that have raged about the meaning of its leading conceptions, takes the work in hand and translates with annotations. And this must not be done in the spirit of such a book as Mr. Pollock's, who apparently writes to prove that the legitimate outcome of Spinozism is the philosophy of Professor Clifford, nor in that of those who would find in Spinoza potential Hegelianism. It must be done, if at all, in a dispassionate spirit such as that in which Schwegler has translated Aristotle. But until it is done, we must be grateful to Mr. White for having provided us with a substitute of the next best kind.

It is only a few years since no such branch of research as scientific psychology existed. Introspective and metaphysical psychology were there, and the *a priori* materialistic systems of the old French writers, but not until Fechner and Lotze had shown how the experimental methods of physics and physiology might be applied to psychical investigations, was there any psychology which could claim the characteristic of science in the stricter sense—verification by measurement. Within the last few years it has been realized that psychology to be useful must be studied as a special branch of science, having little more relation to metaphysics than to mathematics, and demanding for its investigation the most accurate observation, not of the phenomena of consciousness simply, but of the phenomena of consciousness as dependent on, and disclosed in, the objects of physiology and biology. It is only recently that such a work as

* "Inquiries into Human Faculty and its Development." By Francis Galton, F.R.S. London: Macmillan & Co. 1883.

Wundt's has become possible, and it is only still more recently that such a study as the one before us could have been undertaken. Mr. Galton has in some measure created his field of operations. His work is peculiarly his own, and it is done with the thoroughness which new scientific research exhibits more often than not. Its object may be described in his own words: "My general object has been to take note of the varied hereditary faculties of different men, and of the great differences in different families and races, to learn how far history may have shown the practicability of supplanting inefficient human stock by better strains, and to consider whether it might not be our duty to do so by such efforts as may be reasonable, thus exerting ourselves to further the ends of evolution more rapidly and with less distress than if events were left to their own course." But the investigation is by no means of the vague and general character suggested by this sentence. Mr. Galton has instituted the most minute investigation into the conditions of the variation of individual characteristics, the doctrine of heredity of course lying at the foundation of his method of comparison. The volume describes in some detail the process of composite portraiture, the scheme adopted by Mr. Galton to eliminate the irrelevant differences in the features of individuals with a view to ascertaining the physical type associated with mental qualities. It proceeds to discuss in detail the results obtained by various methods in relation to the physical conditions of certain classes of mental characteristics, and to lay down a number of inductions which are of not less interest to the general reader than of importance to the psychologist. The investigations which resulted in the author's work on "Hereditary Genius" have been carried into a wider field. Mr. Galton is to be congratulated upon having given a substantial impetus to that sort of psychology from which there is perhaps most to be hoped for in the immediate future in the interest of the new special science which bears that name.

In our last number we made some observations on the philosophical opinions of Rosmini.⁶ We have now received the first volume of his life by Mr. Macwalter. There is little in it of philosophical interest, but it is a sympathetically written account of the life of a good and able man.

We have also received "The Influence of Mind on Mind,"⁷ by Mr. Bate, a book which can hardly be said to fall within the sphere of systematic philosophy.

The same remark applies with more or less force to Mr. Bray's "Manual of Anthropology,"⁸ a second edition of which has appeared. The book is certainly clever, however, and will no doubt prove interesting to a large class of readers.

⁶ "Life of Antonio Rosmini Serbelli." By Gabriel Stuart Macwalter. Vol. I. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1888.

⁷ "Influence of Mind on Mind." By John Bate. Published for the Author. London: E. Woolmer. 1888.

⁸ "The Science of Man: a Manual of Anthropology based on Modern Research." Second Edition. By Charles Bray. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES, AND TRAVELS.

IT is a relief to find that there is no work on party politics lying upon our table for review, although there are one or two pamphlets before us, on such questions as the Affirmation Bill, and Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, which, however, are of such a character as to merit very little, if any, consideration. The only English book of a strictly political nature which we have to notice is the volume on Local Government in the English Citizen Series.¹ Mr. Chalmers has had a task of considerable difficulty to perform, and deserves praise for the manner in which he has executed it; for it is no easy thing to bring before the general reader, in a concise yet not repulsive form, with clear statement and orderly arrangement, the intricate and complicated system, if system it can be called, indicated by the title of this little book. The preface informs us that there are 650 Acts, or fragments of Acts, of general application, relating to local affairs, which are "supplemented by some thousands of local and special Acts, which apply to particular towns or districts, and accumulate at the rate of about sixty a year." Mr. Chalmers is a writer who is known to be inclined to the excellent plan of codifying or digesting the law, so that each particular case may be referred to the general rule of which it is an example; but that is indeed a hard method to pursue when the subject is local government, where, as he says, "every principle that can be stated is liable to be obscured by a dense overgrowth of local exceptions." Mr. Chalmers therefore endeavours to keep to propositions of general application, but asks the reader in every case to supply the formula "except as otherwise provided by any local or special Act, and subject to any exceptions or savings in the general Acts." The question is one of great importance at the present time. Local government in this country has been truly described as a chaos of areas, a chaos of authorities, and a chaos of rates; and, as Mr. Chalmers remarks, "a legislative paralysis has lately seized on Parliament, and one of the remedies which seems imperatively demanded is the delegation of larger powers to local bodies. Future legislation must be centrifugal rather than centripetal." This is the "home-rule" which we are anxious to see introduced into the three kingdoms as speedily as possible. The anomalous character of our system is illustrated by the case of the counties, which furnish the most conspicuous exception to the rule of representative government in local matters, although by every argument of logic and history they are entitled to come under the elective system. In Saxon times—that golden age of local institutions—the county system, as Mr. Chalmers points out, was thoroughly representative. As to the Metropolis, "the confusion which reigns supreme over local affairs in the rest of England, is only worse confounded" in this case. Mr. Chalmers understands the value of the comparative system, and directs at

¹ "Local Government," by M. D. Chalmers, M.A., Barrister-at-law. London: Macmillan & Co., 1883.

tention to the old local institutions of India as seen in the village community, at the same time remarking that the English rulers of India, by the introduction of their municipal system, are trying to teach the native races the lesson of self-government. In the extremely centralized French system he points out the faults which have led to officialism and bureaucracy. We commend this manual to the "English Citizen," and trust that he will profit by its perusal.

Mr. Chalmers' reference to India leads us to the consideration of a "Note on Local Self-Government in the Bombay Presidency,"² by Javerilál Umíáshankar Yájnik, President of the Central Committee in Bombay for promoting Local Self-Government in Gujarát. We must be careful not to confuse the broad question of Local Self-Government in India with the issues raised by Mr. Ilbert's Bill. It is quite possible, as Sir Julian Goldsmid has shown in the *Nineteenth Century*, to be a warm advocate of Lord Ripon's general policy, which, indeed, is no new thing, but was originated by Lord Lawrence, and supported by Lord Mayo, and yet to see grave objections to the judicial changes proposed by the Bill. To us, indeed, these objections seem to have been much exaggerated; but it is with the general policy of the Indian Government, following upon the lines indicated by Lord Lawrence and Lord Mayo, and embodied in the resolution of May 18, 1882, that Mr. Yájnik deals; and he writes, as we believe, with perfect truth, that "there is but one opinion among all intelligent classes of the native community throughout the Bombay Presidency, and, I should say, throughout India, as to the wisdom, the sagacity, and the statesmanship which mark every step of the policy announced in the Government of India's Resolution." Those who would know more about native opinion on this question, may be referred to this interesting, if somewhat too lengthy, "Note."

These are the days of manuals, and from the latest number of the English Citizen Series we may turn for comparison to "The American Citizen's Manual,"³ of which the Second Part is now before us. Those who wish, without consulting larger volumes, to improve their knowledge of the relations that subsist, under the constitution of the United States, between the Federal Government and the Governments of the various States; to understand the special powers of the Central Authority with regard to war, foreign relations, commerce, &c., and the functions of the States in such local matters as corporations, education, charitable institutions, and immigration, may profitably consult this instructive little work; wherein, too, they will find information with respect to questions but little understood in this country, such as the Federal powers over post-offices and post-roads, and as to certain questions upon the boundary line which have been the occasion of much embittered controversy. The chapters also on Federal and State taxation and finances are valuable for English readers. The

² "Note on Self-Government in the Bombay Presidency." By Javerilál Umíáshankar Yájnik. Bombay: Education Society's Press, Byculla. 1882.

³ "The American Citizen's Manual." Part II. The Functions of Governments (State and Federal). By W. C. Ford. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1886.

book is written in an enlightened spirit, and we may call attention to the very sensible remarks on the "Navigation Laws," which the author wishes to see abolished as soon as possible.

Mr. Freeman's "Impressions of the United States"⁴ naturally claim our attention in connection with the manual which we have just noticed. The latter distinguishes the Federal powers from those of the State Governments; while Mr. Freeman points out that it is with regard to such questions that the difference—so hard for an Englishman to understand, and for most Americans to explain—between a Republican and a Democrat may be discovered. "Should any question ever again arise as to the respective powers of the Union and of the States, it is easy to see which side each party would take. It is simply because there is no such burning question at present stirring, that the two parties seem largely to say the same things, and yet to be as strongly divided as ever." Mr. Freeman, as one who has made the nature of Federal Government an object of special study, states his opinion that, as the doctrine of State Rights was formerly pushed to a mischievous extreme, so there is danger now of the opposite doctrine being in like manner unduly pressed. For "to insist on too close a union is the very way to lead to separation." He points out also, that the States did not receive their existing powers from the Union; but that they surrendered to the Union certain powers which were naturally their own, and kept certain others to themselves. There is accordingly a range within which the State is sovereign; while within the range of the surrendered powers, the Union is sovereign. Quite erroneous therefore is the doctrine, received in some quarters, that the States have no rights but such as the Union allows to them. Mr. Freeman's work, however, is rather of a social, or, perhaps, ethnological, than a political nature (by the way, he regards the word "sociology" as "British slang"), and he tells us that his object throughout is to prove that the great land of the United States is still essentially an English land. He has given us, as might have been expected, a very entertaining and readable volume, written in a chatty, conversational manner, but containing much that is instructive as well as amusing. Premising that he is "wholly ignorant of all things bearing on commerce, manufactures, or agriculture," he at once relieves the reader's mind from fears of statistics and Blue Books; and passing to lighter subjects, shows us, with not a little original observation, that if we have something to criticize, there is also much which we may profitably study, in the habits, manners, and institutions of our brethren "on the other side," and his volume may possibly do something towards removing many misconceptions based upon the mutual ignorance of the two countries. We must, however, take some exception

⁴ "Some Impressions of the United States." By Edward A. Freeman, D.C.L., J.J.D., Hon. Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1883.

to Mr. Freeman's remarks upon the Chinese, who, he says, "belong to one of those classes of settlers who form no part of the people of the land, who contribute nothing, but who swallow up a great deal." Surely this is very fallacious. Is cheap labour nothing? Are industry and sobriety nothing? Ask those who are now making arrangements to send 20,000 coolies in one year to the Brazils! Mr. Freeman lays it down that "every nation has a right to get rid of strangers who prove a nuisance, whether they are Chinese in America or Jews in Russia." What is "a right"? It is, we take it, simply a question of the interests—that is to say, the highest and ultimate interests—of the community; and, if this be so, we are not inclined to admit that the Americans have "a right" to eject immigrants belonging to a race for whose good character we have only to turn to various works now lying upon our table. How strange, says Mr. Freeman, that the great land of the United States has not yet got a real local name, like England, or France, or even Canada! Some foolish person once suggested "Fredonia," having "the words *free* and *freedom* in his head." Our author sees the evil, but cannot undertake to find the remedy. We are tempted to suggest *Freemania!*

In a volume of essays, entitled "Early Law and Custom,"* Sir Henry Maine pursues those investigations, in what may be called the Embryology of Law, which have already made his name illustrious as a scientific jurist. It is impossible, within the limits assigned to this section, to do justice to a work of such very considerable importance as this is; for in order properly to appreciate these latest contributions of the learned writer to the study of law and history, it would be necessary to compare them with his earlier publications—"Ancient Law," "Village Communities in the East and West," and "The Early History of Institutions"—which would lead us very far afield. The first thing required by an intelligent reader of such a book, consisting, as it does, of a series of grouped essays, is to form some general conception of its end, aim, and object taken as a whole; and with this, Sir Henry Maine happily supplies us at the outset. As the chief object of the first of the publications we have mentioned "was to indicate some of the earliest ideas of mankind as they are reflected in Ancient Law, and to point out the relation of those ideas to modern thought;" so, in the present volume, the author, following the same lines of investigation, "endeavours to connect a portion of existing institutions with a part of the primitive or very ancient usages of mankind, and of the ideas associated with these usages." First, then, we have four essays, mainly devoted to a consideration of the laws, customs, and religious writings of the Hindns, and designed to throw light on "that close implication of early law with ancient religion which meets the inquirer on the threshold of the legal systems of several societies which have contributed greatly to modern civiliza-

* "Dissertations on Early Law and Custom." Chiefly selected from Lectures delivered at Oxford. By Sir Henry Sumner Maine, K.C.S.I., LL.D., F.R.S. Author of "Ancient Law," &c. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. 1883.

tion." Next follow two chapters showing the strong influence which the authority of the king has exercised upon early law, and containing much interesting and instructive discussion of the Salic Law. Then comes a chapter on "Theories of Primitive Society;" while in the later portions of the book we have an examination, which can best be appreciated by those who are familiar with legal technicalities, of "certain forms of property and tenure, and certain legal conceptions and legal classifications, which have survived to our day, but which appear to have had their origin in remote antiquity." In his first chapters, which we must here touch lightly, Sir Henry Maine calls our attention to the early connection between religion and law. A barrister of eminence once complained of the translation "And behold a certain *lawyer* stood up and tempted Him," maintaining that it might with equal, if not with greater propriety, have been rendered "A certain *parson*!" Sir Henry Maine points out that the two were originally identical, for the first lawyers were all priests; and in order to understand the ancient Roman lawyer, for example, it must be realized that the juriconsult sprang from the pontiff. The early influence of the priestly class upon law is especially made manifest in the ancient books of the Hindus; and when we contemplate the terrible picture drawn by Sir Henry Maine of the physical, spiritual, and intellectual tyranny of the Brahmans, we almost shudder to think what might have been the result to Europe if the canonists had been ultimately successful in their struggles with the civilians. "If the Roman Empire had merely transmitted its administrative system to Western Europe, and if it had not bequeathed to it a coherent body of codified secular law making considerable approach to completeness, it is very doubtful whether the general law of the West would not even now reflect a particular set of religious ideas, as distinctly as the Hindu law reflects the sacerdotal conceptions of the Brahmans." It is, however, the seventh chapter, upon "Theories of Primitive Society," which will perhaps chiefly interest the general reader, and which naturally most attracts our notice in a section dealing with sociology. Sir Henry Maine, as is well known, had in his work on Ancient Law, first published in 1861, powerfully advocated what is called the Patriarchal theory of society—that is, "the theory of its origin in separate families, held together by the authority and protection of the eldest valid male ascendant." Now we must not be led away by the word "Patriarchal" to picture to ourselves such a state of things as might be suggested by Old Testament associations. The Patriarchal theory certainly assumes a rough enough origin for society. It is illustrated by the well-known passage in the *Odyssey*, telling of the "Cyclops," who lived apart, each in his cave, ruling his wives and children, but paying no regard to one another. It is the "wild beast in his den theory;" although from the relations existing between the ruling male, his wives, children, and slaves, were in time developed the Roman technical names of *Patria Potestas*, *Manus*, *Dominion*, *Adoption*, *Divorce*, *Agnation*, *Emancipation*, &c. Against this has been set, advocated especially by two independent original

inquirers, McLennan and Morgan, the "Horde" theory, which deduces all later social order from miscellaneous unorganized assemblages, "in which the relations of the sexes were wholly unregulated at first, but passed through various stages of limitation or restriction until the Family, Patriarchal or other, was reached." Sir Henry Maine points out that the Patriarchal theory is as old as Plato and Aristotle; and the latter, we must not forget, had admirable opportunities for observation of barbarian customs. The mention of these sages of antiquity has brought to our remembrance that traces of the theory of promiscuity also (if not exactly of the "Horde" theory) are to be found in the classics. It was the work of ancient wisdom, says Horace (A. P. 398), "concubitu prohibere vago, dare iura maritis;" and so Cicero, addressing philosophy, says—"Tu dissipatos homines in societatem vitæ convocasti, tu eos inter se primo domiciliis, deinde coniugiis, tum litterarum et vocum communione iunxisti." (Tusc. 5, 2, 5.) Sir Henry Maine raises various objections to the "Horde" theory; as that, promiscuity leads to infecundity, which, amid perpetually belligerent savages, implies weakness and ultimate destruction; an argument which brings to our minds some pictures drawn by Miss Gordon Cumming of the old state of things in Hawaii, in a work which we noticed in our last number. Moreover, the theory assumes the abeyance through long ages "of the mightiest of all passions," sexual jealousy. The Patriarchal theory, on the other hand, fixes on *Power*—the power of the strong man, set in motion by this sexual jealousy—as the principal formative cause of the groups within which the conception of kinship first grew up. Space will not allow us to make any observations on the later chapters, but we would refer the reader to the passage in chapter ix., upon Copyhold Tenure, where the author shows that the account which has been hitherto given of the formation of manors is extremely inaccurate, and that the manor "was as much a political as a proprietary body." Altogether this volume is a forcible illustration of the value of that historic method which has already done so much, and which is destined to do so much more, for the scientific study of law.

"Twenty years ago," says Mr. Henry Sidgwick,⁶ "both the theory of political economy and its main outlines were considered as finally settled," but "in 1871 these halcyon days of political economy had passed away." Mr. Thornton's work on "Labour," following up Mr. Longe's investigations upon the same subject, had weakened the foundations of the fabric of political economy; the work of undermining was carried further by Professor Jevons in 1871, and Professor Cairnes in 1874; and "finally, the great practical success of free-trade has recently been called in question by an apparently growing party of practical men." This is certainly an effective way of beginning a treatise upon "the principles of political economy."

⁶ "The Principles of Political Economy." By Henry Sidgwick, Author of "The Methods of Ethics." London: Macmillan & Co. 1883.

It is calculated to stimulate the curiosity both of the learned and unlearned. And to all who have made no study of political economy it must be especially grateful, as laying the flattering unction to their souls that up till now at any rate they have lost nothing by their lack of knowledge. If the minds of the educated classes of this country were saturated with political economy, such a method of beginning a treatise would do little harm; but as unfortunately comparatively few persons interest themselves in this study, Mr. Sidgwick's opening chapters are calculated to confirm the general ignorance, by leading those who are ill-acquainted with political economy to regard it as a vast quicksand in which no one can be sure of finding a firm footing. After reading Mr. Sidgwick's picture of the wreck of the theory of political economy, one is inclined to ask why he has stopped at the "Fair" Traders, and has not gone on to tell us that the Malthusian theory and the doctrine of Rent have been refuted by Mr. Henry George? And lest we may be thought to be hardly serious, we would say at once that Mr. Sidgwick, although he does not mention Mr. Henry George by name, appears to adopt to a certain extent his extraordinary theory that workmen pay their own wages. Mr. Sidgwick tells us, that whilst on the one hand he makes no claim to originality, on the other hand his work is not precisely an elementary treatise. An elementary treatise it certainly is not. It is rather a criticism of some of the principles of political economy. Its character is essentially polemical. The author enters upon long drawn-out disquisitions without coming to any definite results, and often leaves his readers in a condition of helpless bewilderment, so eager is he to marshal the various difficulties, the multitude of considerations, and the infinity of limitations and exceptions, which have to be taken into account in arriving at principles. After pages of investigation of this somewhat fruitless character, he passes on to the consideration of fresh points, without providing his readers with any definitions or principles in lieu of those which he declares to be unsatisfactory. Either political economy is a fraud or it is not a fraud. If it is a fraud, Mr. Sidgwick's method is one way, though perhaps not the best way, of damaging political economy. If it is not a fraud, then Mr. Sidgwick would have done better, under the name of "Principles of Political Economy," to have laid down the true principles which in his view have hitherto escaped students of this science.

Mr. Sidgwick divides his subject into three books. In the first book he discusses (1) value, (2) wealth, and (3) capital. It does not seem to us that anything is gained by this transposition of the usual order adopted by other economists in the discussion of these fundamental questions. In his chapter on wealth, Mr. Sidgwick gives expression to some strange views as to money, holding that the transfer of obligations through bankers is not a transfer of obligations, but a transfer of money. In the second book, "Distribution and Exchange" are dealt with; and in chapter viii. we enter upon the discussion of wages. In spite of Mr. Sidgwick's gloomy picture of political economy as a shattered science, the only point about which any important doubts

have arisen of late years, has been in connection with the wages fund theory; and this Mr. Sidgwick seems to admit when he says, "We now approach the part of our object which, especially in recent years, has given rise to the most perplexing theoretical controversy—the competitive determination of the wages of labour." It may seem to those who have not studied political economy a strange thing that a matter so apparently simple as the wages fund cannot be at once accurately defined by economists; but when it is remembered that we have to take into consideration the love of work for its own sake, the love of particular occupations, the love of one's own country, the recurrence of commercial crises, and numerous other forces, physical, mental, and psychological—forces both of a positive and unconditional character beyond the reach of the economist, forces which he does not know, and can still less measure—the only cause for surprise is that in little more than a century so much should have been done to follow out the threads of the intricate network which goes to make up the warp and the woof of political economy. In this same chapter Mr. Sidgwick propounds the extraordinary theory that wages are not paid out of capital. "I am unable," he says, "to adopt the view that wages are normally paid out of capital at all" (p. 318). He would regard the wages paid and the labour received in return as a purchase. The employer buys the labour, which then becomes part of his capital. The wages paid by the employer to his labourer were, up to the moment of payment, undoubtedly capital, but the labour he takes in exchange may never be capital at all. Would not Mr. Sidgwick say that when the Woolwich Tunnel was abandoned, after being partially constructed, the employers had not diminished their capital, because they had a half-finished tunnel in exchange. The third book is devoted to what Mr. Sidgwick calls the "art" of political economy—that is, its practical application to the affairs of life. Here he treats of Protection and makes some surprising statements. After admitting that "permanent protection is absolutely condemned by economic theory," he goes on to say that a "a simple case may show how a duty may at once protect the native manufacture adequately, and recoup the country for the expense of protecting him. Suppose," says Mr. Sidgwick, "that a 5 per cent. duty is imposed on foreign silks, and that, in consequence, half the silks consumed are the product of native industry, and that the price of the whole has risen $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. It is obvious that the other half, which comes from abroad, yields the State 5 per cent., while the tax levied on the consumers is only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent." (p. 492). This is the fair traders' fallacy over again—that if a 5s. duty is levied upon every quarter of corn which we import, which is about half of that which we consume, then the price of corn would rise only 2s. 6d. per quarter. The fact is, that it would all rise at once by the full amount of the duty, and even higher, owing to the cost and trouble of collection; it being well known that when, after the repeal of the Corn Laws, a 1s. registration duty was retained, this 1s. a quarter enhanced the price of all corn consumed in the country by about 5s. a quarter. To future

writers on political economy this book will prove of some value; but judging it as a whole, we must pronounce it to be a critical treatise dealing with a few of the weak places in a partially successful manner, and thoroughly unsuited for persons who have not some grasp of the subject with which it deals.

Mr. Carruthers has written a little book entitled, "Communal and Commercial Economy," in which he endeavours—encouraged apparently by the splutter Mr. Henry George has made—to upset almost every principle of political economy. The existence of want accompanying vastly increased prosperity is the puzzle which has proved too much for Mr. Carruthers' faith in political economy; and shutting his eyes to the immensely increased general prosperity of the people as a whole, and fixing them only on the want and sufferings of a happily diminishing proportion of the community, he tilts boldly at economists, forgetful that if the world would only listen to the teachings of economists, and prefer work and thrift to idleness and waste, the sore places would soon be healed. Amongst other discoveries made by Mr. Carruthers, we have noticed the following—that Mill's definition of the word "capital" is one of the most unhappy ever employed in scientific discussion; that the current theories of the rate of profit are all wrong; that the current theory of the rate of interest is no explanation whatever; that the so-called law of diminishing returns from land is quite imaginary; that capital is a mere arithmetical expression, having no influence on human happiness, and its increase is therefore not necessary to well-being; that protective duties may sometimes be wisely levied; that the population difficulty is non-existent, over-population never being the cause of poverty; that conscription is not a tax upon hired workmen, except in so far as the men prefer other work to soldiering; and that capitalists absorb the whole profits of labour, and therefore all taxation falls upon them, and not upon the working classes. This last proposition, that the capitalists at present absorb the whole of the profits of labour, is the burden of Mr. Carruthers' book, and upon this he founds his demand for an elaborate State-regulated system of Communism, which he expounds in the last fifty pages. No one is to work more than three hours a day; we are all to be banded in a number of guilds; and everything will work out so easily and simply that "any girl of eighteen would be fitted to take charge of the whole banking business of England." Trouble and misery will cease from out the land, sorrow and sighing will flee away, and the tears will be wiped from every eye. Such is the future that awaits us, if we will only follow the guidance of Mr. Carruthers. In his last chapter, Mr. Carruthers makes use of the following illustration:—"We are," says he, "much in the position of a bridge-builder who has imperfectly learnt his trade. He has still much to learn, but is competent to criticize the work of others." We cannot help thinking that Mr. Carruthers, M. Inst. C.E. (*vide* title-page),

⁷ "Communal and Commercial Economy." By John Carruthers, M. Inst. C.E. London: Edward Stanford, 1888.

as far as political economy is concerned, is much in the condition of the subject of his illustration, though we cannot admit that this qualifies him for the task of successfully criticizing the great fabric of political economy laboriously raised by the united labours of many of the ablest minds.

Under the title of "Methods of Social Reform," seventeen essays by the late Professor Stanley Jevons, dealing with social questions, have been published. These "chips" from the workshop of Professor Jevons have—with one exception, viz., the essay on "The Use and Abuse of Museums," now first published—been thrown off at various dates during the last fifteen years. This collection of essays is full of interest to every one who is anxious for the social well-being and improvement of the people. They are full of wise thoughts and apt sayings, and, above all, the arguments are amply illustrated by and based upon facts. In the newly published essay upon "The Use and Abuse of Museums," Professor Jevons points out that the first condition of mental acquisition is to cultivate a habit of concentration of attention, and that it would be far better for children to flatten their noses against a pane of glass "seeing a pair of boots soled while you wait," than for them to be hurried through the long galleries of a museum glancing at a multitude of diverse objects. Professor Jevons rightly observes, that mere collections of the finest kind will not necessarily raise the standard of artistic culture; the fine arts are in a decidedly low state in Italy, although the Italians have had access to the choicest works of art since the time of the Medicis. The volume opens with an essay on "The Amusements of the People," and Professor Jevons complains that foreign manners are superior to English. We are told that we are too self-complacent about this, and should set about mending matters. If we were to attempt a few hours' inexpensive music out of doors, pickpockets and roughs, and all that is vulgar and disagreeable, would be brought to the surface. Yet people might have refined, and at the same time popular, amusements. What makes people vulgar is the total want of means to render them refined. This note, struck in the first essay, re-echoes throughout the book. In the essay on "Free Public Libraries," we are reminded that the whole annual cost of free libraries in this country does not exceed the cost of a first-class ironclad; and that free libraries create a thirst for literature and multiply booksellers' customers. In an essay on "Cram," Professor Jevons well remarks that the word "cram" has all the attributes of a perfect question-begging epithet. In discussing "Trade Societies, their Objects and Policy," the question of shorter hours of labour is gone into, and the obligations of a man to his family are dwelt upon. In a paper on "Industrial Partnerships" the author is most hopeful of the success of such undertakings; and at the present time, when a Co-operative Decoration Company has just been started in Oxford Street, this essay is especially interesting reading. We

³ "Methods of Social Reform, and other Papers." By W. Stanley Jevons, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S. London: Macmillan & Co. 1888.

have a vigorous essay concerning the employment of "Married Women in Factories." Professor Jevons, as is well known, advocated the complete exclusion of mothers of children under the age of three years from factories and workshops. There is, however, another side to this question, and some think it doubtful whether we might not do as much harm as good if we closed any honest industrial occupations against "child-bearing" women; but there certainly seems to be a case for some further legislation in the harrowing details of infant mortality and suffering which are collected in the Parliamentary Reports. In his opening address to the British Association we have some admirable remarks upon the absurdity of laying the blame of our still prevalent pauperism upon political economy, when it is rather caused by the unheeded warnings of political economy. In "Cruelty to Animals: a Study in Sociology," Professor Jevons touches upon the questions of "Sport" and Vivisection. He declines, however, to give a definition of cruelty. We would define it as the unjustifiable infliction of pain. If the pain inflicted on birds and beasts by shooting and hunting cannot be morally justified, then sport must be condemned as cruel. That is the whole question. From vivisection properly conducted the late Professor anticipated infinite benefits to mankind and the lower animals. Next follows a paper on the prospects of the "United Kingdom Alliance," in which he, perhaps rather rashly, ventured to prophesy that the Permissive Bill will never be passed. In "Experimental Legislation" he shows that it would in many cases be advisable to attempt new measures on a small scale. The last four essays are devoted to the Post Office Telegraphs and Railways. The essay on "Postal Notes" might have been omitted, for it was written under the impression that these notes would become part of the circulation of the country, and break down the absurd objection of the English people to one pound notes. As they are only current for three months after issue, they cannot come into general circulation. Professor Jevons in his essay on a State Parcel Post thinks that it will be advantageous to shopkeepers in every part of the kingdom. In the last article, the Purchase of the Railways by the State is considered, and the differences between the railways and the Post Office brought out. The success of the Post Office is thought to be largely due to its contracting for the use of horses, vehicles, and offices, thus avoiding waste, such as we have in our dockyards, "running sores, draining away our financial power—the very types of incompetent and wasteful expenditure." The value of this admirable series of essays would have been greatly increased by the addition of a good index.

Mr. Thorold Rogers' little book on "Ensilage" is one which we should be glad to see in the hands of every farmer in the United Kingdom. In clear and simple language, illustrated where necessary by diagrams, Mr. Rogers sets forth the different ways of storing food

* "Ensilage in America." By James E. Thorold Rogers, M.P. London: W. Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1883.

in silos or ensilage pits. These pits may be constructed either above or below ground, and various materials may be employed for the purpose, the object being to construct a chamber from which the air is excluded; for if the air is excluded from fermentable products, fermentation is prevented, or, if begun, arrested. In these air-tight chambers or silos green crops are stored. The advantages of this method of saving crops are twofold. First, it is practically immaterial what the weather may be. The hay and corn crops of last year, although we were deluged with rain during both harvests, might have been saved in silos for feeding stock. Secondly, crops saved in this manner afford better food for cattle and sheep than hay and roots. The value of one ton of green food is set down at 8s., and the cost of ensilaging it is estimated at from 2s. to 4s., and as three tons of ensilage are said to be fully worth one ton of the best hay (costing £4 to £6) for feeding purposes, it is obvious that a very considerable saving may be effected by the adoption of this process. American farmers have taken to this system owing to the severity of their winters and the unsuitability of much of their land for the growth of root crops. In the States it has been especially made use of for feeding the finer kinds of stock, cattle and sheep eating it with avidity and thriving well. Here also we miss an index, which would be a great improvement to the book.

German opinion upon the Irish Land Act¹⁰ cannot fail to be interesting, more especially when it comes from so competent a critic as Dr. Wiss.¹⁰ In a really excellent introduction, showing that he has made a careful study of the question, Dr. Wiss summarizes the causes, historical, social, and political, which made the legislation of 1881, as he does not fail to recognize, nothing short of a necessity. Among other things his remarks on absenteeism are particularly interesting, although we think undue prominence is given to this in comparison with other evils. Mr. Gladstone's speech in introducing the Bill, and his speech of May 16, 1881, are very well translated, and the Act itself is appended both in German and in English. We wish our politicians at home would study foreign land laws—say the legislation of Stein and Hardenberg—with as much attention as Dr. Wiss has bestowed upon the Irish question.

If the recently published "Studies"¹¹ of M. Alexander Pey are to be taken as a faithful mirror of the feelings with which Frenchmen generally regard their conquerors of 1870, we fear that we have still much to hear of the policy of *révanche*. Difficult it must be, almost impossible it may be, to efface the memories of that bitter time; but after making all allowances for the infirmity of human nature, we are compelled to say that we have in vain searched this book for traces of anything approaching to the wisdom of either statesman or philo-

¹⁰ "Das Landgesetz für Irland vom Jahre 1881 in deutscher Uebersetzung und im Original." Eingeleitet und herausgegeben von Dr. Eduard Wiss. Leipzig: Verlag von Duncker & Humblot. 1880.

¹¹ "L'Allemagne d'aujourd'hui, 1849-1882." Études politiques, sociales et littéraires. Par Alexandre Pey. Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1883.

sopher. We find nothing but the narrowest spleen and hatred. Germany is the cradle and home of Socialism, and Socialism means atheism, materialism, and immorality, the destruction of patriotism, property, and society. Germany is also the home of Prince Bismarck, and Prince Bismarck opposing Socialism, is like Satan holding down the lower fiends. Yet it is fortune rather than superiority of intellect that has raised him to his high position. Germany is the home of gluttony, and intemperance, and debauchery. M. Bossert indeed says: "L'Allemagne s'est élevée par un effort d'intelligence et d'abnégation." Ah! cries M. Peÿ, "Singulière abnégation que celle qui consiste à rançonner et à dépouiller ses voisins, à leur prendre cinq milliards et deux provinces!" It might surely have occurred to him that Germany's effort was made for years before the war broke out, and that without it she never would have been in a position to dictate her terms to France. The chapter on the German Parliamentary struggles is interesting read in the light of recent events—the victory of Prince Bismarck, and the apparently final collapse of the National Liberal party; but we should certainly have expected a French writer, such as M. Peÿ, who affects to treat of "Germany of the present day" to show some appreciation of the good qualities of a great people.

The recent changes in the law with regard to married women are considered in the two legal works now before us. Mr. Bromfield's edition of Griffith's "Married Women's Property Acts"¹³ holds a deservedly high place among the various commentaries upon the Act of 1882; while Mr. Barrett-Lennard's treatise,¹⁴ though small in compass, is of larger scope. Under various legal heads, such as Public Offices, Crimes, Torts, Contracts, Poor Laws, &c., it deals with the position of women (both married and unmarried) at common law, as modified by the doctrines of equity and by recent legislation. The plan is a good one, and appears to have been well carried out.

The last quarter has proved very productive of "Voyages and Travels." In two handsome volumes, with all the attractions of large type and profuse illustrations, Mr. Colquhoun¹⁵ invites us to follow him in his adventurous journey "Across Chrysé," Chrysé being, as he reminds us, a literal version of the Sanskrit *Suvarna-bhumi*, or Golden Land, the name applied in ancient India to the Indo-Chinese regions. This book is a valuable contribution to geographical knowledge. Starting from Canton, with his companion, the late Charles Wahab, Mr. Colquhoun proceeded up the river in a "ho-tau," or travelling-boat, to Pe-sé, the highest navigable point of the West River, a distance of about 600 miles, passing through the provinces of Southern

¹³ "Griffith's Married Women's Property Acts." Fifth edition. By S. Worthington Bromfield, M.A., of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. London: Stevens & Haynes. 1883.

¹⁴ "The Position in Law of Women." By Thomas Barrett-Lennard, of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. London: Waterlow & Sons. 1883.

¹⁵ "Across Chrysé: being the Narrative of Exploration through the South China Border-lands from Canton to Mandalay." By A. R. Colquhoun. Two Vols. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1883.

China, Kwang-tung, and Kwang-si; thence by canoe to Pa-oi, some three days distant to the south-west, on the borders of Yunnan, where, quitting the river, he commenced his long and arduous march westward through an unknown region; made his way to Puerh, which gives its name to some most excellent tea (grown, however, further south, in the I-bang and I-wu districts), and being baffled in his design of proceeding south from Ssü-mao, through the independent Shan States to the Gulf of Martaban (a *contretemps* occasioned by the opposition of the Chinese officials and the misconduct of his interpreter), he struck northwards through Yunnan, up the Papien river, to Tali, turned south-west, reached the Irawadi at Bhamo, and so southwards through Burmah to Mandalay and Rangoon. For an account of the dangers and difficulties which he encountered in this really remarkable journey through the South China border-lands, the lovely scenery through which he passed, the curious buildings and bridges which he saw and sketched, the "men and manners" which he studied, the reader must be referred to Mr. Colquhoun's own pages. Public attention has now been specially directed to these regions by the French filibustering expeditions in Tonquin, which may yet involve them in a war with the Celestial Empire. Mr. Colquhoun discusses the question of a practicable trade-route between Burmah and China, which has long engaged the attention of commercial bodies in England and the East. "With the French in Tonquin," he says, "making persistent efforts to be before us in securing the trade of Southern China, it is necessary that we should neglect no chance to gain the command of this market, and retain the place we have held so long in the mercantile position of nations." On the one hand, he proposes an extension of the British-Burmah system of railways to India, and further propounds a plan, which he ardently advocates, of constructing a line from Rangoon through the Shan country, to the frontier of Yunnan, the south-westernmost province of China, with the richness of which he seems to have been especially struck. "Some millions of people are there to be clothed with British piece-goods, and to receive the manufactures of England. In return, they will give us the finest tea drunk in China (the so-called Puerh tea, which at present cannot be exported, owing to the enormous cost of carriage), cotton, silk, petroleum, and the most useful and precious metals, to an extent which will be enormous when European skill shall effect their development." And again, "only by thus showing the Chinese the effect of a railway on a large scale, will they be led to open out their own country, containing a population of about one-third of that of the whole world."

Mr. Colquhoun makes some interesting remarks upon the "curious and ridiculous mixture of Buddhism and superstitious worship of deities," in which the poor and suffering people, so totally unable to comprehend the lofty doctrines of the Buddha, have apparently found comfort; and upon Confucianism, which is "merely a system of positive philosophy and practical morals," professed by the rich alone, and which alone of the three great religions of China has remained free from any introduction of mythology or superstition. "The real

religion of the Chinese," he tells us, "may be said to be the worship of deceased ancestors," affording an illustration of the chapter on ancestor-worship in Sir Henry Maine's volume, which we have already noticed. On the opium question Mr. Colquhoun confirms what has been said by other recent travellers in China. In the plains of Yunnan, for instance, quite one-third of the cultivated area is devoted to poppy; and "the fact that the consumption of the native drug for so long a period has existed, and does still exist, to the exclusion of foreign opium, proves that the sweeping imputations made against the foreign trade in this article, so far as it concerns this part of Southern China, are not borne out by facts;" and they are, he says, "convincingly disproved by our journey up the river. . . . In view of this, it is impossible not to believe that the stoppage of the introduction of Indian opium into China would mean no diminution in the consumption of the drug. It would simply mean an increased area laid under cultivation in China itself."

From Mr. Colquhoun's "Golden Land," we naturally turn southwards, to Miss Bird's "Golden Chersonese,"¹⁵ the Aurea Chersonesus of Ptolemy, the Malay Peninsula of our day. Miss Bird, too, has something to tell us of the Chinese, for that extraordinary people has overrun these tropical regions, and constitute the very backbone of their prosperity. Miss Bird (for we keep to her familiar maiden name) gives them, upon the whole, a most excellent character. "To say that the Chinese make as good emigrants as the British, is barely to give them their due. They have equal stamina, and are more industrious and thrifty; and besides that, they are always sober, can bear with impunity the fiercest tropical heat, and can thrive and save where Englishmen would starve." Security for property is all they ask, and in return for that, they "work cordially with the Resident in all that concerns the good of the State." On the other hand, "along with their industrious habits, and their character for fair trading," they have brought to Malacca gambling and opium-smoking; and we are told, that "one-seventh of the whole quantity of opium exported from India to China is intercepted and consumed in the Straits Settlements." Miss Bird, however, reminds us, that every man who smokes opium is not what we mean by an opium-smoker, there being as many grades between the two as exist between the moderate drinker and the habitual drunkard.

Of the Malays, Miss Bird tells us that they, "undoubtedly, must be numbered among civilized peoples. They live in houses which are more or less tasteful and secluded. They are well clothed, in garments of both native and foreign manufacture; they are a settled and agricultural people; they are skilful in some of the arts, specially in the working of gold and the damascening of krises; the upper classes

¹⁵ "The Golden Chersonese, and the Way Thither." By Isabelle L. Bird (Mrs. Bishop), author of the "Hawaiian Archipelago," "A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains," "Unbeaten Tracks in Japan." London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. 1853.

are to some extent educated; they have a literature, even though it be an imported one, and they have possessed, for centuries, systems of government and codes of land and maritime laws which, in theory at least, show a considerable degree of enlightenment." The Malays are all Mohammedans, and all write in the Arabic character. A very pleasing trait in their character is, that they are passionately fond of pets. They have much skill in taming birds and animals. "Doubtless," says Miss Bird, "their low voices, and gentle, supple movements never shock the timid sensitiveness of brutes." Besides this, Malay children "yield a very ready obedience to their elders, and are encouraged to invite the confidence of birds and beasts, rather than to torment them."

But the charm of this delightful book consists, we need hardly say, in the writer's interesting narrative of her bold journeys in these strange regions, penetrating to unknown spots where European foot "bath never or rarely been;" and, above all, in her enthusiastic and picturesque descriptions of the glories and wonders of the tropics. We wish we had space to present the reader with some specimens of her word-painting—the marvellous vegetation of the Malacca jungle; the mysterious mangrove-swamps; the coco-palms, melons, and pine-apples; the "lianas, knotted and tangled, with stems like great cables, and red blossoms as large as breakfast-cups;" the orchids—as the "flower of the Holy Ghost," which lives but for a day, but in its brief life fills the air with fragrance; the "mosses, ferns, trailers, lilies, *nibongs*, reeds, canes, rattans, a dense and lavish undergrowth;" and with all these the gorgeous birds, multitudinous monkeys, alligators, royal tigers, huge pachyderms, innumerable insects—these and all the other myriad marvels of these realms of teeming life, which Miss Bird describes so well, and yet confesses that she is quite powerless to describe, and which made Darwin say so truly that a visit to the tropics is like a visit to a new planet. Here is the sunset: "A gory ball drops suddenly from a gory sky into a flaming sea, and

'With one stride comes the dark.'

Then the night, "wherein all the beasts of the forest do move," with its mysterious noises and intervals of solemn silence. And Miss Bird gives us a wonderful description of that night, as she encountered it on her strange adventurous voyage up the Linggi river, through the dense forest-gloom to the "parts unknown" of Sungai Ujong, a little native state, where the Governor of Malacca himself had never been. Then the sun rises, "with a suddenness akin to that of his setting;" the re-awakening jungle, vociferous with the simultaneous din of the clouds; the noisy insect world chirping, cheeping, buzzing, whistling; birds hallooing, hooting, screeching; "apes in a loud and not unharmonious chorus" greeting the sun; monkeys chattering, yelling, quarrelling, and spluttering. We lay down this charming volume with a sigh to think that we cannot follow the plucky authoress to these marvellous lands; yet is it some consolation to read of the horrors of tigers, cobras, centipedes, and, not least, mosquitoes!

Yet more about the tropics. This time it is a German writer that discourses;¹⁶ but Professor Haeckel's account of his visit to Ceylon has been excellently rendered by an experienced lady translator for the benefit of English readers. The Professor is well known to us, not only as a naturalist and zoologist, but also as a friend and ardent disciple of Darwin, whose views he has ably advocated in his "History of Creation" and "The Evolution of Man." Having a special passion, as he tells us, for the study of the lower orders of marine creatures, and above all zoophytes and protozoa, and being powerfully attracted by the grand results obtained by the deep-sea dredging of our English naturalists in the Atlantic, he at first cherished the idea of emulating their example, and prosecuting discovery in the immense and as yet unexplored province of the Indian Ocean. With this view he was, though with a reluctance justified by the results, induced to solicit the Berlin Academy for a travelling grant from the Humboldt Fund. As he tells us, however, the most influential members of that Academy were the most vehement opponents of the doctrine of evolution which he had been for many years deeply interested in advancing, and, as he expected, the application was refused. But a voyage in the tropics had been the goal of his most eager desires since boyhood; and now, at the age of eight-and-forty, he determined to make an independent expedition to Ceylon, there to study that wondrous animal and vegetable life "compared to which the fauna and flora of our temperate zone appear but a pale and feeble phantom." As might have been expected, he has given us an interesting volume, but the island which he visited is now so well known in England, through the writings of our own countrymen—Sir Emerson Tennent at the head of them—that we may be content with a brief reference to the entertaining pages of the German naturalist.

Dr. Wills give us his experiences of life in Persia during a residence of fifteen years.¹⁷ If on laying down this volume we feel some disappointment that in telling us so much the writer has yet managed to tell us so little, we must remember that this affects to be no more than a personal narrative, and that Dr. Wills has purposely avoided calling his book "Modern Persia," because such a title "would have suggested an exhaustive and elaborate array of matter which is beyond the scope of this work. He has given us upwards of 400 pages of fact and anecdote. As we have more than once had occasion to mention the opium question, we will give his opinion, as a medical man, on the effects of that drug. "Almost three-fourths of the aged, of both sexes, are in the habit of taking from half a grain upwards, three times a day. And I am unable to state that the moderate use

¹⁶ "A Visit to Ceylon." By Ernst Haeckel, Professor in the University of Jena. Author of "The History of Creation," "The History of the Evolution of Man," &c. Translated by Clara Bell. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

¹⁷ "In the Land of the Lion and Sun; or, Modern Persia." Being Experiences of Life in Persia, during a Residence of Fifteen Years in various parts of that Country from 1866 to 1881. By C. J. Wills, M.D., late one of the Medical Officers of Her Majesty's Telegraph Department in Persia. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

of opium by the aged or those travelling is attended with any ill effects." In an Appendix he deals with the subject of our declining trade with Persia, and the means of opening up the country. "Our wants," he says, "are English consuls to protect us and our trade, and the opening of the Kerūn river. Without these, Persia, as a mart, is closed to English enterprise, and becomes the monopoly of Russia."

"It is true," says Major Gowan, "that Kashgaria" has disappeared from the list (now rapidly decreasing) of the independent States of Central Asia, and that another turn of the wheel of fortune has once more placed the Chinese in possession of that country;" but he hints that ere long the movements of Russia will divert to Yarkand-Kashgar some of the attention now given to Kuldja and the Turkoman cases. He has therefore translated the treatise compiled by Colonel Kuropatkin, a distinguished officer of the Russian General Staff, who visited this state of Eastern Turkestan with a Russian Embassy in 1877. Much information will here be found respecting the geography, climate, soil, military strength, industries, and trade of these little known regions; and the translator cites Sir Richard Temple as to the interests of England in a country so closely adjoining the frontiers of India and Afghanistan, and the "just jealousy" with which she would regard "the interposition of a European power in Yarkand-Kashgar." Here, too, we read of the doings of the Chinese, to whom events are now so constantly directing our attention, as conquerors and administrators, in which latter capacity they receive but a poor character from the Russian colonel.

It is now nearly forty years since Ida Pfeiffer published her interesting book of travels, entitled "A Lady's Journey Round the World." The work attracted considerable attention, for in those days lady travellers were comparatively rare. Now, however, they are "thick as autumnal leaves in Vallombrosa," and accordingly not much novelty can be claimed for Mrs. Bridge's volume,¹⁰ which, with its but slightly varied title, has recalled Ida Pfeiffer's Journeys to our recollection. Mrs. Bridges, who travelled with (besides her husband) 'Homer,' 'Herodotus,' 'The Spectator' and 'Pickwick,' adopts from the second of these the somewhat pretentious quotation which appears on her title-page:—"I have related what I have seen, what I have heard, and what I have learnt by inquiry." Nevertheless, we are happy to be able to state that all this is done in one volume of moderate size, which seems to contain no stories at all analogous to those with which the Egyptian priests beguiled the too credulous old Greek historian. The book is nicely illustrated from sketches by the author.

¹⁰ "Kashgaria (Eastern or Chinese Turkistan). Historical and Geographical Sketch of the Country; its Military Strength, Industries, and Trade." By A. N. Kuropatkin, Colonel on the General Staff of the Imperial Russian Army. Translated from the Russian by Walter E. Gowan, Major, Her Majesty's Indian Army. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co. 1882.

¹¹ "Journal of A Lady's Travels Round the World." By F. D. Bridges. London: John Murray. 1883.

In "Cities of Southern Italy and Sicily"²⁰ Mr. Hare has given us another of his delightful, bright, sparkling, companionable volumes, bound in the now familiar black cover with crimson stripes. Mr. Hare fears few will read, and fewer make use of his new book on the spot. We venture to think that very many who have no thought of travel will read this volume with the greatest pleasure, and that not a few others may be induced to bend their steps in the direction of the old towns and cities about which Mr. Hare has so much to tell us. Apt quotations from poets, historians, essayists, and travellers enliven the narrative, and admirably picturesque cuts adorn many of the pages. The excellent judgment of the author guides him to a right selection of all the chief subjects of interest, and about them he tells us just exactly what we want to know. If we might offer a suggestion, it would be to ask for one or two more details about the people who now inhabit these old towns and cities. For instance, to hear of the beauty of the women of Capri, in spite of the hard work they do upon their well-cultivated farms, helps one to know the people, but Mr. Hare omits to tell us that the peasantry of Capri are their own landlords, to which indeed some ascribe much of the happiness and prosperity which abounds in the island.

"The West Indies, Enslaved and Free"²¹ is rather an advertisement of Christian missions than a history of the peoples who inhabit the group of tropical islands comprehended under the general name of the "West Indies." Accordingly, when we turn to the account of Jamaica, we find an important period in its history, such as the wars of the Maroons—when the Cuban bloodhounds were imported, and the subdued rebels were deported, by a refinement of cruelty, from the heats of the tropics to the snows of Canada—passed over without mention, to make way for the exploits in the field of missionary enterprise of the Rev. Mr. Wiggins, and other estimable gentlemen of the same kind.

A pamphlet, published at Calcutta,²² urging the development of India, with a view of diverting the English grain trade from America to our great dependency, has attracted considerable attention in this country. The writer argues that India already raises all the wheat required by England, and that it can be grown far cheaper in India than in America. What we want is a general reduction of railway tariffs, so that we may get cheap communications between the interior districts and the coast. He pleads not only in the interest of England, but for the starving ryot, whose case has been so eloquently advocated of late by Miss Nightingale. Every Englishman must sympathize with the writer's objects, and trust that his ideas may be

²⁰ "The Cities of Southern Italy and Sicily." By Augustus J. C. Hare, Author of "Walks in Rome," &c. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1883.

²¹ "The West Indies, Enslaved and Free." By the Rev. William Mountst. London: T. Woolner, 1835.

²² "The Influence on English Trade and American Protection, by the Development of India." Calcutta: The Calcutta Central Press Company, Limited. 1883.

realized. If so, the result may have a counteracting influence upon some of the tendencies which Mr. Zinke²³ considers in his pamphlet on "The Plough and the Dollar," wherein he speculates upon the position of "the Englishry of a century hence." The term "Englishry" Mr. Zinke proposes to employ in the sense of "all the people collectively, in whatever part of the earth they may dwell, who speak the English language," and these, in view of the extraordinary rapidity of their present rate of increase, he estimates will amount in 1980 to about 1,000,000,000 souls. What will be the results of this astounding increase? What its effect upon the New World? What its reaction upon the old? What changes will it bring about in law and politics, in land systems, in class distinctions, and in social arrangements generally? Above all, what are "the probable moral and intellectual developments of that very proximate future?" Here is, indeed, abundant food for reflection; but all this belongs to the realm of prophecy; and though Mr. Zinke is a most competent observer, prophets, "unless they know," are apt to be more entertaining than trustworthy.

Mr. Edwin de Lisle,²⁴ whom we assume to be very much in earnest, conceives that to allow a member of Parliament to *declare* his allegiance to the Queen, instead of swearing it, would be to sap the foundations of society, and to prepare the downfall of England. "The Devil might come into Parliament under the Affirmation Bill" said some good clergyman; whereupon he was reminded that the Devil, being a most convinced *Deist*, might be, and possibly is, a member of that enlightened assembly as the law now stands. But Mr. Edwin de Lisle and those who think with him, must find much consolation in the thought that malignant atheists have still the opportunity of profaning the oath, as they take their seats in Parliament. Wherefore society still holds together, and the downfall of England is postponed.

The Rev. H. Duke²⁵ thinks marriage with a deceased wife's sister incestuous, apparently grounding his opinion mainly upon the use of that expression of Leviticus which our version translates "the uncovering of nakedness." He is convinced that "the phrase was constructed (*sic*) by the Holy Ghost in view of the very use to which we (i. e., Rev. H. H. Duke) are now engaged in putting it." Those who like stuff of this sort can purchase any amount of it for the moderate sum of sixpence.

Lovers of English scenery and topography will no doubt find

²³ "The Plough and the Dollar, or, The Englishry of a Century Hence." By F. Barham Zinke, Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen, and Vicar of Wharfedale. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1888.

²⁴ "The Parliamentary Oath." By Edwin de Lisle. London: W. H. Allen & Co. 1888.

²⁵ "The Question of Incest, relatively to Marriage with Sisters in Spirituality." By Henry H. Duke, Rector of Brixton, Deyerville, W. Va. Second Edition. Livingston, 1888. Price Sixpence.

pleasant paths in "About Yorkshire,"²⁶ which is nicely illustrated, and forms a pretty gift-book, but is in strictness, perhaps, hardly within the purview of the present section. Of this book, therefore, as also of Mr. Glanville-Richards' "Records of the Anglo-Norman House of Glanville"²⁷ (which, with Mr. Pym Yeatman's Introduction, will be of interest to antiquarians and genealogists), we must be content with a bare mention. Want of space compels us to take the same course with regard to Dr. Norman Lockyer's valuable address on "The Education of Our Industrial Classes,"²⁸ and with the following other works, pamphlets, and reports, which we have received—viz., "School Management." By Joseph Landon. (Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1883.) "Industrial Education in the Public Schools." By H. H. Straight. (Boston: Gunn, Heath & Co., 1883.) "The Commercial Independence of Canada." By James B. Edgar, Barrister-at-Law, formerly Member of the Dominion Parliament. (Toronto: Grip Printing and Publishing Co.) "The Arguments on Both Sides of Thirty Questions of the Day." By W. S. Shirley. (London: H. Cattell & Co.) "Euclid. Books I, II." Edited by Charles L. Dodgson, M.A., Student, and late Mathematical Lecturer of Christ Church, Oxford. Second edition. With words substituted for the algebraical symbols used in the first edition. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1883.) "The Gas Manager's Handbook." By Thomas Newbigging, M.I.C.E. Third edition. Illustrated. (London: Walter King, 1883.) "The Victorian Year Book for 1881-2." By Henry Heylyn Hayter, C.M.G., Government Statist of Victoria, &c. By authority. (Melbourne and London, 1883.) "Ministero d'Agricoltura, Industria e Commercio—Direzioone generale della statistica. Annali di Statistica." Serie 3A.—vol. ii. and vol. iii. (Roma: Tipografia Eredi Botta, 1883.) "Censimento della Popolazione al 31 Dicembre, 1881. Proporzioone degli analfabeti classificati per età e confronto col censimento precedente." Bollettino N. 7. (Roma: Tipografia Elseviriana, 1883.)

SCIENCE.

THE second volume of the "Indian Meteorological Memoirs,"²⁹ commences with an article by Mr. John Elliot, on a cyclonic

²⁶ "About Yorkshire." By Thomas and Katharine Macquoid, Authors of "In the Ardennes," &c. With Sixty-seven Illustrations, by Thomas R. Macquoid. London: Chatto & Windus, 1883.

²⁷ "Records of the Anglo-Norman House of Glanville, from A.D. 1050 to 1380." By Wm. Urquhart S. Glanville-Richards, Esq., Editor of the "Parish Registers of Wincoburnham," &c. London: Mitchell & Hughes, 1883.

²⁸ "The Education of our Industrial Classes: an Address delivered at Coventry." By J. Norman Lockyer, F.R.S., &c. London: Macmillan & Co., 1883.

²⁹ "Indian Meteorological Memoirs: being occasional Dissertations, and Compilations of Meteorological Data relating to India and the neighbouring Countries." Published by order of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council, under the direction of Henry F. Blanford, F.R.S. Vol. II. Part I.

storm in the Bay of Bengal, in September, 1878. Great cyclones are rare; but the smaller storms connected with the monsoons are common during the rains in June, July, August, September, and October. We have on former occasions remarked that, a fall in the barometer in Northern India is followed by an increased rush inland of the monsoon current, which gives a plentiful rainfall for several days, during which the barometer rises; then comes a short interval of fine weather, followed by more rain. Nearly all the minor storms which have occurred during the S.W. monsoon have originated during the breaks in the rains. The storms form near the head of the Bay of Bengal, and travelling to the coast of Bengal or Orissa, pass inland. In 1878 the S.W. monsoon rains were rather late, the breaks in the rains were more numerous than usual; ten cyclonic storms formed at the head of the Bay, and of these two-thirds advanced N.W. to the coast of Orissa. The bulk of the memoir discusses the storm phenomena of the 17th to the 24th of September, which disturbed the northern half of the Bay—Aracan, Assam, Bengal, Orissa, and Eastern Behar. The usual change in the direction of the wind which precedes the commencement of cold weather commenced in the Punjab, and extended eastwards. The storm appears to have originated in the area in which it prevailed, and by a series of charts for the successive days, the author shows the differences of pressure and motion and wind direction during the time that the storm lasted. This indicates that there was a rapid transfer of air horizontally from south to north over much of the Bay, where strong south-westerly winds prevailed; while to the north of this area there was no horizontal motion so that the horizontal motion appears to have been converted into vertical motion, near the head of the Bay. Previous to the storm the winds were light, with some calms. The velocity of the wind had, indeed, been below the average, but suddenly increased along the Coromandel coast to six or seven times as much as usual. No measurement of the rainfall was taken at sea, but in various parts of Bengal it amounted to upwards of five inches in a day, and the average between the 21st and 24th of September was 6½ inches. There were three small areas where the rainfall exceeded ten inches. It would seem from these observations that there is no close connection between the path of the cyclone and the maximum rainfall.

The second article, by Frederick Chambers, gives a list of the cyclones of Western India and the Arabian Sea, up to the end of 1881. They are arranged in tabular form, which shows that storms are most frequent in June, and that there are many in May, November, and April. No month is free from storms. The storms of the Arabian Sea are much more frequent in the years of many sun-spots than in the years of few sun-spots.

The series of essays which Mr. Proctor entitles "Light Science for

I. "Account of the South West Monsoon Storm of the 18th to the 24th September, 1878, in the North of the Bay of Bengal." II. "List of Cyclones of the West Coast of India and in the Arabian Sea, up to the end of the year 1881." *Quart. J. Obs.* 1882. London: Trübner & Co.

Leisure Hours"² is in this third collection largely devoted to eclipses and astronomical subjects; but just as a farce in the old theatrical arrangements followed a play, so the author puts in some seventy-five pages of light reading at the end of his book, chiefly reprinted from the *Echo*. The titles of his supplementary matter include—Lottery Schemes, Conduct and Duty, Vivisection, The American Tariff; Origin of our Race, A late Boat Race, Are we Jews? Paradoxes and Paradoxists, Influence of Marriage on Death and Crime, Increase of the Population, Collisions at Sea during Fog, and the Eyes of Science. All this is entertaining reading; is sometimes indeed excellent fooling; but many of the papers are too brief or too superficial to deserve the distinction of being associated with Mr. Proctor's lighter astronomical work. We think the author somewhat undervalues the attraction of his scientific writings, if he believes that such unscientific trifles help to find readers for the serious matter. Those essays which relate to eclipses are admirable expositions, such as may be read with profit after the events which they concern. Their titles comprise—Great Solar Eclipse, Two Years Later, the Eclipse of 1870, Yet a Year Later, the Eclipse of 1871, the Eclipse of 1878, the Earth in Meteoric Shadow, Condition of the Larger Planets, A Great Solar Outburst, Comets, the August Meteors. It is a volume which deserves to find many readers.

We have to record yet another volume, in the long series with which Mr. Proctor has attempted to educate the people in astronomical knowledge. The collection is called "Mysteries of Time and Space."³ In it the author endeavours to unfold the infinity of the dominion of law. These essays are science translated into literature; they are free from the method and aspirations of science, and yet take the reader within the charmed universe which the astronomer makes accessible. Of late years Mr. Proctor has widened his hold on knowledge, and is no longer content with the position of a specialist, but, after the manner of literary men, who see more books than any human capacity can assimilate, and who yet have to show that they have dipped into all manner of learning to secure the confidence of the simple reader, writes upon great questions which secure sympathy from every one, and the adequate discussion of which demands attainments which significantly approach omniscience. The very title, "Time and Space," brings before us infinities and eternities, and has led the opening section to be entitled, Newton and Darwin. And yet after all that Newton's teaching did for the conception of space, and that Newton and Darwin did for time, we are unable to comprehend either of these conceptions unless they are finite. Quoting from Pasteur, the author observes that he who proclaims the existence of an Infinite, asserts more of the supernatural in that affirmation than exists in all the miracles of all the religions. Then follow articles which deal with

² "Light Science for Leisure Hours." Third Series. By Richard A. Proctor. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1883.

³ "Mysteries of Time and Space." By Richard A. Proctor. With twenty-four illustrations. London: Chatto & Windus. 1883.

many large questions. *Vistas of the Past*, reviews Mr. George Darwin's and Dr. Ball's views concerning the relation of the moon to the earth, and its influence in past times. *The Birth of the Moon* represents another aspect of the same subject. *The Birth and Death of Worlds* takes up the subject of evolution, but it is impossible to get back to an earlier stage than the vapour phase of matter; and the *Death of Worlds* can hardly go beyond the gradual absorption and chemical combination of water with the rock, and the loss of heat. In this chapter many interesting speculations are indulged in concerning the duration of past time, with the result that if these inferences are correct, the moon is now in a state which the earth will reach 200,000,000 years hence.

The next article, on the Sun as a perpetual machine, discusses Sir William Siemens' views concerning the loss of solar energy. Those views Mr. Proctor regards as amounting essentially to an enunciation of perpetual motion. The sun's corona and the sun's long streamers discuss the latest observations and views concerning the corona and the sun's atmosphere. Professor Abbe regards the coronal phenomena of long streamers as comparable to masses of meteors like the August stream, calculated to be several hundred thousand miles broad and thick, and many millions of miles long. This leads naturally to discussion of meteoric astronomy, including the velocity, density, motions, &c., of meteors, and their relation to cometary bodies. The next section is devoted to comets, and includes figures of some of the more famous comets. To comets succeed cometic mysteries, dangers from comets, the world's end, and the menacing comet, in which popular prejudice is discussed in a way that may comfort many who are disturbed by the erratic movements of cometary bodies. The articles now become somewhat less closely connected; they are entitled *Jupiter's Satellitès*, *Terrestrial Magnetism*, *Star Depths*, *Transits of Venus*, *Star Clouds and Star Mist*, *Herbert Spencer's Philosophy*, *A Survey of the Northern Heavens*, and *Star unto Star*. All these articles are full of interest and ably discuss the matters they deal with. *Star unto Star* discusses the conditions in which stars exist, their composition and sizes. No one will put down Mr. Proctor's book without feeling that it may be taken up again and again. It is one of the best of his books, but we confess to an impatience at the artistic shortcomings in the matter of construction, believing that with more judgment in completing the unity of these studies, many of them might have greater usefulness and a longer life as books.

An excellent popular treatise on "Electric Lighting," by the Comte de Moncal, in its second edition, is now rendered into English; and as a practical exposition of the mechanism and illuminating power of the several kinds of apparatus, is the best handbook which has come under our notice. Passing by the first part, which gives a brief sketch of artificial illumination and of more important terms with which the

⁴ "Electric Lighting." Translated from the French of Le Comte De Du Moncal, by Robert Bealage, &c. With seventy-six illustrations. London: George Routledge & Sons, 1882.

reader needs to be acquainted, the second part deals at once with generators of electric light. These are classified according to the form of energy which they exhibit, and the kind of work which they perform. Most of the important machines are represented by figures, and their characteristics are clearly exhibited in tables. The third section deals with electric lamps, which are classed into voltaic arc lamps, incandescent lamps, and electric candles; each form of lamp is clearly described so as to set forth its distinctive characteristic. Part four discusses the cost of electric lighting under the different methods, and compares it with the cost of gas. The fifth section treats of the applications of electricity in various forms of illumination. The great objection to the electric light for lighting streets consists in the necessity for using enamelled globes which absorb as much as 45 per cent. of the light. At present the cost of the electric light is nearly twice the cost of gas, chiefly from this cause. This book is clearly written, brief, and constitutes a useful contribution to a practical history of electric lighting.

Professor Tyndall's books have now become popular scientific classics. No teacher ever expounded physical subjects with the same wealth of illustration, or so as to make less demand upon the powers of the reader. In his hands large principles alone are exhibited, and in forms so varied that there are few capacities to which the majority of his illustrations do not carry conviction. Now that there is so much simplifying and so-called popularizing of the science, it is due to Professor Tyndall to remember that he was among the first to assist the reader by writing as he spoke. He introduced into literature a lecture method, which simplified knowledge without vulgarizing it, and gave to the public the great thoughts which constitute scientific philosophy, unburdened as far as might be from the load of facts, which too often conceals their existence in the more serious forms of writing. Professor Tyndall thus preserves the tradition of lecture-teaching, which in the last generation played so important a part in the intellectual life of Britain, and which seems likely to become one of the lost arts, at least as an educational engine known to the general public. The large number of persons who necessarily have never heard Professor Tyndall lecture on Sound, may in the fourth edition of a book with this title acquire as much as can be learned from a book, of the method of exposition and charm of manner, and wealth of knowledge, and judgment in giving it adequate illustration, with which the author now for so many years has converted the old mysteries of acoustics into knowledge of sound. The work is too well known to need any detailed analysis. The nine lectures not only offer all the newest knowledge which comes legitimately into the subject of Sound, but exhibit the relations of sound to the other forms of force. All the newer discoveries, including telephones and microphones, the phonograph, &c. are described, and no small portion of the volume

consists of an exposition of discoveries or experiments made in our own time, to which Professor Tyndall has himself contributed to a remarkable extent.

The preface to Part II. vol. i. of the "Treatise on Natural Philosophy,"⁶ by Professors Thomson and Tait, contains the announcement that the work will be carried no further; which, though not surprising after twenty years' interval since the first publication, nevertheless seems like a scientific calamity when we estimate the influence that the first volume has exercised, and consider the service which might have been rendered in the advancement of scientific learning had the original scheme been completed. The present part is devoted to abstract dynamics. In editing it the authors acknowledge the assistance of Professor G. H. Darwin. The volume opens with the fifth chapter, which consists of five pages defining the scope of work which comes under consideration. The sixth chapter is a mathematical discussion of that part of statics which deals with the equilibrium of a particle; followed by a detailed examination of the force of attraction. The seventh chapter includes the remainder of the book, and treats of the statics of solids and fluids; and after dealing with simpler considerations, passes on to discuss the practical application of such ideas to the earth, in which the shape of the earth, tides, the influence of the sun and moon on terrestrial gravity, the condition of the interior of the earth, secular variation in the moon's motion, the earth's rigidity, and other great physical problems which have engaged attention largely in the last quarter of a century, receive that luminous exposition which was to be anticipated. Appendices are reprints of well-known papers by Sir William Thomson, with an article by Professor George Darwin on Tidal Friction. It is essentially a book for the mathematician, but many of the articles are free from mathematical treatment, and such will repay the attention of readers who do not follow the mathematical treatment. The table of contents is followed by schedules of the alterations in the several articles in the two volumes in this edition.

Mr. William Leighton Jordan's name has now been before the public for some time in connection with ideas on phenomena of physical geography which have not met with general acceptance. Many persons of eminence have reviewed or noticed the author's writings, but notwithstanding their condemnation of his principles, he still clings to them tenaciously. Failing to secure attention from geographers and naturalists, he now appeals to the physician with a volume entitled "New Principles of Natural Philosophy."⁷ It is difficult for us to deal seriously with this extraordinary volume. The table of contents is unlike anything we ever before met with. The articles forming the volume appear to have been published chiefly in newspapers at

⁶ "Treatise on Natural Philosophy." By Sir William Thomson, LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S., and Peter Guthrie Tait, M.A. Vol. 1. Part II. New Edition. Cambridge: At the University Press. 1882.

⁷ "The New Principles of Natural Philosophy." By William Leighton Jordan, F.R.C.S. London: David Bogue. 1882.

Buenos Ayres, the date of publication being given with scrupulous care. No small portion of the book consists of criticisms of views from which the author differs, or of criticisms of his reviewers. It is impossible to reason with a writer whose whole stock in trade is one idea, which he does not seek to demonstrate by experiment but by words; and until he is able to see that there are questions of fact at issue, concerning which information must be accumulated and systematically set forth, so as to overthrow the conclusions which have been founded in observations hitherto made, he cannot expect any serious attention; because he is offering an unsubstantial idea against the co-ordinated results of scientific observers and the best thinkers of all nations. The delivery of public lectures in Willis's Rooms or elsewhere, challenging the Royal Society to refute his mistakes, does not constitute a demonstration that Mr. Jordan is a martyr suffering from scientific persecution; nor is any such inference to be drawn from the rejection of his theory of the tides by the Royal Society, or of his paper on oceanic circulation by the Royal Geographical Society, which facts he advertises. When we consider the matter of the work, the way in which the separate chapters are dedicated to deceased and living persons, the nature of the illustrations, and the freedom of the volume from fact, we are astonished that a publisher should have been found to issue a book which can do no good to any one, and which has the aspect of being the product rather of vanity than of enthusiasm for knowledge.

A series of papers contributed to the *Engineer* in 1881 has been expanded into the "Student's Mechanics." The author aims at imparting such ideas of the composition of forces, principle of motions, and doctrine of energy, as will enable the student to make use of his knowledge in dealing with questions of practical mechanics. It is a relief for once to escape from the intellectually stifling atmosphere of books professedly written merely that examinations may be passed. Even if the ultimate result, so far as the book goes, does not differ fundamentally from that offered by other books, it is a distinct gain to profess to cultivate knowledge for the benefit of mankind, rather than as a means of attaining individual distinction. This volume, which only extends to 210 pages 8vo, is divided into six parts, which are subdivided into consecutively numbered articles; and these again are grouped according to subjects. The first part, entitled First Principles, treats necessarily of fundamental ideas, such as definitions of motion and force, their measurement and modes of action, and the laws of motion in relation to matter, the composition of forces, the conceptions of work and energy, and conservation of energy. The second part is devoted to statics, and discusses chiefly conditions of equilibrium, centre of gravity, friction, virtual velocities, and the mechanical powers. Kinematics are treated

"The Student's Mechanics: an Introduction to the Study of Force and Motion." By Walter R. Browne, M.A., M. Inst. C.E., M. Inst. M.E., &c. With Appendix of Examples, Worked and Unworked. London: Charles Griffin & Co. 1884.

of, in the third part, in about a dozen pages, in which the author contrives to embrace an excellent conception of the subject. The fourth part, Dynamics, is divided chiefly into the consideration of impulsive forces, elasticity, impact, energy and work, and accumulated energy. Here the book practically ends at page 180; for the fifth part consists entirely of axioms, definitions and laws of mechanics, extracted from the body of the book, so as to present a deductive epitome of mechanics in the form of propositions; while the sixth part consists of examples to be solved, with illustrations of the method of solution. The examples are classed under the heads—conditions of equilibrium, parallel forces, mechanical powers, accelerating forces, projectiles, moving forces, impulsive forces, energy and work. Answers to the examples are appended. The merits of the book are especially conspicuous in its clearness and brevity. It deserves the attention of all who have to teach or learn the elements of mechanics.

A new and cheaper edition of "Where to Find Ferns," by Francis George Heath, has reached us, which is well printed, but does not in any way differ from a former edition noticed in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW, No. CXXI. p. 252.

Townsend's "Flora of Hampshire"¹⁰ is one of those laborious records of the local distribution of the British flora with which botanical enthusiasm and leisure occasionally endow science. But among such works it takes the highest rank, for the completeness of its plan, the fidelity with which the geographical distribution is elaborated, and the self-denial with which all information outside the scheme of the work has been omitted. The work commences with a map in which Hampshire and the Isle of Wight are divided into twelve botanical districts, defined by the river valleys and watersheds. The first district of the Trent and Stour belongs essentially to Dorsetshire; the second comprises the valley of the Avon; the third, the New Forest drained by the Lymington river and other small streams; the fourth includes the northern half of the Isle of Wight drained by the streams which flow into the Solent and Spithead; while the southern part of the Isle of Wight forms a fifth region. The sixth is the western part of Hampshire, comprised in the valley of the Anton; the seventh is the Winchester and Alresford district, or valley of the Itchin; the eighth, including Portsmouth, has in its centre the Forest of Bere. The ninth district is a small area about Petersfield; the tenth the valley of the Way about Alton; eleventh, the Ringbrooke and Aldershot country on each side of the Loddon; twelfth, on the north, about Kingsclere, is a small district in the valley of the Emsket. The waters

¹⁰ "Where to Find Ferns." With a special chapter on the Ferns round London. By Francis George Heath. New and cheaper Edition. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Seale & Rivington. 1888.

¹¹ "Flora of Hampshire, including the Isle of Wight; or, a List of the Flowering Plants and Ferns found in the county of Southampton, with Localities of the less Common Species." By Frederick Townsend, M.A., F.L.S., &c. Illustrated with two plates and a map. London: Reeve & Co. 1853.

of the last three districts are connected with the valley of the Thames; while all the other streams flow into the English Channel. An introduction gives some account of Hampshire in the matters of topography, crops, climate, geological formations, botanical districts, a list of authors who have written on the botany of the county, the herbaria which the author has consulted, &c. Then succeeds the Flora, which extends to 447 pages, and refers plants to their orders, genera and species, mentions their popular names, habitat, districts, localities, local varieties, authorities for their occurrence; and in observations often gives many details concerning them which are of more than local interest. The flora is followed by a summary of genera, species and varieties in the several orders. A table of species exhibits their geographical distribution in the twelve Hampshire districts, and the pages in which they are referred to. Then succeed notes on the districts, with lists of their rarer and more interesting plants. Another table compares the flora of the Hampshire mainland with those of the surrounding counties, indicating the types in the British Flora to which the species more commonly pertain; and a second list enumerates species found in the surrounding counties, but which are absent from Hampshire. Various other tables exhibit other geographical aspects of the flora. Hampshire contains 1,114 species, excluding varieties. An appendix gives descriptive notes of a few species, which are illustrated by two plates. The volume concludes with an index of orders and genera, and a second index of popular names. A book of this character is essentially a work of reference, but one which should be in the hands not only of every botanist, but of every educated Hampshire man, and of those visitors whose opportunities enable them to study the Hampshire flora:

This is the first of a series of manuals for medical students, which is at present in course of publication by Messrs. Cassell & Co. The name of the author is almost sufficient guarantee of the reliability of the work as a text book. *Histology*¹—*i. e.*, the microscopic anatomy of the tissues—is almost exclusively considered, and is profusely illustrated in woodcuts, which it is no small praise to say are excellent. Since the days of Schleiden in vegetable physiology, and of Schwann in animal physiology, we may, in some small degree, judge of the development which the cell theory has undergone when we turn to a book such as this, in which some 350 pages are devoted to description, as brief as is compatible with readability, of the various forms of cell elements and their arrangement in the human body. The wonder grows when we remember that all this heterogeneity has arisen from a homogeneous cluster of cells, these themselves having originated from the division and subdivision of one parent cell. Nor must we forget to call to mind that function and structure are mutually interdependent, and hence that so many forms mean so many functions.

What the precise mechanism of these various functions may be we cannot even guess, but we may hope that a day will come when the physics of even so marvellous a structure as a tactile corpuscle will be dilated upon. We must record that the subject of karyo-kinesis, or of nuclear movements, which has recently been worked at by numerous observers, is here dealt with. These remarkable and complicated movements affect the nuclear network, and result in the production of very curious figures—they occur antecedent to the division of the protoplasm of the cell. These changes in the cell-nucleus previous to its division appear now to be far more common than what was previously held to obtain—viz., simple cleavage; indeed it is somewhat doubtful whether simple cleavage ever does occur, and whether some form of karyo-kinesis does not universally precede nuclear division.

Amongst other things we may also note that at last cartilage cells are no longer isolated bodies. On page 47 a woodcut depicts a system of channels by which the cells, or rather the spaces in which these lie, inter-communicate. For a long time the apparent isolation of these cells has been a stumbling-block in the path of those exponents of the process of inflammation according to whom the original cell elements of the tissue attacked by inflammation take no part in the cell multiplication which in every case obtains in such tissue. Now, however, with highways along which to travel, the invading inflammatory corpuscles cannot be denied thoroughfare. Cartilage thus having been shown to be traversed by channels, classes itself structurally along with bone, and connective tissues generally. The solution of one problem does but discover another to solve; such, however, we must leave for successive editions of Dr. Klein's book to make plain.

That Dr. Fothergill³ writes well is undoubted, but that the facile pen has its temptations is also certain. This we are inclined rather to consider the author's weak point, and we hold that a somewhat simpler style less redundant in metaphor would do the subject equal justice, whilst at the same time the dangers of a lively imagination would be to some extent held in check. Criticism is but one form of recognizing the mote in your brother's eye, and, of course, comes naturally to us; we do, however, honestly feel that Dr. Fothergill would do well to curb himself; for, to cite an instance, we cannot but think that, speaking of hypertrophy of the heart in gout, the author's use of the expression "hypertrophy's arresting finger is lifted" is out of place, and that such is pushing metaphor to an absurd length. We have dwelt the more on this point that the subject the author has chosen is one which of all others requires a sober treatment, and for this reason, that many of us have to take so much upon faith in respect of this disease, gout. It is to the younger members of the profession that this particularly applies—i.e., to such as not so very distantly have escaped the schools, and who have learned to believe in little but what bears the subscript Q. E. D. of our Euclids. Is it to be won-

³ "Gout in its Protean Aspects." By J. Miller Fothergill, M.D. &c. London: H. K. Lewis, 1883.

dered at, if such, failing to see, fail to believe, in an entity which those grown grey in the study of medicine admit to be incapable of demonstration to the extent by which they fall back on experience? Just as little as you can pass on experience, just so little can you give belief; nor will a language rich in metaphor carry conviction where plain words have failed; rather the reverse, and we should say the more your subject is vague the simpler let your language be. Many of our non-medical readers may feel surprised that gout of all other diseases should need such an introduction. Is it not a disease of the big toe, acutely painful, accompanied by exceeding irascibility, and brought on by drinking port-wine? Certainly that is *one* form the Proteus assumes, to borrow from Dr. Fothergill. But what are we to say when a skin disease, an albuminuria, a hypertrophied heart, a bronchitis, a form of insanity (as in Lord Chatham's case), when each and all of these are similarly named gout? It must not be supposed that we are denying gout in these special forms of disease; we are simply pleading extenuating circumstances in the cause of the uninitiated. Gout is a particularly interesting disease, both historically and pathologically. As to its morbid history we are yet in the dark; thus, whilst Dr. Garrod refers it to the kidney, Dr. Murchison makes the liver accountable; whilst, still more recently, Dr. Ord teaches that it is rather a degenerative disease affecting the tissues generally. The view taken by Dr. Fothergill is, that all three elements are present in the problem; and perhaps this is nearer the truth, though we are inclined to look on Dr. Ord's theory as the most likely one at present. Dr. Fothergill points out very wisely that we must not forget that the essential gout poison, uric acid, is *normally* a waste product of the activity of our tissues; whilst in certain animals—*e.g.*, reptilia—it is not merely a waste product, but is *the* waste product which carries out of the body the used-up nitrogen. Hence, the so-called gout poison is no new product; and the argument is to the effect that we are dealing with a perversion of a natural process rather than a genesis of an unnatural one—*i.e.*, with an error in degree rather than in kind.

The chapters on the pathological changes in gout are of interest; and we may here mention that, in particular, those affecting the epidermic structures, nails, hair, teeth, are significant, pointing, as they do—*e.g.*, by early greyness and premature baldness—to a tissue degeneration. Similarly also the fibroid kidneys and vascular changes which not unfrequently accompany gout may very probably be most fittingly described as degenerative, whilst the hypertrophic heart would of course be sequential on the vascular changes. The chapter on the diagnosis of gout is fitly introduced by a fable, the moral to which is, that the short-sighted should not deny the far-sighted the gift of seeing a few paces beyond their own limit of vision; the retort to which might be, that those far-sighted must not complain if their less favoured brethren ask for demonstration in place of statement. But, to leave fables: the recognition of gout is in very many cases the easiest imaginable; whilst in certain other forms of the disease, diagnosis becomes of extreme difficulty. The names "suppressed gout" and

"visceral gout" include the forms most hard to detect. To take an example of the latter: we are not unfamiliar with the term "gout in the stomach," but what this exactly is it is very hard to state, though Sir Thomas Watson appears to have thought that it often meant "pork in the stomach." On this subject the remarks of Dr. Fothergill are very interesting. Thus, he suggests that gout at the stomach may be gastric irritation, leading reflexly to palpitation—*i.e.*, disordered action of the heart; or even further than this, leading to faintness, which may even be fatal. The precise cause of this irritation we are not told very definitely, but this is not the author's fault; and on the view that gout is a degenerative disease affecting the tissues generally, is it going very far to seek the sources of irritation in the ingesta themselves, the normal physiological stimulus of food becoming pathological in the gouty state, the degenerate tissues reacting abnormally to the natural stimulus? Perhaps then, after all, Sir Thomas Watson was right in his homely judgment.

Of the many mental manifestations of suppressed gout we cannot do more than make mention; the general tone of mind being that of extreme irritability—or, as the author more forcibly puts it, that of "pure cussedness." In Lord Chatham's case the condition of mind appears to have been on the borderland of insanity; indeed, in 1767, the illustrious statesman was described by Junius as "a lunatic brandishing a crutch." From this miserable state, however, Lord Chatham recovered, *on the development of an acute attack of gout in the extremities*. Of how much we have to learn in respect of gout before we reach the waters of plain sailing we become very conscious as we read Dr. Fothergill; and the book will serve a very good purpose in this respect, if it do no more than put us on the alert for the enemy. With this brief notice of an interesting work we must close. A detailed criticism of the book, technical as it is, has not been possible for us in a lay review, and we have but been able to single out here and there in a very disjointed manner. Dr. Fothergill always writes suggestively, and the present work is no exception, but is worthy careful reading.

It is natural that a *new* method of cure should be heralded by a condemnation of all other treatments. True axioms in contrasts, and the disastrous effects of an existing or past treatment serve well to set forth the fair proportions of the new arrival. On page 8 of Dr. Foakes' book the tale is told of a lady, who, suffering from acute rheumatism in one knee—or, as it was afterwards pronounced to be, rheumatic gout—came under the care of "one of the leading surgeons of the day," by whom she was made to undergo a course of low diet and blue pill. At the end of three months she was worse, and most of her other joints had become affected. Treatment was discontinued, but though, subsequently to this, there appears to have been some remission, at the end of five years the picture drawn represents the joints of the

* "Gout and Rheumatic Gout: a new Method of Cure." By Dr. Foakes. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 1888.

knees, ankles, elbows, wrists, and fingers, as all more or less stiffened and useless. The author then, in answer to the self-put question, what could have produced this terrible change? goes on to explain, how "the mercury in the blue pill induced fever and disease about the joints," and how the narcotics given later on during the mercury treatment "prevented the dissemination of the inflammatory irritation caused by the mercury, until this unhealthy perversion changed the character of the fluids around the joints of the knees, and then of the smaller joints, so that they became immovable." What this may all mean, we are at a loss to know, but of this we are confident, that no one would dare to dish up such a specimen of pathology as this before competent judges; the truth being that it is written for the incompetent, and for such will serve quite as well as the genuine article. On page 14, in respect of another case, the author declares himself thus:—"I considered the case to be one of gout, which by the treatment had been suppressed and turned into rheumatic gout." This, again, is more than loose pathology. The dire effects of colchicum are next dwelt on, and with respect to one patient who, after suffering much from colchicum treatment, came under the author's care, the latter tells us that he attacked the "inward fever." We may well ask, the what fever? an answer would scarcely be forthcoming. It is scarcely necessary to quote further on the subject of pathology, though we might easily do so. With regard to the new method of cure, we find on page 41 that this consists in a dose of "*My Emulsion*" on the first and third nights; with rhubarb and magnesia on the first, second, and third day. In certain cases magnesia and sulphur are given; in certain others, spirit of nitrous ether is also employed. Whether there be anything special about this treatment it is not possible to say in the absence of knowledge as to "*My Emulsion*." But, whilst fairly expecting from the title of the book to find something definite as to this new method of cure, we cannot rid ourselves, in the absence of such, of the impression that what is really intended to be conveyed is that such knowledge is to be obtained upon personal application to the author. An enumeration of cases successfully treated, constitutes a considerable proportion of the rest of the book. We may state, in conclusion, that we should not have dwelt even thus much on the book, had it not been that it was addressed to the public, and that we felt that it needed an interpreter. And again, it must not be supposed that because we do not admire the author's method of procedure, that therefore we are polemic against either mercury or colchicum treatment; we say nothing on this score; let them stand or fall, only let the warfare be legitimate.

Though we have it, on the authority of the poets that mists are not without a charm of their own, and in particular may remember that Wordsworth "would not give up the mists which spirit the dark mountains for all the sunshine of Italy," yet the tale of mortality in respect of these mists or fogs which so frequently visit us is to another effect. Phthisis, consumption, is terribly prevalent amongst us, and, in many cases, the invalid whose lungs have become diseased persons

must leave, or should, if possible, leave this country before the cold, damp, foggy weather of our winter season sets in. The question then, of course, is where? In such cases the desires of the patient form a very important determining element in the decision, though these may have for basis but the scanty information gleaned from gazetteers, or, yet more unreliable, that gained from friends. Too frequently, indeed, this must be so, the medical man is himself without actual practical knowledge on the subject, and cannot speak with the full authority which were desirable. In such cases Dr. Marcet's book will be of value. It is written in a very pleasant style, and embodies much useful information clothed in untechnical language. In particular, the opening chapters will be found valuable, dealing, as they do, with the details of living, each no doubt a minutia in itself, but in the aggregate so very important to our comfort. After all, the advice to take a sea voyage or to winter in the Riviera is in itself very bare, and in many cases extremely inadequate. Thus to a man of leisure a sea voyage may prove a very pleasant pastime. To a busy man, whom ill health has for the time incapacitated, and who on board ship discovers too late that a load of novels, or the daily excitement of a sweepstakes on the run of the ship in the last twenty-four hours, is insufficient to divert his mind from anxieties he would wish to forget—to such man a long sea voyage may prove most wearisome. The minutiae of life then—*e.g.*, the selection of a companion, the ability to get society if desired, the advantages of a library, of music, &c.—all these are to the lives of many essentials, and must be taken into account. A mind free from care is a most valuable aid in therapeutics, but on this it is needless to dwell. The laws of climatology naturally come in for consideration, and Dr. Marcet devotes a short chapter to this subject, in which radiation, evaporation, atmospheric moisture, and the like, are briefly touched upon. Dr. Marcet then proceeds to consider the various winter resorts—and first the climate of the Mediterranean and the value of a cruise on its waters; then the coast-line known as the Riviera, with the well-known names, Cannes, Nice, Mentone, Hyères, San Remo, is described. The importance of detailed descriptions of climate is at once apparent; for statistical information, consisting, as it does, chiefly of averages, helps one but little, yet is what we have chiefly to rely on from gazetteers. Thus, what does a mean summer or winter temperature tell us about extremes; or, even should these be given, tell us about sudden variations? The temperature, which during the day, under a hot sun, may have been excessive, at sundown gives suddenly way to chilliness requiring the warm overcoat or the shawl. It is precisely these sudden changes which try the constitution, and are so keenly felt by the invalid. Here, as elsewhere, the formulation of knowledge into averages fails so lamentably when the need is individual application.

Algiers, Rome, Naples, Egypt, are each in turn considered by the author. As a winter resort the eternal city is not spoken very favourably of, though Sir James Clark held it in high esteem. The author, however, does his best to clear the city's name from the imputation "Roman fever," of which we hear so much, but which, as a *distinct* disease, he denies. It appears that all kinds of ailments, from a simple cold to severe typhoid, have been christened "Roman fever." The description of Egypt, in respect of its climate, is a very interesting one. Thus, whilst Lower Egypt—or that tract of land watered by the Nile, as it divides and subdivides in its delta before reaching the sea—is very humid, this humidity lessens as you proceed up the Nile, and by the time you have reached Cairo, the atmosphere exhibits a considerable degree of dryness, which state is yet more marked at Thebes. In this journey from Lower through Middle into Upper Egypt, *pari passu* with the decrease in humidity is the diminution in the proneness to putrefaction. This is strikingly exemplified in the fact quoted by the author from Madden, that mummies, which in the dry air had resisted corruption perhaps for forty centuries, will on exposure to the moist air of Lower Egypt rapidly decompose. The author attributes this preservative influence to the innocuousness of the germs of putrefaction—thus assuming their presence; perhaps this is the most rational hypothesis, for pure as is the air up the Nile valley, we can hardly presume entire absence of germs; whilst, on the other hand, we know that the vitality of these lower organisms may be suspended by desiccation, to return again with restored moisture. Be this as it may, the practical fact remains that the air of Upper Egypt does not favour putrefaction—a most important fact in relation to therapeutics. The purity of the air in respect of carbonic acid, is also worthy of mention. Thus, up the Nile valley it falls to one half or even one quarter the usual quantity present in average pure air, whilst in the air of the desert even this small trace of carbonic acid may completely disappear.

In conclusion, we may refer to the account of the Island of Madeira. The invalid will scarcely journey thither with the intention of bracing up an unstrung organism. A warm equable temperature with a certain degree of moisture of atmosphere prevails, very pleasant and soothing, and admirably adapted to meet the requirements of a constitution whose potentiality is at a very low ebb; such indeed as we meet with not unfrequently in those who return after long residence in tropical countries, the victims of ague and the liver. A useful table on page 232 contrasts the mean monthly temperature throughout the year for Madeira, Munton, Pau and Greenwich. From it we see the extreme equality of temperature obtaining in Madeira, whilst with this it must be remembered that the loss of heat by radiation at night is relatively inconsiderable here, and hence sudden variations avoided. The lowest temperature on record is represented by the very moderate figure 46°5'. The climate of Madeira then, like the warm fomentation, soothes, but at the same time relaxes; in many states of organism it is very valuable; in others, and indeed in consumption, it is not to be

desired. Dr. Marcet considers at some length the Island of Teneriffe, and concludes with a description of the Swiss health resorts—space, however, will not allow us to pursue the subject further.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

MR. SIMCOX has undertaken to write a complete history of Latin literature,¹ and, to judge by his preface, he has been fully alive to the difficulties attending such a task. His original aim, he says, was "to do something towards making Latin literature intelligible and interesting as a whole to the cultivated laity, who might like to realize its literary worth, whether they read Latin or no." He also expresses a hope "that even scholars . . . may find these volumes interesting in their way." It is impossible that these aims should be both adequately realized. If, however, the author has failed in accomplishing his first aim, he may fairly be said to be successful, to some extent, in his second. The reader who is ignorant of Latin will gain little from a work whose style and treatment take so much classical knowledge for granted. But the cultivated layman, who reads Latin, and even the scholar, will certainly find these volumes interesting.

Mr. Simcox's plan has been to prefix to each volume a chronological table, one column of which is devoted to historical facts, while the other is a kind of compendium of literary history. This method enables the author to discuss his subject with comparatively little reference in the text to facts, but it is a method which must be singularly trying to the reader who is being initiated in his subject, and who will be obliged to interrupt his reading by constant reference to the tables. These tables are themselves defective and ill-arranged. The greater part of the second column should have been incorporated in the text, and the information which it supplies should have been based on some distinct principle. We are told which is the best MS. of Lucretius, but are left quite in the dark as to those of Catullus or of Cicero. The information as to editions is still more capricious. It is, perhaps, unreasonable to expect these tables to be an abridgment of Engelmann, but that is no reason why the editions of Ellis and Conington, of Catullus and Vergil, should be mentioned, while no editions should be given of Varro, or of Sallust, or of Caesar. It is to be regretted, too, that unnecessary confusion should have been made by using in the tables dates calculated from the birth of Christ, while in the text they are generally computed from the foundation of the city. Another serious fault in the book is the fact that passages are often translated at length, and no references are given to the author's work. And this is the more to be regretted, as the renderings are

¹ "A History of Latin Literature, from Ennius to Beethius." By George Augustus Simcox, M.A., Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. Two vols. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1888.

often vigorous and striking enough to tempt the reader to turn to the original. Mr. Simcox illustrates his discussions by numerous and varied allusions to all kinds of subjects and to authors of every age. These are often telling, but they occasionally imply that the standard of culture which the "layman" has attained, must be at least on a level with that of Mr. Simcox. Many readers will appreciate a parallel between Catiline and Byron, while few will be struck by the resemblance between the characters of Catiline and Cardinal de Retz. It may not be "very misleading," but it is certainly to many rather unintelligible, "to say that the pleasure of Epicurus is exclusively an affair of the afferent nerves, and of those connected with the solar plexus." And the average reader can hardly be expected to study the subject of cross-fertilization, in order to grasp Lucretius. However, these very excesses have their advantage. Whatever he is, Mr. Simcox is never dull. Histories of literature are not apt to be entertaining, and it is no small praise to be able to say of a history of a literature which extends over a period of nearly 1,000 years, that one can read it with pleasure and amusement. In the Introductory Chapter, Mr. Simcox points out that Roman literature was not the work of Romans. "From Ennius to Martial a succession of writers who were not natives of Rome lived and worked there, and owed their fame to the Roman public." Rome, he says, unlike all other great capitals, was completely barren; and he suggests as the reason, the fact that Rome never had much life of its own. Its inhabitants were dependents, not citizens; and while their life was too difficult to leave any surplus energy for literature, their faculties were sufficiently cultivated to make them eager and intelligent critics. Hence Urbanitas was a more important quality with Latin authors than was even Atticism with Greek. The relation of the comic authors to the society in which they lived is rather well described. Plautus in Rome is compared to an Irishman in London, undertaking hard work, and at the same time keeping up high spirits. Terence was a foreigner, not even an Italian, and his refinement and his want of popularity are both traced to the fact that he was a kind of pet with the younger Africanus and other nobles, who, Mr. Simcox thinks, even wrote some of the scenes of his plays. It is rather an obvious remark, that Plautus' slaves are his best characters. His next best characters, Mr. Simcox thinks, are his women, but he has forgotten to bring forward a single instance. Many readers will quarrel with the discussion on Catullus, who is blamed for vices which are really the fault of his times. Catullus, it is said, "was the first poet to conceive a man's passion for a woman;" but this passion is "egoistic and brutal." It is admitted that Catullus was really miserable at the infidelity of Lesbia, and yet, just because he can still write gay verses, we are told that the affair with Lesbia seems to have left him nearly heart-whole. It is admitted that the *Atys* contains a "sob of true passion," in the famous address to his native land; yet a second or third reading of the poem "suggests that it is artificial and heartless." With *Tibullus*, Mr. Simcox is much more sympathetic. He is the "one

genuine believer among the poets of the age: he has the simple faith for which Vergil sighs."

An apology for Cicero's failure as a politician is, perhaps, rather out of place in a History of Literature. His failure, Mr. Simcox thinks, was chiefly due to those faults which seem natural to advocates who play a leading part in politics. Cicero, we are told, like Lord Brougham, was wanting in fixity of political purpose—wanting in respect for those with whom he had to act, unduly elated at success, and vindictive when he had lost his high station. Cicero's philosophical writings are discussed at great length, and with some appreciation. It is considerably overstating the case, however, to say that a comparison of these works with the masterpieces of Greek philosophy, is fatal. The Georgics are pronounced to be Vergil's masterpiece, and Mr. Simcox seems inclined to agree with those who hold that the "Æneid is a splendid failure." The poem is condemned in a sentence, which is worth quoting as an instance of Mr. Simcox's style when at its worst. "It is the work of a divided genius. The interest in primitive faith and simplicity, and the interest in the serene elevation of civilized virtue, and the subtle questioning and patient sadness of civilized intellect, sustain and balance one another in the Georgics: in the Æneid, the attempt to embody both objectively in the same series of pictures, confuses the interest as often as it heightens it." Vergil is more ably defended against the charge of the want of originality. Vergil, it is said, intentionally reproduced the effects of Greek poetry; and as to his plot, Vergil succeeded, like Milton, too well for his reputation. The main framework of his story has become so fixed in the public mind, that it is forgotten that it was the creation of his own genius. A metrical test which is applied to the Cullen, would tend to show that it is the production of the Augustan age.

Mr. Simcox gives much praise to the style of Tacitus, and is inclined to be severe on Sallust for what he calls his "crude subtlety." Tacitus we are told writes as Sallust ought to have written. Modern criticism, however, has awarded some praise to the style of Sallust; while that of Tacitus has been severely criticized by Arthur Helps. A good deal is said about Claudian which is to the point, and the beauty of his versification is recognized. But it is hardly fair to say "that it is only in hexameters that Claudian is a poet." Has Mr. Simcox overlooked the elegiacs on the hot springs of Aponus near Padua, which contain the two verses—

"Publica morborum requies, commune merentum
Auxilium, præsens munus, inempta salus?"

Surely these lines alone would make a poet's fame. Scaliger says of Boethius, "quæ libuit in poesi ludere divina sane sunt: nihil illis cultius, nihil gravius," and with this judgment Mr. Simcox agrees; and finds in his poetry an anticipation of "the mediæval sentiment which is summed up in Villon's ballad with the burden "mais où sont les neiges d'antan?" It is odd that Mr. Simcox, with his passion for

parallel, should have missed the more obvious one between "Philosophia" comforting Boethius with the assurance that the good can never be really afflicted, and Pangloss consoling Candide. God, says Philosophia, takes all evil from the world, "quo fit, ut quæ in terris abundare mala creduntur, si disponentem Providentiam spectes, nulla usquam perpendas." "Tout est au mieux," says Pangloss, "dans ce meilleur des mondes possibles."

There have been several histories of Ireland published within the last year, but Mr. O'Connor's,² the most recent, is by no means the best. It is written in a violent spirit of antipathy to England; but there is quite enough cause for that in past events, if not now, and a historian has a perfect right to express his own views and sympathies, if he can show adequate grounds for them, and a critic has no right to complain of them. In this case, however, the antipathy is carried so far as to impute Irish crimes, like the Clerkenwell explosion, to the instigation of English spies. But a more serious fault perhaps, to the critic, is that there is no index, and that no references are given except a general list of authorities at the end of the second volume, and that a certain slovenliness and inaccuracy in details, perceptible even by those who are only acquainted with English history, throws an atmosphere of doubt and uncertainty over the accounts of more purely Irish transactions. When was there a bishop of Kilmallock? Ordinary historical students know only of the Prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem; and further, Keating was not deprived by Henry VII., and by the Grand Master, for alienating the property of the Order. Again, it is quite true that "in 1532 Wolsey was disgraced;" but as he was dead and buried in 1530, it is not much to the point. This chronological error causes a little confusion in the account of events just at that time. It is not fair to compare the magnificence of Cardinal Wolsey, a secular priest and Lord Chancellor, with the simple life of O'Daly, the friend and minister of Philip IV., as an instance of the characteristics of the two churches of England and Ireland—for O'Daly, being a Dominican, was bound to poverty and never held office in the church at all. There were many English to match him; though in fairness it must be confessed, few Irish ecclesiastics had the chance of doing as well for themselves in a worldly point of view as the English Cardinal. Much space is devoted to the phantasmagoria of half-forgotten kings, Milesians and Danes, the battles of kites and crows. One Milesian lady, Mr. O'Connor tells us with great gravity, "died of shame at being seen unclothed by her husband as she came from bathing." Every one knows the saying of the witty Giraldus Cambrensis, that the settlers in Ireland became "*Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores.*" How he would have laughed to hear that translated, "when compelled to share their fortunes (*i.e.* of the Irish), they (the settlers) became participators and heirs of their rights, their virtues, and their genius." Ireland is set apart, Mr. O'Connor thinks

² "History of the Irish People." By W. A. O'Connor, B.A. Two vols. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co.

like Judea, for the cultivation of the religious sentiment—an idea which has not, as far as we know, been brought forward by any of the Home Rule Party, and is worthy of their consideration.

"It is possible," says Sir J. Pope Hennessy,³ "to meet men and women on the old plough-lands of the Desmond estate who speak nothing but Irish; and from their stories to pick up more of the real doings of Raleigh and his comrades in Ireland than from Hume and the historians"—and yet there is scarcely anything that he tells us but what may be found in the State Papers, except the description of Raleigh's house at Youghal, "the long table at which he wrote, the oak-chest in which he kept papers, the little Italian cabinet, the dark wainscoting with fine carvings rising up from each side of the hearthstone to the ceiling, and the bookcases of vellum-bound and oak-bound books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries." Some of those popular memories might have been worth preserving. Other acts of courage, perhaps, to match his facing twenty Irish to save his servant's life on returning from a raid in Barry's country, and other exploits as clever and unscrupulous as his capture of Lord and Lady Roche in their castle in an enemy's country, twenty miles from his quarters. The report of the massacre at the Fort del Oro at Smerwick shows that greater cruelty was used than historians have cared to confess; for not only were Irish women hanged, but an English servant of the Legate Saunders, and an Irish priest, had their legs and arms broken before being executed. As to the Spaniards and Italians, the fate of many English prisoners at the hands of the Inquisition, both in Spain and the Indies, is some excuse for not allowing them quarter, especially as the enterprise partook more of the nature of piracy than of open war. But it is pleasant to pass from such scenes to the more peaceful side of Raleigh's life in Ireland. That he honestly tried to make the part of Ireland in which he settled more prosperous and orderly and profitable than it had been before, cannot be denied. The refusal of the natives to earn a comfortable living by clearing his woods, instead of alternately starving and stealing, must have appeared to him so unreasonable as to justify turning them out and filling up their places with Devon and Cornwall labourers; but, as has always been the case in Ireland, even attempts of this kind were not supported by the Deputy and the Government, and his farmers fared no better than their neighbours who were "rebels;" just as in the next century the Presbyterian landowners of Down and Antrim were expelled from their homes, equally with the Catholic Irish. His attempts at developing Irish mines were unsuccessful also; but not so the potato, which he first planted "where the town wall of the thirteenth century bounds the garden of the Warden's house" at Youghal. Could he have intended or thought that it would ever become a common food? or was it only as a luxury and a curiosity that he cultivated it, like the richly perfumed yellow wallflowers which he brought from the Azores, and

³ "Sir Walter Raleigh in Ireland." By Sir John Pope Hennessy. Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1883.

the Affane cherry, which are still found where he planted them, on the Blackwater?

An Appendix contains Sir Walter's letters, written from Ireland, and a few other documents, such as his account when serving there in 1583, his expenses in the Tower, &c.

Municipal institutions have been lately occupying much attention, both among students and politicians, and some of the difficulties and dangers incident to the conditions of modern industrial life have turned their minds to consider the social arrangements of mediæval times. Two English writers have almost simultaneously published works on the struggle between the oligarchy of the burghers and the democracy of the artisans in the towns of Flanders, as centred round the lives of the two Van Artevelde.* In England the government of the towns was a legacy left by the Romans, on which the Saxon conquerors had little influence, but in Flanders it was strictly of German origin. Originally the *scabini*, or *échevins*, represented the primary assembly, not of the town, but of the hundred; while the *choremanni*, the germ of the later council, were the officers of the Mark. Mr. Hutton, on the other hand, considers the latter to have been from the first the headmen of the guilds; but Maurer, as quoted by Mr. Ashley, denies that there were, in Ghent at least, any true guilds at that early period, except the one "Coomans Gulde," or Merchant's Guild, which monopolized the government of the town, as appears by the charter of 1275. This guild would admit no artisan "with blue nails," or "those who sell by the pound," till they had renounced their craft for a year and a day. The possession of land in the town was also at first necessary, as it was in many towns in England. By the end of the thirteenth century, the artisans who were thus excluded from the political rights which membership of the guild alone conferred, formed similar bodies for themselves, each consisting of one trade, and both in Bruges and Ghent, these were between fifty and sixty in number. Trade rules were strict, the number of workmen and looms limited, and there were stringent regulations about apprenticeship, the object evidently being to produce a good average standard of excellence, but, as in the case of the English Trade Union, rather to hamper than encourage exceptional skill. How, finally, the contest between the two parties resulted in the privilege of a few becoming the rights of all, is told by Mr. Ashley clearly and concisely, as a study of the growth and development of municipal life; while Mr. Hutton pays more attention to detail, and to clear the memory of the Van Artevelde from the charge of being mere self-seeking demagogues.

Mr. Cyril Ransome[†] traces the rise of constitutional government in

* "James and Philip Van Artevelde." By W. J. Ashley, B.A. Macmillan & Co. 1883.

† "James and Philip Van Artevelde." By James Hutton. John Murray. 1883.

‡ "Rise of Constitutional Government in England." By Cyril Ransome, M.A. Rivingtons. 1883.

England, from the *comitatus*, kingship, and Witenagemot of old times, to the £10 householder of 1867. His little book is very readable, and should remove all excuse for constitutional history being ill-taught in schools, or ignored by grown-up readers of newspapers. But what is more difficult to do than compiling a graceful and correct narrative, is to emphasize such facts as continue to be important. It is interesting to know how parliamentary bribery grew, and was annihilated by popular freedom; it is of more importance to know how land shuffled off taxation, and Mr. Ransome traces the history of land carefully. His remarks are likely to set his reader thinking, and to abide after the book is laid down. Thus, he says that what postponed Parliamentary reform for the forty years from 1792 to 1832 was the fright the French Revolution caused in England. "The experiment was never fairly tried, and it is one of the prices we pay for the French Revolution that such was the case." Doubtless most people connect the terror of reform with terror caused by 1793, but few see the solidarity of the nations that Mr. Ransome's words suggest. Yet it is very desirable that history should be read and taught as though the reader were anxious to learn from the past how to act in the future. If the future is dead to the historian, his picture of the past will be dead too, and will deaden and clog the reader. Mr. Ransome gives the past as the key to the future, and may be usefully read by those who are keen about active and rapid reform.

If all clergymen were as careful of the property of which they are legal custodians as the vicar of Kingsthorpe is, we should not have schemes proposed for bringing all the parish registers to London, and overloading offices which already have as much work as they can manage. And Mr. Glover⁹ deserves the more praise, as these documents, found in his church chest, are not likely to be of any practical value to any one, while the parish registers, about which many of the clergy are so culpably careless, are not mere curiosities, but necessary for establishing legal claims. Kingsthorpe was a royal manor, the inhabitants holding the town and fields for a rent of sixpence an acre, till they obtained a reduction from Henry VI. in consequence of their poverty—as Wallingford, Winchester, and other towns were compelled to do about the same time. The documents found by Mr. Glover, which he has had repaired and calendared, refer to the manor entirely, and not to the parish, and consist of copies of grants and pardons, court rolls, depositions, and the like. There are two sets of ordinances, made by consent of the inhabitants, one in the time of Richard III., the other in that of Edward VI. A comparison of the two shows some curious changes in small matters in the half-century. In the first, no "childe of mankynde or womankynde" may sell his or her land till they are fifteen years old. In the later, the age is increased to twenty-one for men and sixteen for women. There is considerable progress in the regulations for safety from fire and disease; fines of a shilling for carrying

⁹ "Kingsthorpians; or, Researches in a Church Chest." Edited by J. Hulbert Glover, M.A. London: Elliot Stock. 1883.

fire in a wisp to a neighbour's house, or for wringing clothes in the well-heads, or for neglecting to cleanse the gutters, do not appear among the earlier rules. These penalties are rather heavy, but heavier still is the fine of 6s. 8d. for refusing to be king or queen for the May games, for which the bailiff was empowered to distrain, half for himself and half for the church. This shows the spread of Puritanism and the effect of Latimer's sermons; but though these games were coming into disfavour, the church ale is still kept up, and the regulation that no brewer shall sell beer while it lasts is repeated. Mr. Glover thinks too much of this as indicating intemperance; but the English were a sober people as long as they stuck to beer, which was more nourishing than intoxicating. It is said to have been the habits learned by Elizabeth's soldiers in the Low Countries which first made the vice of drunkenness common in England. Ground game were a worse trouble to the good people of Kingthorpe than even to the farmers of the present day, for not only were they prevented from cultivating their land as they wished in consequence of the "coneyes" from Moulton Park, but the underkeeper took upon him to kill their dogs, and would not even allow his pets to be disturbed in Boughton churchyard, where "be bones of dede persones dygged up with conyes in the same churche yarde whiche would fylle a scutle." The case was taken up to the Star Chamber, with what result is not told; but it is comforting at least to know that the keeper was once taken in, for two poachers "told him they went to seek for a bullock that was broken from them, and they inquired if the said keaper had sene any; and he said nay, and dyd bydde them goe on theyr weys to loke if they could fynde hym, and after they were departed from hym, they had that that they dyd come for," which was conies. The editing appears to be carefully done, but it is better to print *in extenso* unless proper type is used. Makeshift contraction-marks are very ugly, and difficult to read, because unusual.

Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson has just brought out a continuation of his "James II. and the Duke of Berwick," in which the Marshal's career is traced, from his services in the war against England in 1702, until his death on the fortifications before Philipsburg in 1734. The basis of the work is the Marshal's own autograph memoirs, and the account of the campaigns in which he served is given with great care by the author, for, as he says, though science has worked miracles, the general principles of the art of war are the same in all ages. Berwick's campaign in the Peninsula, during which he defeated the Earl of Galway at Almansa, the only battle in which he commanded in chief, should be compared by students of the art of war with Wellington's campaign in the same country. In both cases it was the General who took the most pains with his commissariat and communications who was victorious. We even find such details recurring as the necessity of providing barley, and not oats, for the cavalry horses. He kept his troops as well

. 7 "The Duke of Berwick, Marshal of France." By Charles Townshend Wilson, Lieutenant-Colonel. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1888.

in hand, if not better even, than Wellington did. Sacking a town methodically, two soldiers from each squad being told off for the duty, was less disgraceful than the scenes which tarnished the glory of the taking of Badajos. Plunder of some kind must always be a condition of warfare, even with the best troops. "Si le bon Dieu se faisait gendarme, il deviendrait pillard," as a French soldier observed centuries before. Colonel Wilson takes casual opportunities of expressing his own views on military matters, and insists on the lessons taught by the long French war of the inestimable value of veteran troops, and of the constant use of the spade. He thinks, too, that the present love of sensation, and the constant presence of special correspondents, are apt to induce generals to sacrifice their men for the sake of showy success, instead of running the risk of misrepresentation and fault-finding by gaining their points slowly and surely, in which method of warfare Berwick was a master. No general, he used to say, should ever deliver a pitched battle, unless nothing else remained to be done.

The heroic defence of Barcelona, against the French army, is told with great spirit; and the final catastrophe is the more painful, as it was virtually due to the disgraceful abandonment of the Catalonians by the English Government, who had promised to defend them in the assertion of their liberties against Philip V.

A "History of the Negroes"⁸ (the author insists on the propriety of spelling the word with a capital) has just been brought out by the first coloured member of the Ohio Legislature, and late Judge Advocate of the Grand Army of the Republic of the Ohio. He gives no particulars about his own life, whether he was ever a slave or not; but to judge from the honourable position he has attained, he must have been born before the emancipation of his race, though his portrait shows him to be still a young man, probably not of pure African blood, with a face indicating clear-headedness and resolution. The materials have been collected with great care; official documents in most cases printed in full; and though a member of an oppressed race cannot be expected to write calmly about the wrongs of his people, there is no needless or offensive vituperation. The style is clear and straightforward, with few Americanisms here and there, some of which will be new to many of his readers on this side, as the verb "to enthuse," meaning to inspire enthusiasm. Mr. Williams begins at the very beginning. Though he confesses that, while believing in the Bible, he does not consider it the best authority on ethnology, yet he devotes several pages to the discussion of "the testimony of the Lord" in Genesis that mankind was originally of one family and speech; and of the curse of Canaan, which he considers to have been of no effect; as "it was only the bitter expression of a drunken and humiliated parent, lacking divine authority." This part may be skipped, and the book is so long that this operation will be often performed; but the account of the different black tribes is well worth reading. Ancient

⁸ "History of the Negro Race in America, from 1619 to 1880. By George W. Williams. New York: Putnam's Sons. 1883.

and modern travels have been ransacked to show that Africans are not necessarily deficient in intelligence or other good qualities, and to support the theory advocated by Mr. Winwood Reade, that the Negro type is the result of degradation from the normal type of African, in consequence of a change from a healthy to an unhealthy and malarious habitat. In philology one curious point is noticed, that those tribes which exclude the letter R "are warlike, nomadic, and much inferior to those that use it freely." From the time the first twenty negroes were landed at Jamestown from a Dutch man-of-war, in 1618, 1619, or 1620 (the date is disputed, but Mr. Williams inclines to the earliest), they never ceased to be a trouble to the settlers, though their position was very different in the various colonies. In New York, for instance, slavery was patriarchal in its nature, manumission was not unfrequent, but the children of free negroes were considered as slaves—a most unjust and cruel law. In Virginia, slaves were not allowed trial by jury, nor, at one time, to give evidence, not being "Christians," from which category even Catholics were excluded by Protestant bigotry. Slaves resisting their masters might be killed with impunity. In fact, they had no personal right of any kind; though free negroes apparently had the franchise before 1723, in which year an Act was passed depriving them of that privilege. In Georgia, the trustees, and General Oglethorpe, the first governor, distinctly discountenanced slavery, but a long and bitter discussion among the settlers resulted in its introduction. In Carolina, where Locke's fanciful constitution, with its perage of caciques and landgraves, was adopted by the proprietors, but never ratified by the local Legislature, the fear of servile insurrection produced the most severe code of laws. Slaves were tried without a jury, on very slender evidence, and executed immediately; while the homicide of slaves, for impertinence or other offences to white men not their masters, was condoned by the Legislature, and the value paid out of the public funds, till, from motives of economy, an action was allowed to lie against the murderer. In New Hampshire, on the contrary, the murder of a slave was a capital offence. Manumission in South Carolina was actually forbidden, except with licence from the County Court; while in Massachusetts there were cases of slaves suing for liberty, and obtaining it by judgment of court, sometimes, indeed, merely because the masters allowed judgment to go by default, to be relieved from the burden of supporting their aged and infirm servants. In Connecticut, slaves were from the first permitted to enter a plea, to give evidence, and to defend themselves against criminal charges; and, in 1774, importation of negroes was distinctly prohibited. This Act was better enforced than that passed by the General Court of Rhode Island, in 1652, positively prohibiting slavery, which was never repealed, though slavery flourished under it for a century and a half. The fewness of the attempts at insurrection was no doubt due to the vastness of the country and the impossibility of the slaves uniting over more than a small district; but even the abortive attempts of General Gabriel and Nat Turner caused a widespread feeling of alarm, even panic. The history of the New York

Plot is like that of the Popish Plot in London. A few houses were burned, and suspicion fell on the negroes, as it did on the Christians when Rome was burned. Evidence was collected from negroes of bad character, on hope of reward; confessions extracted from prisoners by administering intoxicants to them, and by giving them hopes of pardon—though they were burned all the same when no more could be got out of them; till finally thirty-two blacks were burned and hanged, and four white men, including a non-juring clergyman, whose offence was alleged to be having sworn in the conspirators with the aid of a chalk ring and a bowl of punch. John Brown's attempt is not told with sufficient detail. No doubt every one in America is familiar with all the circumstances, but the book is not intended to circulate exclusively on one side of the Atlantic. The history of the war, and the change in the purpose of the North, from the gradual emancipation of the slaves, first proposed by Lincoln, to the proclamation by which they were at once and for ever set free, is told by the help of official documents and authentic statements, leaving but little scope for the author to insist upon any peculiar views of his own, though he does not omit to dwell upon the value of negroes as soldiers, as one of the factors of the problem. As to the future, Mr. Williams prophesies that after years of education and improvement in America, the Negro "will sound the depths of education, accumulate wealth, and then turn his attention to the civilization of Africa," and Christianize it: though in another place he says that now he is an American citizen he is likely to move over to an extreme rationalism. He certainly has not much to thank the Christian Church for. For a long time refused baptism, because membership of the Church gave the franchise—and then admitted only to the Negro pew, and excluded from the sacrament till his masters had finished with it—he can have no great attachment for a body which, while it proclaims peace and goodwill toward all men, acted throughout the struggle on the apostolic principle of letting its moderation be known unto all men.

In the early days of Christianity the position held by the Church on this point was very different. The doctrine that the atonement was shared in by all humanity, resulted in the teaching that slaves and masters were practically on an equality before God. The liberation of slaves was inculcated as a work of charity; and even the offerings of masters who were known to be harsh were refused, as unfit to be used for the service of God. The laws relating to manumission and the treatment of slaves were gradually improved, with the exception of a slight relapse to severity under Julian, till the invasion of the Western Empire by the barbarians—whose regard for life and liberty was on a distinctly lower level than that of the Romans—stopped for several centuries the humanizing influences which were gradually undermining the institution. But in Europe, the Church never entirely forgot its old traditions, or its humble origin, and offered an asylum to fugitive slaves, both within the walls of the sacred buildings, and by the rite of ordination, which at once set a slave free, although if conferred without the master's knowledge the Church had

to pay his value. In America, where Christianity was the religion of the masters, the tendency was even to refuse baptism to slaves, as putting them in a position to claim equal rights. There are two points in the early history of slavery which are worth noticing. One is, that the rise of asceticism, by fixing the minds of men on gaining their own salvation by self-torture, lessened the compassion thus felt for others, whose sufferings were light in comparison to the hardships which saintly men inflicted on themselves. The other point is the view held in the sixth century, that slave-holding was sinful in the clergy, but permissible, though not altogether right, for the laity. This has been attributed to the scrupulosity of ecclesiastics, but in fact it originated rather from the feeling of the laity that they cannot act up to ideal morality, but that their priests must. Similarly, sexual immorality was a venial offence in a layman, but a priest must not even be lawfully married. So at the present day, abstinence from field sports and other amusements, and in some circles from intoxicating drinks, is considered obligatory on a clergyman, by those who would not dream of giving up any of their own pleasures. The relations of the early Church to slavery are very carefully worked out in a new chapter added to the second edition of an American book, which first appeared in 1869.⁹ The author's object is to show how the Church, by acquiring temporal power, and using its spiritual power (that is, its power of influencing people by superstitious terror) for temporal ends, was diverted from its true functions as a spiritual teacher. In this, of course, most of us will agree. The chief points touched on are the rise of the temporal power, benefit of clergy, and excommunication. It is very doubtful whether excommunication was really the dreadful affair that it appears to be. For one person to be sent to Coventry is very hard lines; but if he has plenty of companions his punishment is considerably lessened. It was the common penalty on failing to pay debts, even to laymen. Archbishop Peckham, for instance, was nearly, if not quite, excommunicated for inability to pay a loan from Italian bankers; while high ecclesiastical dignitaries, such as the Prior of Christchurch, really suffered the same penalty for carelessness in collecting contributions for the Crusade in England. It must be remembered also that absolution was always given *in articulo mortis*, except in very grave cases. A good index and copious references enhance the value of the book; but in the case of documents, which have been frequently printed, it is always well to give the edition. The citations of the Apostolic Constitutions, for instance, are not in accordance with the arrangement in Whiston's "Primitive Christianity," or even in Dr. Irah Chase's American edition, which are perhaps the most commonly used, but with those of the Paris edition of 1564, in which the chapters are differently divided.

Another American book which we have received is a genealogical

⁹ "Studies in Church History." By Henry C. Lea. Philadelphia: Henry C. Lea's Son & Co. 1883.

and anecdotic account of the families of some of the first settlers in New England.¹⁰ The compilation shows a commendable amount of diligence, but the facts and persons are not of any general interest. There are, however, one or two good Indian stories. A Mrs. Bradley, for instance, was captured by the Indians, after killing one man by throwing a ladleful of boiling soap over him. A child to which she gave birth while prisoner was starved by the native cure for crying—putting hot embers in its mouth so that it refused to eat. On reaching Canada she was sold to the French for 80 livres, and after two years redeemed by her husband. This was her second captivity; and she had a narrow escape of a third at a subsequent attack on her house, but she was fortunate enough to shoot the first Indian who forced himself through the door, and the others fled. In another case an American prisoner was formally given to a squaw, whose son had been killed by the English, and kindly treated.

Nihilism,¹¹ according to Stepniak, editor of the Russian revolutionary paper *Laut and Liberty*, is now extinct, and has given place to Revolutionary Socialism. The former he defines as "the negation, in the name of individual liberty, of all the obligations imposed upon the individual by society, by family life, and by religion." A Nihilist, he says, seeks his own happiness at whatever cost. The Revolutionist, on the other hand, seeks the happiness of others at whatever cost. And nowhere has this been more true than in Russia, where noblemen have become weavers and sawyers in order to carry on the *propaganda* of Socialism among the people. The impossibility of the regeneration of society springing from the Government, is shown by the inefficiency of all the reforms of Alexander II. Even the emancipation of the serfs only changed their condition for the worse, the terms of redemption fixed for their land being far too heavy. The justification of the peculiar form which revolutionary activity displays in Russia, lies in the impossibility of popular risings in a country where the towns constitute only a small fraction of the population, and where the military resources of the Government are such that the only towns where movement is practicable can be immediately placed in a state of siege. The demands proposed by the executive committee to the Czar after the death of Alexander II. were moderate enough, comprising free representative government; freedom of the press, of speech, and of public meeting; but the only answer was fresh executions, and fresh attempts to put down every liberal tendency. The character of the chief actors may be highly coloured, but if there is any truth at all in Stepniak's "Profiles," their devotedness and single-mindedness are wonderful, resembling that of the apostles of some new religion. Of Demetrius Lisogub, who was executed at Odessa in 1879, he says, that he first saw him at a meeting in the depth of winter, dressed in a workman's linen suit, and that ragged,

¹⁰ "Early New England People." By Sarah Elizabeth Titcomb. Boston: Clarke & Carruth. 1882.

¹¹ "Underground Russia." By Stepniak. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1883.

though he was a millionaire, the whole of his money, except what he wanted for the merest necessities, going to feed the movement. And this money was his eternal torment, as the fear of its being confiscated, and lost to the cause, prevented him from taking the active part which he wished to do. Prince Krapotkine, whose name is identified with the movement in England, on account of his recent trial, and articles on Russian prisons in English periodicals, has had apparently no influence in Russia for some time, in consequence of his absence abroad, though his lectures on Socialism, delivered to the workmen of St. Petersburg ten years ago, produced a great effect. When arrested he was preparing to go amongst the peasants as an itinerant painter, though he was Chamberlain to the Empress, and at the same time a scientific man of some eminence. The account of his escape from St. Nicholas Hospital is very well told, for it is in his own words. The gate of the courtyard in which he was allowed to take exercise, being left open for the passage of wood carts, a carriage was placed outside, and sentinels posted to see that all the streets were clear. The first attempt failed, because the signal was to be given by a red air-ball, and none but blue or white balls could be bought. "No change whatever, however insignificant it may appear, is ever permitted in signals." So the Prince's friends made one themselves, but the gas was so bad that it would not rise above the wall—a lucky accident, as it happened, for a string of vehicles just blocked up the way of escape as the ball was thrown up. The second attempt was more successful, and shows the care with which these things are managed. Five sentinels were posted, and a room taken in a house from which they and the inside of the courtyard also could be seen. When all the signals indicated safety, a violin was played in the house, ceasing when anything was wrong. In the race to the gate the soldier's bayonet was only a few inches behind the fugitive; but he safely gained the carriage, while the violin player promptly appeared upon the scene to ask questions and give suggestions, so as to hinder pursuit. Another escape, that of John Bokanovski, from Kieff, was managed by getting an accomplice into the prison as warder. In this case, strange as it may seem, the whole of the prison staff were afraid of the prisoners, and even allowed them to correspond with their friends. The escape was nearly frustrated by Bokanovski stumbling against a rope in the dark passage and ringing the alarm bell; but the warder calmly told the guard that he had done it by accident, and succeeded in getting his friend safely outside the gates. In St. Petersburg there is a large body of persons of all ranks, from the aristocracy down to the police themselves, who take no active part in the struggle, but are known as "Ukrivateli," or concealers. One of these was a councillor of the Emperor, and is described as undertaking this office with the greatest willingness, though he was so nervous that he could never sleep without chloral when he had any one under his roof. Another concealer, an old army surgeon, kept Vera Zassulic safe when the whole city was ransacked to find her. It was of his house that Sophie Petrovskaia said that when the safety signal was over the door, she entered much more at ease than the Emperor entered his palace. The women found in the ranks of the

Revolution are, like the men, drawn from every station in life. Sophie Petrovskaja, like Krapotkine, belonged to the highest aristocratic and official circle. An unhappy home and an ill-treated mother implanted within her a hatred of oppression; and the education which she ran away from home to procure, still further developed her principles in the same direction. Her letter to her mother before her trial for directing the attack on the Czar is most touching. It is to women, says Stepniak, that the almost religious fervour of the Russian Revolutionary movement is to be attributed; and while they take part in it, it will be invincible.

The popular sympathy with Nihilism is absolutely denied by the author of a life of Skobelev.¹³ He asks whether one single Nihilist would be elected if Russia had a parliament chosen by universal suffrage, and speaks of the people wishing to tear in pieces any Nihilist who commits a murder. Stepniak, on the other hand, says that these attempts are possible only in consequence of the almost universal sympathy of the population. Well, facts will decide which is the true view of the case; but to an outsider it appears likely that those men who consider it a duty to associate with and try to educate the poor, are more likely to know the strength of popular feeling than the official and military class, to which O. K. no doubt belongs. His ideal, and Skobelev's, was autocracy—"that concentration of power which allows speedy and drastic reforms." These be brave words; but how often do the reforms of autocracy succeed? However, sound political views cannot be expected from a man whose first service in the army was against the cause of freedom in Poland, and who made his reputation by using all the inventions of modern science to slaughter less civilized people, whom he considered, apparently, as merely created for the purpose of teaching the art of warfare to their superiors. As a professional soldier, Skobelev is a most interesting study. Inheriting a taste for arms from his grandfather, who worked his way from the ranks to a generalship, he entered the army when he was twenty, after a course of study at St. Petersburg University, and devoted himself thoroughly to his profession. Few generals have combined so many qualities necessary to success. Great personal courage, shown not only by coolness on the field of battle, but by such exploits as swimming his horse over the Danube to try whether the cavalry could effect a crossing in this manner; wide knowledge of the art of war, and the power of using, not only his own experience, but that of others, as shown by his winning the battle of Makhram by copying Gough's example at Ferozeshah; and beyond all this, a power of influencing his men, partly by kindness and consideration, and partly by a sort of theatric display, which few English generals have possessed. Most of the anecdotes about him have already appeared in print; in fact, very many pages are merely extracts from the war correspondence in the daily papers. They are not the less interesting on that account; but

¹³ "Skobelev and the Slavonic Cause." By O. K. Longmans, Green & Co. 1888.

it is needless to refer to any of them here, as they will not be new. Here is one story, however, which is probably fresh to English readers, as it is taken from the reminiscences of M. Nemirovitch Dantchenko. "At Khiva, he was nine days and nine nights under a Khivan spell. During all that time he neither ate nor drank, the incantations never ceased, and at the end he became proof against bullets: a ball can pass through him without hurting him in the least." And "wounded men in hospital declared that they had been struck by bullets or shells which, before reaching them, had passed through the body of their general."

The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland sets an example which its elder sister in London might do well to follow; for, besides holding meetings, publishing proceedings, and occasionally making a grant for excavations, it annually arranges a course of public lectures on special subjects, which were founded by the late Rev. A. H. Rhind, of Sibster. Dr. Anderson, the keeper of the museum, has already delivered two series of the "Rhind Lectures,"¹³ on Scotland in Early Christian Times, and in the Pagan Period—the latter of which has just been published. The principal remains discussed are graves, brochs, and crannoges, with their contents. As to burials, the distinctive features of Paganism, as opposed to Christianity, are cremation and the deposit of grave goods; but these phenomena occur both in the transition state and as survivals after Paganism was done with. As the lecturer wisely says: "The deposits which constitute the periodic divisions of archæology (like those of the geologic series) are always, to a greater or less extent, products of a re-reformative process, by which portions of pre-existing systems are imbedded in the new formation, in whose constitution the disintegrated elements of the older systems are often quite clearly visible." One point about these survivals is worth noticing: that though the deposit of goods in the grave is distinctly Pagan, being opposed to the Christian theory of a future life ("We brought nothing into this world," says Paul, "and it is certain that we can carry nothing out"), such is the conservatism of ecclesiasticism, that it survived longest among the clergy, the very persons who ought to have discouraged it. Just so (though there was no religious reason against the practice, as in the case we are referring to) bishops were the last persons to wear wigs, and parsons still wear white ties in the daytime, as our grandfathers, both lay and clerical, did. But this is wandering away from Scotland. The contents of graves at Islay, Orkney, and elsewhere, are discussed and described with the greatest minuteness, and with a rare faculty for bringing together and comparing objects found at different times and places. A very striking instance of this occurs in the illustration of the use of two objects found in Kirkeudbrightshire and Banffshire, from a bronze plaque from Oland, on the coast of Sweden. One of these objects is a bronze concave plate, something like a horse's frontlet, with two projections like chamois horns, ornamented with delicate

¹³ "Scotland in Pagan Times: the Iron Age." The Rhind Lectures for 1881. By Joseph Anderson, LL.D. Edinburgh: Douglas. 1883.

spirals. The other is a pig's head, in bronze. Strangely enough, two exactly similar objects appear on the helmets of two figures on the plaque referred to, who both wear swords of the Viking pattern. The pig's head, or, rather, a whole pig, occurs as the crest of a warrior on another plaque, also from Oland, surmounting a helmet, apparently formed of metal bands—which elucidates the use of certain fragments of iron found in a grave at Islay. Some of the remains in the Viking tombs are splendid specimens of metal work. There is a sword-hilt from Bigg, worthy to have been the work of Regin the Master, or to have graced the "Wrath of Sigurd." And the silver brooches and armlets from Skail, of which 16lbs. weight were found in a rabbit burrow, were surely made by the "Craft of the Dwarf-kind." Another instance of sagacious and lucky comparison, is that of some glass lumps found at Islay, with similar objects used in Scotland in modern times for smoothing linen—though here the comparison was due to the suggestion of a lady, and was not Dr. Anderson's own. Among the Celtic remains described is a singular enamelled bit, found at Birrenswark, similar in character to other horse and chariot trappings found in Berkshire and other parts of England. Such objects are never found outside our island, and they were known even in Rome as the work of the "barbarians, who live in the ocean." As to the brochs, those solid towers of undressed stone, with chambers in the thickness of the walls, which abound in the northern counties and islands, Dr. Anderson describes them fully, and enumerates objects found in them, which consist principally of weaving combs, querns, and other household utensils. They bear no resemblance to the articles found in Scandinavian graves; and Dr. Anderson evidently considers this to be a sufficient answer to Mr. Fergusson's theory, that they were the strongholds of the Norwegian invaders; for he does not repeat or refer to his reply to Mr. Fergusson's Essay, which appeared in the Proceedings of the Society. It is a question which must be left to northern antiquaries to decide, if possible. Any one who is interested in the subject should turn to the papers by Dr. Anderson, Sir Henry Dryden, and others, in the fifth volume of the *Archæologia Scotica*, where also is a map of their sites, compiled by the Doctor.

These peculiar glass linen-smoothers, referred to by Dr. Anderson, are not noticed in a capital handbook to ancient glass which has recently appeared,¹⁴ though the beads are. As to beads from tombs, an Irish antiquary, who suspected forgeries, recently made a specimen to convince a dealer, who denied the possibility; and years after found 'it one of the most treasured objects in a friend's cabinet. So the more accurate knowledge of glass has resulted in many celebrated stones, like the turquoise head of Tiberius at Florence, being discovered to be artificial. This is the case, too, with the *sacro catino*, the sangreal of Genoa, which was thought to be an emerald. But the holy chalice of Valencia still maintains its reputation—as a precious stone, that is,

¹⁴ "Glass in the Old World." By M. A. Wallace Dunlop. London: Field & Tuer.

for it is sardonyx, though not perhaps as having been the actual cup used by Christ at the Last Supper. Among the less known curiosities in glass are the tea bottles called "Maatsubo," found by divers sticking to the rocks in the submerged island of Mauri near Formosa, which are valuable not only as curiosities, but because they give a higher flavour to tea. They are generally found broken, with scraps of shells and coral adhering to them. The whole ones are reserved solely for the emperor. The island, it is said, was submerged by the gods in revenge for some young men having painted the faces of the idols red. The anecdotes and facts collected cover a wide space and time—from Egypt to China and Japan, from Menes to Mr. W. de Morgan's inventions in lustre. Many are old friends, like Petronius' broken murrhine vase, and Nero's emerald opera-glass, but it is convenient to have them collected. This, *adpropos* of the origin of having arms in the bottom of cups, is new, that is to ordinary readers, for it is not invented, but quoted from Guillaume Bouchet. The authoress has not quite understood the story; for neither her husband's arms nor "un grand diable hideux et cornu," which her friends substituted, were of any effect. A certain widow, from excessive grief, took to drinking. "To cure this bad habit, her friends filled her a cup containing the arms of her husband, the sight of which always renewing her grief, she was obliged to leave wine enough in the cup to conceal them." There are a few other slight inaccuracies and slips, but not of very great moment. "Lord Burgheim" (p. 121) is no doubt a misprint for "Burghley." "Johannes Peckham, English monk," is an unfamiliar way of mentioning an archbishop—and wrong, too, for he was not a monk, but a friar. And why do authors, especially ladies, write "Mecænas?" It is as bad as "Cataline;" or is it perhaps the fault of our tyrants—the printers?

Mrs. Carlyle's Letters¹⁵ are very entertaining; many also give rise to much discussion, partly because she herself throws so much character and originality into them, and partly because of the side-lights that are thrown on her husband's life and character. The light thus thrown does not always reveal what is noble or beautiful in Carlyle, but his insatiable vanity could swallow everything; and so long as he believed that he and his affairs were of interest to the world, it did not much matter to him how sacred or how private those affairs might be. A man endowed with a merely average amount of vanity would have hesitated to bequeath his wife's letters to the world, feeling that notoriety would be dearly bought at such a price. Not so Carlyle; a strain of childish self-complacency runs through the foot-notes. Indignant protests against the publication of such matter are hurled at Mr. Froude. An authoress who defends Carlyle's conduct to his wife, even speaks of this marriage as a happy or perfect one. She protests against the "exhibition of a woman's weakness," when Mrs. Carlyle very naturally resents being left at home to spend long, dull evenings alone while her husband amuses himself at Bath House. The "woman's weakness" is not as evident as the man's cold selfishness. This lady says that no wife should consider it

¹⁵ "Letters and Memorials of Jane Welch Carlyle." London: Longmans & Co.

beneath her to cook and scrub for her husband. Perhaps not; but, at least, a man considers it beneath him to accept such rough service from a tender delicate woman. But Carlyle did not stop here. While he took his exercise on horseback, and his pleasure at his friend's house, his wife, too ill to walk, would go for a drive in an omnibus for rest and refreshment. She writes to him in June: "To see you constantly discontented, and as much so with me as with all other things, when I have neither the strength and spirits to bear up against your discontent, nor the obtuseness to be indifferent to it,—that has done me more harm than you have the least notion of. You have not the least notion what a killing thought it is to have put into one's heart, gnawing there day and night, that one ought to be dead, since one can no longer make the same exertions as formerly; that one was taken for better, not by any means for worse." Surely there never was a woman who got less of companionship out of her husband than did Mrs. Carlyle. She is very much afraid of being taken for an emancipated woman. There was never less need for apprehension; and if any good can come from the publication of her letters, it will be a caution to the women of the future "how not to do it." The brightest spots in the letters are her own sallies of simple sharp wit. The letters from the two dogs, Nero and Columbine, to their absent master, are prettily imagined. Another letter, No. 80, also about a dog, that barks all night, and belongs to a neighbouring washerman, too long to quote, is quite inimitable; through three and a half pages she describes the episode—nothing in itself, yet rendered memorable, nay immortal, by the handling. There is more love, more gentle kindness and womanliness, less cynicism, in her letters to her friend Mrs. Russell, than in any to her husband or to her numerous other friends; indeed, in reading these letters to Mrs. Russell, we wonder what magical charm it was that had the power of calling out all the sweetness and gentleness of Mrs. Carlyle's nature. Whatever the secret may have been, it was not possessed by her husband. Mrs. Russell represented the love in her life; Mrs. Carlyle represented duty and worry.

Mr. Kegan Paul has written a very dull book.¹⁶ It is like a wide, smooth, placid stream which meanders through flat and rather dull meadows, past villages and churches, stopping at little quiet country parsonages, where the "respected rector" passes his uneventful life. It is a book to read on a sleepy, warm Sunday afternoon, in a house of severe habits, where novels or poems are unknown, and all general literature is put by on Saturday night. It is a series of biographical sketches which have been contributed to various magazines during the last twenty years. The two most interesting are George Eliot and C. Kingsley. The chapter on C. Kingsley is less wanting in vivacity than the others. We give one quotation, which is not uninteresting:

"Then Kingsley depicted the conflict between Rome and Protestantism as a religion; now it is between Rome as the representation of religion (!), and free

¹⁶ "Biographical Sketches." By C. Kegan Paul. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1889.

thought, science, and unbelief. Protestantism as a religion is dead, and can only be galvanized into a resemblance of life. . . . Kingsley was occupied with a present which has slipped away. . . . The result is that the enduring popularity of these books is scarce to be expected; just because of their passionate earnestness they grow less intelligible to another generation. Without pretending to compare the two men, it may yet be said that one cause of Scott's lasting fame is, that he was not intensely in earnest in regard to the inculcation of direct teaching of any kind, and his characters, in whatever time he placed them, are the ordinary men and women of any period, not more penetrated and singularized by the spirit of the age. He draws the castle and pageant of a historic time, but does not touch its depths. . . . The great Court of Elizabeth is only the stage for the sorrows of a neglected wife; and if plots and conspirators are found in 'Rob Roy,' they are only intended to bring into prominence the charms of Di Vernon."

The problem contained in the "Saints' Tragedy" is one of the fundamental problems of the day, and here, it may be urged, Kingsley has not become antiquated. The slowly changing basis of marriage is well stated by him as his object in writing this drama.

"I, as a Protestant, have been accustomed to assert the purity and dignity of the offices of husband, wife, parent. Have I ever examined the grounds of my own assertion? Do I believe them to be, as callings from God, spiritual, sacramental, divine, eternal? Or am I at heart regarding and using them, like the Papist, merely as Heaven's indulgence to the infirmities of fallen man?"

Mr. K. Paul says, "We may all protest in this spirit against the doctrine contained in the words italicised." The essay on G. Eliot is also interesting, but does not throw much new light on the few facts about her life that have been made public.

Mr. Ireland has brought out a new edition of his memoir of Emerson¹⁷—which first appeared in the *Manchester Examiner and Times*, with considerable additions, both to the biographical sketch and to the collection of letters and other records. Wendell Phillips has lately been complaining at Harvard that learned men and scholars do not do their duty in America in leading the agitations on the great social questions which stir the age; but Emerson is a brilliant exception. Though, as far as we know, not taking any practical part in politics, the free expression of his views on slavery, on free trade, and on woman's rights, have had more to do with moulding the present generation of Americans than the actions of any other man; and the lectures on slavery, especially the one which he delivered before the President at Washington, probably contributed to the issue of the Emancipation Proclamation a few months later. Interesting particulars are given of the careful production of his literary work—how ideas suggested by reading, by conversation, or thought were immediately jotted down, even at night, greatly to his wife's alarm when first she made acquaintance with the habit; how these jottings were then collected and formed into a connected whole, and slowly elaborated and revised. It appears that a great mass of the manuscripts, sermon-lectures, and speeches, remain unpublished, especially a

¹⁷ "Ralph Waldo Emerson: a Biographical Sketch." By Alexander Ireland. Second edition. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co.

series of lectures on the "Natural History of the Intellect," which was to have been his most systematic treatise. Being based on his own intellectual processes, it would be of the highest interest and value. Among the letters, are some to Carlyle, remonstrating, with the utmost graciousness not without a touch of pity, with his friend for his "perversities," and hoping that he would come to America, which Emerson is sure would make it impossible for Carlyle's name to "be cited for one moment on the side of the enemies of mankind." The contrast between the minds of the "Seer of Concord and the Seer of Chelsea," is wittily and pungently hit off by James Russell Lowell:—

"C. gives Nature and God his own fits of the blues,
 And rims common-sense things with mystical hues.
 E. sits in a mystery calm and intense,
 And looks coolly round him with sharp common-sense.
 C. shows you how everyday matters unite
 With the dim transdiurnal recesses of night;
 While E., in a plain preternatural way,
 Makes mysteries matters of mere every day."

General de Ainslie¹⁸ begins his reminiscences by comparing himself to the man upon whose tombstone it was written, "Here lies one who would have come out strong if he had had a chance." But even if he has had no opportunity of distinguishing himself in his profession, a soldier who has attained the rank of general has no need to complain, when so many of his brothers in arms are forced by age to retire while still captains or majors. Stories of service in the Rifle Brigade and Dragoon regiments, campaigning in India, and a command in the West Indies, afford materials for a pleasant, gossipy book, written in a genial, indulgent spirit, like an after-dinner chat on a summer evening. One fault they have, that of passing too rapidly from one subject to another without giving sufficient details. If it was worth while saying that the Bersaglieri suffer from chest complaints from their manner of marching, surely a professional soldier should have added a few words to tell us what the habit is—whether it is the mode of carrying the knapsack, or what. The Eglinton tournament, for instance, is dismissed in a paragraph; the only distinct reference being to the ludicrous sight of the Marquis of Waterford driving a buggy in complete armour. Why did not the General tell us if the knights really tilted at each other, and if so, how was it there were no serious accidents. Were the spears really half sawn across so as to break at a touch? Perhaps the loss of all his papers in the fire at the Pantehnicon accounts for a certain vagueness of detail. He has, however, remembered distinctly the clothes he wore at his wedding—a sufficiently striking suit, consisting of a "blue evening coat with fancy buttons, that we had adopted in the regiment, a white watered-silk waistcoat, light fawn-coloured trousers, with boots and spurs." This was in 1834. We notice, too, that it was about 1850 that the habit

¹⁸ "Life as I have Found It." By General de Ainslie. London and Edinburgh: Blackwood & Sons. 1883.

of wearing uniform when off duty was discontinued; a change which the General much regrets. White hats were first worn in London by a certain "Huffy" White, of the Guards, who showed his dislike of imitation in the following way: "Seeing, one day in St. James's Street, another individual wearing a similar headdress, White instantly took off his own hat, and left it on one of those iron pillars which at one time stood at the corners of streets." There is a good deal of information about the change of uniform in various regiments. But of all the military absurdities mentioned, none is greater than the engagement of a certain Madame Isabelle to teach the cavalry to ride and break their horses; "the dragoons riding quadrilles with bows of ribbon on their breasts; a young horse brought into the school with a drum, and a variety of silly tricks not worth recording." Here is a new anecdote of the Peninsular war, told to the author by Marshal Magnan: "Upon one occasion, in Spain, on the line of march, there suddenly appeared a British cavalry officer, attended by an orderly dragoon, who, dashing up to the column and seizing one of the soldiers by his cross-belts, proceeded to drag him out of the ranks. In the surprise and confusion of the moment it was not at first distinctly seen what was taking place; but the officer was speedily secured, when he proved to be Captain Percy, of the 14th Light Dragoons, who, it appeared, had actually made a bet that he would, single-handed, take a French soldier out of the ranks and bring him in a prisoner."

The world is getting flooded with little books in red covers, and yellow covers, and, for aught we know, green and blue as well, which profess to tell one all about some subject for a shilling or so. The series on Science and such matters are useful enough in their way, but when it comes to Biography, what is the good of them? No doubt the books have some purpose to serve in the economy of the universe. At all events, like Hodge's razors, they are made to sell, and they do sell. They are used as cram-books for examinations, for which they are not fitted, and they are bought at railway stations by readers who despise novels—and they are sorry for it afterwards. Now here is a volume on Fielding come out in the "English Men of Letters" Series.¹⁹ If any one really wants to study Fielding's life, he will read Murphy's or Lawrence's biographies, and perhaps Keightley's papers in *Fraser*. A book of this kind will not content him; and to the "general reader" a short biography is about the dullest thing imaginable. Mr. Dobson prides himself on having found out, thanks to the late Colonel Chester, the dates of Fielding's second marriage, and of the births of his children; on being "able to fix approximately the true period of his love affair with Miss Sarah Andrew;" and in printing a few hitherto inedited letters between Aaron Hill and his daughter and Richardson, concerning "Tom Jones;" so there is something new in the book, if any one cares for it, and besides it is written in a pleasant and genial style.

¹⁹ "English Men of Letters." Edited by John Morley. Fielding. Austin Dobson. London: Macmillan & Co. 1883.

In the "Political" Series Mr. Sergeant begins a short memoir of William Pitt²⁰ by a very able chapter on the situation in England and on the Continent when Pitt came into power, pointing out the bearing of current events upon the politics of the day, and giving slight sketches of the character of the men opposed to or connected with Pitt in his Parliamentary career. The dons at Cambridge must have looked on Pitt as one after their own hearts: "dining in hall, keeping two chapels every day, never once spending an evening outside the walls of Pembroke, or failing to keep his appointment with Mr. Pretyman." Pitt's early career in Parliament was marked by the same precocity and rapid development that characterized his boyhood; but we think Mr. Sergeant might have been a little more fortunate in selecting the one or two quotations he gives us from his early speeches. The story of the battle between Pitt and Fox, which terminated in the Dissolution on Lady Day, 1784, is well told. It is of course possible that Pitt's victory in the elections of 1784 was due to the fact that the country recognized that he was "superior to his rival in moral worth and disinterestedness;" but we might be almost led to think that the result was more due to the electors' appreciation of their own interests rather than the disinterestedness of Pitt, when we read that "his (Pitt's) friend Wilberforce was elected for Yorkshire. . . . There was, in fact, no contest on this occasion at the polling booths, but only because the supporters of the popular candidate had raised a fund of over £18,000 for the expenses of that campaign, and the conclusion was looked upon as foregone." Though so incorruptible himself, there was no one who better understood the uses of bribery, or who employed it more lavishly. "We bought governments, we bought individuals, we bought armies." "Between 1793 and 1801 he (Pitt) bestowed more than fifteen millions sterling in free subsidies to overcome the reluctance or encourage the free will of our allies;" and in dealing with the Irish opposition to the Act of Union, the bribery was, to use Mr. Sergeant's own word, "portentous." "Gold and peerages were lavished on the powerful individuals whose consent it was indispensable to secure, but who could not be won over by argument." It is a pity the book is not better arranged with a view to reference, and the table of contents is of the barest description. Still, any one reading the book cannot fail to have a clearer view of the political situation between the years 1780 and 1806, and a better acquaintance with the character and powers of William Pitt.

The last biographer of Emily Brontë²¹ evidently feels the world is not so convinced of her worth as it ought to be, for she appears to class her with those "for whom the future is not yet secure, for whom a timely word may still be spoken, for whom we yet

²⁰ "English Political Leaders: William Pitt." By Lewis Sergeant. London: William Isbister.

²¹ "Emily Brontë." Eminent Women Series. By A. Mary F. Robinson. London: W. H. Allen & Co.

may feel the lancing out of enthusiasm" (whatever that may mean), "only possible when the cast of fate is still unknown, and as we fight, we feel the glory of our hero is in our hands." No doubt eminent women should be very grateful if such a mundane emotion is allowable in the future state, for the efforts of their biographers to find them a niche in the temple of fame; but we much doubt whether the popular verdict a hundred years hence will be much affected thereby. The effort to discover whence genius comes is not generally rewarded with much success. When we are told it is "the occasional result of an inherited tendency to tubercular disease," we have at least something more definite, than when, lower down on the same page, we are informed that "their" (the Brontës') "genius came directly from neither parent, but from the constitution of their natures." Mrs. Brontë's married life was a very sad one; how much of its sadness was due to her husband's treatment of her, who can tell now? Miss Robinson is very guarded in what she says on the subject, and treats it with much delicacy. Emily Brontë was not three years of age when her mother died, her earliest recollections seem to have been "a constant necessity of keeping joys and sorrows quiet, not letting others hear." Her personal appearance is very vividly described; but one almost wonders that "the prettiest of the little sisters" at Cowan Bridge should have developed into "a tall thin loose-jointed girl, a slinky lass, not ugly, but with irregular features and a pallid thick complexion." The life at Cowan Bridge, and Branwell's wretched career, both must have had so large a share in shaping Emily Brontë's character, that they are of necessity dwelt on at some length; they are most painful subjects, and one almost feels that some of the details of Branwell's downward career might have been omitted. The "laughing handsome darling of Haworth," to quote our authoress's own words, seems to have been unpleasant enough, both in nature and personal appearance, as we read "he was insignificantly small, with a mass of red hair, and small ferrety eyes, prominent nose, and weak lower features." Miss Robinson has certainly put him before us in a most revolting light, the only relief being that "his friends in kindness considered him half mad;" which can hardly be wondered at, when we read further on, "I have seen him drive his doubled fist through the panels of a door; it seemed to soothe him." Hardly what a sane man would consider a soothing amusement. How, knowing all the details of dreary childhood, miserable school-life, and anxiety and wretchedness in later years at home, can add to one's appreciation of Emily Brontë as an authoress is difficult to understand; still we give her biographer all credit for doing the very best by her heroine, and giving us a most painful picture of the many sorrows and cares of a woman, who will attain her deserved fame, not by her fondness for "Keeper," the moors, or domestic duties, but by "Wuthering Heights," the genius of which will be appreciated a hundred years hence, when most probably all memoirs of its brilliant authoress will have been lost to sight and forgotten.

A series of five memorial notices on C. Darwin have been reprinted

from *Nature*,²² with an introductory notice by Professor Huxley. His life and character are touched upon, and his original work in geology, botany, zoology, and psychology. In each of these departments of science, Darwin has contributed original thought, and in each his mind has left its mark. His chapter on "The Imperfection of the Geological Record," startled geologists as from a profound slumber. It would be incorrect to say that he was the first to recognize the incompleteness of the record; but certainly until the appearance of that famous chapter the general body of geologists was blissfully unconscious of the fragmentary character of the geological record. Darwin showed why this must necessarily be the case; how multitudes of organic types, both of the sea and of the land, must have decayed, and never been preserved in any geological deposit; how even if entombed in rich accumulations, they would in great measure be dissolved away by the subsequent percolation of water. Returning to some of his early speculations, he pointed out that massive geological deposits, rich in fossils, could only have been laid down during subsidence, and only where the supply of sediment was sufficient to let the sea remain shallow, and so entomb the organic remains on its floor before they had decayed. Hence, by the very conditions of its formation, the geological record, instead of being a continuous and tolerably complete chronicle, must be intermittent and fragmentary, &c. In botany, his collection and subsequent arrangement of plants from the Galapagos Islands threw much light on his researches on the geographical distribution of plants, and is constantly referred to in the "Origin of Species." The following significant passage occurs in the "Origin of Species":—"The structure of each part of each species, for whatever purpose used, will be the sum of the many inherited changes through which that species has passed during its successive adaptations to changed habits and conditions of life." No matter how apparently insignificant a side issue might be, he would carefully and conscientiously follow it up until it brought him to the truth which he sought. "The greatness of Mr. Darwin as the reformer of Biology is not to be estimated by the fact that he conceived the idea of natural selection; his claim to everlasting memory rests upon the many years of devoted labour whereby he tested this idea in all conceivable ways—amassing facts from every department of science, balancing evidence with the soundest judgment, shirking no difficulty, and at last astonishing the world as with a revelation by publishing the completed proof of evolution. Indeed, so colossal is Mr. Darwin's greatness in this respect, that we doubt whether there ever was a man so well fitted to undertake the work which he has so successfully accomplished. Of Darwin's private character we as yet know little. Whatever we do know is to his credit; his wonderful modesty and gentleness, and his consideration for the feelings and opinions of others, are testified by all who knew him." On page 14 of this little

²² "Nature Series." Charles Darwin. Memorial Notices. Reprinted from *Nature*. London: Macmillan & Co.

book, his marriage is recorded, but the name of the lady he married is pointedly omitted. We are not aware that there is any reason for this omission.

Few foreign histories of England are written with so much knowledge of, and appreciation of, English institutions and characteristics, as appear in every page of M. Regnald's history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.²³ The object of the book is, according to the preface, to follow the development of institutions and the progress of political reforms, the narration of events being subordinated to the study of ideas, the history of battles and treaties, to those of constitutional questions. The author writes from the point of view of a French Liberal, and is impartial in his treatment of the relations between the two countries, when his own was not on the side of freedom. He speaks, for instance, quite dispassionately of the affair of the Spanish marriages. The chief fault that he finds with Lord Palmerston is his sympathy with the Empire, and chuckles over its having twice brought him to grief. At his death, he says, "il parut enporter dans la tombe les instincts guerriers de l'Angleterre." Recent events have unfortunately shown that this is not true. They are too strong to be buried with one man, and the publicity now given to military operations tends to revive them. The small errors in the English language which always occur in French books are not absent. It is curious to see them in a book which gives evidence of such careful study of, and thorough familiarity with, the history. For instance, an extract from Swift's Windsor Prophecy is rendered unintelligible by detached lines being quoted, as if consecutive. "I have no small talks, and Peel has no manners," is worse even than any of Wellington's French. The Duke before his elevation to the peerage is called "Weleslay;" the Duke of York's notorious friend, "Madame Clare;" and the Irish leader of the Chartists, "Fergers O'Connor." To English readers such obvious slips are of no consequence, but in the interest of foreigners it is well to point them out. It is difficult to avoid the inference, in this case not a justifiable one, that errors in details are signs of general carelessness in more important matters. The book is, of course, intended only for the author's countrymen, but it is well worth reading by those Englishmen who wish "to see themselves as others see them."

The articles by the Duc de Broglie, on the invasion of Silesia, by Frederick II., which were read with so much interest when they appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, have been translated into English, and published in the form of a book.²⁴ They are principally based, as those who read the articles will remember, on seven volumes

²³ "Histoire de l'Angleterre, depuis la Mort de la Reine Anne jusqu'à nos jours." Par H. Regnald. Paris: Bailliere et Cie. 1883.

²⁴ "Frederick the Great and Maria Theresa. From hitherto unpublished documents, 1740-1742." By the Duc de Broglie. From the French, by Mrs. Cashel Hoey and Mr. John Lillie. Two vols. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1883.

of the correspondence of Frederick, extending over the first four years of his reign, which have been recently made accessible to the public at Paris. The point which the Duke attempts to bring out, is, that France, then as now, more ready to go to war for an idea than for material advantage, preferred to make an attempt to re-establish the German Empire on its primitive basis, free from Austrian influence, when she might, without difficulty, have obtained from Maria Theresa such an accession of territory as would have rendered the northern frontier secure. Extracts from these original letters are given in an appendix, which, perhaps, it would have been better to have left in their original French.

The Society for the Defence of the Christian Religion, at the Hague, has printed two essays on Alexander Vinet, the Swiss Professor, who took such a prominent part in the religious discourses in Switzerland forty years ago. One of these essays to which the Society has awarded a prize of 200 florins, is written by M. Chavannes,²⁵ who knew Mr. Vinet personally, and the other by Dr. J. Cramer, of Groningen. The position which Vinet took up was the advocacy of the liberty of conscience and freedom of worship, against official dictation; and failing to carry his principles into effect in the State Church, he and his friends set up a church of their own, just about the time of the revolution of 1845. "Les Mômiers" are in a way analogous to Methodists,—the claim for liberty of conscience co-existing with strict dogmatism, which would virtually deny to others further from the centre of Christian belief the rights they assert for themselves. M. Chavannes takes a wider view, and discusses his friend's writings and opinions from the standpoint of religious knowledge as it is now. He speaks, for instance, of the good results of studying the Bible as a collection of historical documents, not as a code of doctrines, and even disagrees with the doctrines which Vinet found there. He wisely attributes to the imagination the religious terrors which Vinet ascribes to the conscience, and on which he bases some of his argument—and even hints at their physiological origin. But notwithstanding these divergences, he recognizes his value as having helped to secure one step in the liberation of religious belief.

Mr. Stallybrass has brought out a second volume of his translation of Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie*,²⁶ founded on the posthumous fourth edition of Professor Meyer of Berlin. The third volume will contain the additional matter collected by the author, and which he did not live to make any systematic use of. No other complete translation of Grimm's work has yet appeared, and there is no doubt that Mr. Stallybrass's version will be the text-book for the English study of a

²⁵ "Alexandre Vinet, Considéré comme Apologiste et Moraliste Chrétien." Par F. L. Fred. Chavannes, Ancien Pasteur. Leyde: E. J. Brill. 1883.

²⁶ "Alexandre Vinet als Christelijk, Moralist en Apologiste Geteekend en Gewaardeerd." Doov Dr. J. Cramer, Hoogleeraar te Groningen. Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1883.

²⁷ "Teutonic Mythology." By Jacob Grimm. Translated by James Steven Stallybrass. Vol. II. Geo. Bell & Sons. 1883.

form of Paganism, which though deficient in the beauty of Greek and Italian mythology, ought to have more interest for us, as explaining so many customs and observances which have survived a change of faith. The subjects treated of in these columns are giants and dwarfs, fairies and water-spirits, the elements, animals, and death, and as most of them are illustrated by popular stories, science goes hand in hand with amusement.

Düntzer's *Life of Schiller*²⁷ has also recently come out in an English dress. It is a "painful" book, to use an obsolete expression, and a trifle heavy. Its heaviness has sometimes made even the translator nod, for a waking man could hardly have written that Schiller "commenced a translation of the *Æneid* into *Latin* hexameters." The word *Latin* is of course Mr. Pinkerton's, not Herr Düntzer's. The illustrations are plentiful, but poor. They are selected from the German edition, and what was only middling in the original, is decidedly bad in the reproduction. They are very coarse, and at the same time faint and smudgy.

No nation has shown such anxiety as Italy to get at the secret of our parliamentary government. Other nations have Anglomania in various forms, but Italy returns again and again to crack this nut and analyze its kernel. A recent number of the *Nuova Antologia*²⁸ contains a very remarkable study of Oliver Cromwell. Its main views are not exactly expressed in our best English lives of him. Mr. Allanson Picton says that Cromwell attracted the nobler elements of English character; its rough practical justice; its religious faith; its enormous energy; and that he came near to the idea of a comprehensive church. Mr. Paxton Hood has an interesting chapter on the Oliver Cromwell of different biographers—the really great man, as he appeared to Carlyle and Macaulay; the adventurer on slippery heights, as he seemed to Guizot; the wicked deceiver on Machiavellian principles, as he seemed to Mr. Forster. To Mr. Paxton Hood he appears the true pathfinder, the man of unerring instinct and farsightedness. Signor Mandoni's study on the Protector is interesting because it is an Italian's, and it is excellent both as to style and knowledge. Cromwell became a great man, and yet he did not follow Machiavelli's maxims. By this remark Signor Mandoni engages our attention at once, for Machiavelli's Prince is too often supposed to contain everything necessary to the making of a great man, or for explaining the secret of his greatness. But from our point of view, it appears to be merely a collection of empirical recipes; and just as alchemy stands to modern chemistry, so Machiavelli's manual for playing Prince stands to our knowledge of evolutionized human nature. It was by the aid of no such handbook to government that Cromwell "soothed the haughtiness of the proudest people in the world, and even succeeded in putting such a bit in its mouth as no man before or since

²⁷ "The Life of Schiller." By Heinrich Düntzer. Translated by Percy E. Pinkerton. London: Macmillan & Co. 1883.

²⁸ "Nuova Antologia. Rivista di Scienze, Lettere e Arti." Vol. xxxvii. fasc. iv. Rome. 1883.

could put." He made religious enthusiasm do for the common parliamentary soldiers what hereditary notions of honour and military training did in the royalist army; he knew his men by name; he preached, and listened to their preaching; and he achieved success because he always seemed less than he was. This enabled him to get into position that made success possible. It was his one art, and as he always attributed success to One greater than he, even to God, the edge of jealousy was turned even in moments of his supreme success. Signor Mandoni instances the self-denying ordinance, the pacification of Ireland and the increase of the navy, as samples of moments when to fail is to lose all. Cromwell pacified Ireland in eight months, Signor Mandoni says, "and England cannot do it now even at the cost of an ambassador at the Vatican." He admits that Cromwell shed cruel blood, but says that continued civil war would have shed more. He forgets that we to-day are not at liberty to try any such short cuts to civil peace, and that public opinion would not allow it. But it was not the love of his soldiers, nor fear, nor cunning, in which, according to Signor Mandoni, his strength lay. The secret of his power was that he represented a new idea in the universal conscience, and closed an era of bloodshed by religious toleration. He saved the Vaudois from extirpation; and death only prevented him from including the Jews in his tolerance. This part of Cromwell's work abides, and is commended to any who are still asking, two centuries later, what was the secret of his ruling Englishmen?

BELLES LETTRES.

WE have read with deep and grateful interest Mr. Robert Browning's new volume of poems "*Jocoseria*."¹ The time is passed when it would be reasonable or servicable to open a discussion on the merits or demerits of Mr. Browning's poetry. It is impossible to deny that he is a great poet, but there will be ever a division of opinion as to whether he is a great artist or an eccentric craftsman. Whether they are prepared to admit it or not, poetry itself stands in need of an apology with the majority. The German king who hated "bainting and boetry" was honest enough to confess what many are not honest enough to realize. What with religion on the one hand, and the sublime instincts of making money and "killing something" on the other, the average Briton is not much concerned with the vagaries of the imagination. Then again there are the claims of science. And so it comes to pass, that your sacred bard, who was once the guest of the evening, is now restricted to proposing the last toast amid the irreverent clatter of sated and departing guests. Poetry in itself being at this disadvantage, it is not surprising that a poet, whose works not only require serious attention, but occasionally baffle the patient research of

¹"*Jocoseria*." By Robert Browning. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1883.

his readers, should be a "stone of stumbling" to the British public, or that the "critic's flambeau" should wave now this way and now that, with assiduous deflections, sometimes intended to give Mr. Browning light, but more generally to illuminate him for the benefit of the Gentiles. Possibly now that Mr. Browning has lived to see of the travail of his soul and is admitted to be a great poet, he may be winning some measure of popularity by reason of his obscurity. For there is the natural and laudable delight in overcoming difficulties, and there is the vainglory which arises from having overcome them; and again there is the solemn duty now imposed upon the "general" of taking its caviare with a relish and with no wry faces; and for all these reasons it is probable that "Jocoseria" will be read by many who do not care for poetry at all, who never read Mr. Browning's earlier poems, and whose satisfaction arising from the perusal of his latest volume will be of a moral rather than an intellectual kind. The common-sense view of the matter surely is that a great writer must express himself as he pleases and that they who would reap any benefit from his sayings must receive them with humility and gratitude. For the quality of greatness is of such surpassing value that the drawbacks, even if they distract us a little, are as nothing in comparison with the excellence which is revealed unto us. The ballad of Donald is an appeal against the sporting instinct, when it has entered into a man's soul and overmastered all natural compassion. That too is the moral of the "Ancient Mariner." The scene is laid in a highland bothy, where a party of undergraduates are drinking "To Sport! Hosannah!" and the poet tells a tale of the murder of a stag, as it was told to him long since, under like circumstances, by the crippled but unrepentant slayer, who tells *his* tale for a livelihood. Donald and the stag meet face to face on the narrow ledge of a mountain's side. The man lies down, and delicately, step by step, the stag crosses his prostrate body. At the last moment the devil of sport enters into the man, and with triumphant ingratitude he "stabs up the stomach's soft" and topples the stag and himself together over the precipice. Next day he is found, just not dead, "over" the stag, "not under." A story of this kind, at once novel and striking, is a "subject made to the hand" of Mr. Browning. For not only is the scene brought home to us, and we seem to stand with Donald face to face with "the gold red stag that stood and stared gigantic and magnific," but at the breathless moment of the Highlander's fiendish resolve we may share the passionate indignation of the poet's remonstrance—

"I shall dare to place myself by God,
Who scanned—for He docs—each feature
Of the face thrown up in appeal to Him
By the agonizing creature."

For one thing which makes Mr. Browning so great a poet is this power to fill the reader with noble and passionate emotion, and to make him rejoice that such thoughts are capable of being embodied in such language; and to drink of this wine of the soul is the rarest felicity. "Ixion," a poem written in elegiac metre, treats of certain

ethical problems, and demands the close attention and study of those to whom such questionings are all-important. The style is more than usually involved, and we can imagine that "some there be" who would turn with a sigh of relief to a corrupt Greek chorus as comparatively easy reading. But there is sublimity and marvellous interest in these difficult lines; they are concerned with great ideas, and they repay the study which we must confess they seem to us to need. Ixion is bound to the wheel of eternal torment because he has sinned against Zeus.

"Whence the result above me--torment is bridged by a rainbow."

But he endures the torment, and this can no one take from him. All vindictiveness, all punishment inflicted by one being on another, though the one be a god, the other man, must end in failure. The victim can bear it, "to hell will he go." And the very agony of torture is transmutable into the radiance of hope.

"Even as--witness the emblem, Ixion's sad triumph suspended,
Born of my tears, sweat, blood--bursting to vapour above,
Arching my torment, an iris ghostlike startles the darkness.
Cold white--jewelry quenched--justifies glorious pain."

There is a victory that overcometh not only the vindictiveness of Zeus, but the evil that is in the world, pain and failure, and death and whatsoever baffles or limits or degrades. Ixion is man, the wheel is the world, and the iris which spans both man and wheel is the witness which the heart bears to itself that the last enemy is necessity. The longest poem in the volume, "Jochanan Hakkadosh, or John the Divine," is an amplification in Mr. Browning's peculiar style of a Rabbinical legend. The saint, who is close upon fourscore years, is on his death-bed, and his disciples are eager to catch the final word of wisdom as to love and war, to learning and statesmanship. How may his life be extended?—by sufficient slices of the lives of others to make up another twelve-month. Then he will have attained his eightieth year, and having in the meanwhile delivered himself on these several points of interest, may be left to die in peace. There is abundant eagerness on the part of the disciples to give up each a portion of his own life, and, indeed, owing to the random prodigality of some boys, Jochanan's life is prolonged a few days beyond the expected limit. At intervals of three months the saint is importuned by his chief interpreter, Tsaddik, to unfold himself. But the burden of Jochanan's cry is "All is vanity." Love, that was to have been perfect, was a dream. War brings with it no certain triumph. The statesman whose measures are intended to make earth a paradise, only succeeds in inspiring with discontent those whom he desires to benefit. But when the year is over, and Jochanan has seemed to die, he revives for the odd days which the boys had "thrown at him." Then in a vision betwixt life and death he learns the truth, that this life's failure is the certain prelude to an eternal success. Nothing is vanity, for we buy celestial wisdom at the price of earthly experience.

In a note to "Jochanan Hakkadosh," Mr. Browning quotes in Hebrew the "pithy proverb," "From Moses to Moses there is none so great as Moses;" and this he illustrates by some of his quaintest conceits. In the strange and mysterious lyric, "Never the time and the place," there is an inspiring attraction, a haunting charm, which appeals altogether to the imagination if it appeals at all. There has been nothing like it from the pen of Mr. Browning, or of any one else, for many a long day, and we can only say that in our judgment it will rank hereafter among the great lyrics of the age.

Mr. Browning, although he belongs to the present, as much or more than he does to the past, made his name and fame long ago. When "Paracelsus" was published, Wordsworth was not yet Poet Laureate, and it was not long since "every mortal power of Coleridge was frozen at its marvellous source." The author of "Helen of Troy,"² though it is now some years since it was evident that he would become a person in the world of letters, belongs entirely to the present. And this, if we may except his scholarly and elegant translations of Greek poetry into English prose, is his first great literary effort. Mr. Lang's first volume of poems, and still more the well-known ballades, sufficiently proved that in an age of artificial verse writing he could write better artificial verses than any one else. And his verses were not only artificial, they were beautiful. They remained in the memory, and were strong enough to compel other writers to imitate them. Mr. Lang was original, may we say, *malgré lui*. "Helen of Troy" is a beautiful poem, beautiful from the first to the last. Here and there are passages of unusual beauty, and nowhere does the cunning of the artist fail him. There are no loose lines, no uncertain handiwork, but all is excellent. We do not say that Mr. Lang has ceased to be artificial. He does not give himself up unreservedly to his own genius or to the inspiration of Homer and the Ancients. The Archaic language, the turns of expression, the very faultlessness of execution, are all suggestive of an obedience to contemporary models not yet repented of. The enthusiasm for this heroine of ancient myth, and the eager desire to make her visible to us by the aid of mediæval charms, point to the same source of inspiration. It is not Homer, though few poets have known him better or loved him more wisely, but it is they who have striven in their admiration for the ancients to escape the compulsion of modern ideas, that have fascinated Mr. Lang and still hold him, we hope, an unwilling prisoner. Great interest is felt by many persons as to "the view" which an author takes of well-known characters of legend or history. It is assumed that there is a right and a wrong view, and that these characters have a real though shadowy existence outside the minds of the poets who have sung of them. Critics and others often dispute as to the mode of treatment

² "Helen of Troy: her Life and Translation. Done into Rhyme from the Greek Books." By Andrew Lang, sometime Fellow of Merton College in Oxford. The second time set forth. London: George Bell & Sons. 1883.

which a well-known character should receive, and the author is applauded or condemned in accordance with a preconceived idea. But it is surely more important to ask, Has the author's creation a life of its own? are its actions in accordance with his ideal? does the creature live and move in a world of beauty? and is its presentation made delightful to us? Mr. Lang's Helen of Troy fulfils all these conditions; and though it is an interesting fact to know that in agreement, as he thinks, with Homer, he makes her the unwilling and innocent creature of destiny, the victim of Aphrodite's wiles, a true wife spirited away by divine treachery and not the gaily consenting, late remorseful, adulteress; it is only necessary to consider whether, by propriety of incident and charm of narrative, he justifies this Helen or no. The tale of Helen of Troy, as Mr. Lang tells it, may be found for the most part in the classical dictionary. He did not invent it, nor yet did Homer. But the character of Helen is the creation of the poets, and it varies in accordance with the temper and imagination of each particular singer. Mr. Lang's Helen is all his own, whether he can justify his "view" out of Homer and Stesichorus and by the help of Greek vases, or whether he has invested the old Greek myth with an alien grace and a novel fancy. But although we maintain that Helen was what Mr. Lang chooses to make her, and although we admit that he is far too clever an artist not to justify his own conception, we yet think that he does not do full justice to his own powers as an original poet. If the men who wrote under the influence of the first Renaissance were genuine in their vehement determination to throw themselves back into the past, it seems impossible that this spirit should animate men of genius a second time. If a man "has a taste" and is a refined copyist, then let him write more and more elegant exercises, breathing the spirit of his models. But if he has got any word to say, and any skill to say it, let him speak it in the ears of all the people. "O'er Helen's shrine the grass is growing green," and "pure hearts" are not so numerous that they may be spared to worship there. We have selected for quotation the following beautiful passages. Paris is declaring his mission at the table of Menelaus, Book i. xiv. xv. :—

" Alas, no god am I; be not afraid,
 For even now the nodding daisies grow
 Whose seed above my grassy cairn shall blow,
 When I am nothing but a drift of white
 Dust in a cruse of gold; and nothing know
 But darkness, and immeasurable Night.

" The dawn, or noon, or twilight, draweth near
 When one shall smite me on the bridge of war,
 Or with the ruthless sword, or with the spear,
 Or with the bitter arrow flying far.
 But as a man's heart, so his good days are
 That Zeus, the Lord of Thunder, giveth him;
 Wherefore I follow Fortune, like a star,
 Whate'er may wait me in the distance dim."

And Book v.—lxii., the farewell speech of Paris to Helen :

“ But Paris spake to Helen : ‘ Long ago,
 Dear, we were glad, who never more shall be
 Together, where the west winds fainter blow
 Round that Elysian island of the sea
 Where Zeus from evil days shall set thee free.
 Nay, kiss me once, it is a weary while,
 Ten weary years, since thou hast smiled on me.
 But, Helen, say good-bye with thine old smile ! ”

We were not disappointed in our expectation that “ North Country Folk,” by Mr. Walter Smith, the author of “ Odrig Grange,” would contain many delightful poems. It does not, perhaps, aim so high as some of Mr. Smith’s former works, but it is very pleasant to read, and leaves an impression of genial sympathies and unaffected humour. The volume consists for the most part of a series of dramatic narratives, based on incidents mostly of a pathetic character, in the lives of Scottish people of the bourgeois class. It is no doubt a fact that the external conditions of life, and the inner characteristics of the people, tend to make the Scotch a picturesque nation. Their sentiment, their humour, and their religion, the simplicity of their lives, and their noble love of learning, make them interesting to the student of human nature. And they are not altogether unconscious of this. Perhaps we have heard almost enough of Scotch ministers and their bewitching daughters, and it might be only fair for novelists and others to give a turn to, let us say, the clergy of the Established Church in Wales. Perhaps, too, we are overdone with manly pathos about children ; and perhaps the unorthodoxy, which beats its breast and thanks God that it is not as this orthodoxy, is just a trifle self-righteous. If these remarks have been suggested to us by the poems in “ North Country Folk,” we must hasten to say that they are really dramatic, genuinely pathetic, and will bear reading over and over again. We were especially pleased with “ Dr. Linkletter’s Scholar,” “ Provost Chivas,” “ Deacon Dorat’s Story,” and the “ Cry of the Maiden Shareholders,” and although the title, “ Wee Curly Pow,” made us quake for what was coming, we were agreeably disappointed. This is Dr. Linkletter’s experience of teaching :

“ How it wears the patience down to the bone
 To toil through a summer’s day like this,
 Sharpening fools on the grinding stone,
 While stolid or sullen they grow by fits,
 And nothing will put an edge on their wits !
 We have to be pedants and too precise,
 Or nothing would flourish but sloth and vice.
 But oh, the joy ! when you chance to find
 One who can answer to all your mind,
 Who hungers for learning as hawk for its prey,
 And never forgets a word you say ;

² “ North Country Folk.” Poems. By Walter C. Smith. Glasgow : James Maclehose & Sons. 1883.

A bright young soul to be trained with skill,
 Ready to take what shape you will ;
 Believing, loving, intent to know,
 And clear as a mirror the truth to show ;
 But not like a mirror to let it go.
 That was the gladness he gave to me
 From the day that I taught him his A B C."

"Autumn Swallows,"⁴ by Ellice Hopkins, is a collection of short poems of considerable merit. They are for the most part of an emotional character, and remind us not a little of the writings of Mrs. Browning, Miss Ingelow, and Miss Rosetti. Still there is a difference, and the authoress has established a claim to be listened to on her own account. She has a delicate fancy, an abundant vocabulary of poetical words and phrases, she takes pains with all she attempts, and does not strive to heighten the effect by coarseness or profanity. And the result is that she has written a very readable volume of poems, which will give a great deal of innocent pleasure, and which none may disapprove of or despise. The following lines from "Bormus, a Linus Song," are highly picturesque :—

"Down from the lifted cornfield trips
 The child with ripe red-berried lips,
 The radiant mountain boy, with eyes
 Blue as wet gentians in the shade ;
 His golden hair all wet with heat,
 Limp as the meadow-gold new laid ;
 And as a russet fir-cone brown
 An earthen pitcher gaily swings,
 Upon his little shoulder borne,
 Water to fetch from sunless springs ;
 And while the flowers his bare feet brush,
 Loud sings he like a mountain thrush,
 Ah, cornflowers blue, and poppies red,
 Weep, for our little love is dead."

"Leaves" is pretty enough, and there is genuine pathos in "A Back Street Child." "Railway Steam" is a fine sonnet. But the authoress does not keep herself as clear as she should from the prevailing affectations of the day. Thus she begins some stanzas on "A Dead Robin in a Church" thus :

"What, dead, dear heart ! thy throat, so dainty sweet,
 Limp as long purples in the meadow grass."

And of the evening she writes :—

"When winking marigolds had shut
 Their golden fringes to the light."

It is so easy to write like this, and so much better not to write at all. Mankind is impatient enough of poetry as it is, without any additional provocation.

⁴ "Autumn Swallows." A Book of Lyrics. By Ellice Hopkins. London : Macmillan & Co. 1883.

There is very little to be said in favour of "An Actor's Reminiscences,"⁵ by George Barlow. The lengthy composition which gives its name to the volume is a rambling essay, sometimes in verse, but often in distorted prose, written for the immediate purpose of exalting the stage, and to enable the author to deliver himself on other topics. These are among the better verses. The speaker is at Holyrood (p. 29):—

"And then along the air Queen Mary came
I felt her, and I knew that it was she;
Her quick robes swept around her as she came,
And touched me, passing, and for half the day—
Aye, for a week or more, I walked the town
And watched the grim grey tall crags in a dream."

And these are not the worst (p. 49):—

"And then the women: we must not forget
The women in thus summing up the age!
The women! oh, the women! You will find
That, like the men, they are divided too.
For some preach faith, and some are atheists,
And some are anti-vivisectionists;
And some are ardent vivisectionists," &c.

There is perhaps stuff enough in the whole poem (save the mark!) to make a facetious leading article for a daily newspaper. But it would have to be better written. The other poems are for the most part of little merit. There is an attempt at being daring and profound, and the attempt fails. Propriety and morality are set aside in order to break the intolerable monotony of the style and subject-matter, and the result is that Mr. Barlow's verses are not only tedious but offensive. What point is there in saying, "No lily is whiter now for Christ or Keats"—except to show that that is nothing to what Mr. Barlow could say if he liked, and that he is not a bit afraid? Indeed, there are lines in a "Poem to a Child," and in several of the sonnets, which we should not care to quote. But perhaps Mr. Barlow thinks that to "utter nothing base" is the mark of an inferior poet.

We have no fault of this kind to find with a "Year of Life, the Price of the Bishop, and other Poems,"⁶ by John Cameron Grant. There is indeed this resemblance between Mr. Grant and Mr. Barlow, that they have both written a great number of sonnets. Here are three hundred and sixty-five! A sonnet for every day of the year! Mr. Grant should have them printed on a block, and we might tear one off like a text, or a *menu*, or the day of the month. Only we

⁵ "An Actor's Reminiscences, and other Poems." By George Barlow, Author of "Song-Bloom," "Song-Spray," and "A Life's Love." London: Remington & Co. 1883.

⁶ "A Year of Life, the Price of the Bishop, and other Poems." By John Cameron Grant, Author of "Songs from the Sunny South," &c. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1883.

are afraid that we should forget our daily sonnet sometimes, and then have to make sad havoc with the arrears. To be serious, these sonnets are always correctly, and often finely, expressed. They are full of wise and noble thoughts, but there are too many of them, and they are about too many subjects. A month or six weeks of "life" in sonnets might be all very well. Mr. Grant should remember that "hard labour" is only given for short spells. The "Vale Between," which comes after the sonnets, contains some happy lines.

We have no doubt that it gladdens a man's life, and makes it better worth living, to have written "Cæsar in Egypt, Costanza, and other Poems," which Mr. Joseph Ellis has brought together for publication. We learn from them that the author is a man of cultivation, and can express his ideas in verses which are fairly readable. But he is not entertaining. The song of "Othello," which we quote, is charming enough (p. 272):—

"She is my soul's delight,
Of life my joy is she;
The sun, the stars are bright,
Less bright—less bright to me.

She is my soul's delight,
Ah, could she faithless be,
Not dark of darkest night
So dark would seem to me!

She was my soul's delight!
I know that false is she;
Oh, dark of darkest night,
Less dark, less dark to me!"

It is better to be able to write the "Poems, Songs, and Sonnets"⁸ which Mr. Edward Croasdaile very properly calls "Heart Harmonies," than not to be able to write verses at all. But it was hardly wise to publish them; for to publish them is to assume that they contain thoughts which are not the common property of even partly educated minds in these days, and that assumption is erroneous. We wish we could speak more heartily in favour of verses which are often pleasing and are often of good intent.

The author of "The More Excellent Way"⁹ conceals his name. His stanzas are unexceptionable, but they do not bear out the title. For why did not the author conceal his poem too?

We cannot pretend to have followed the fortunes of "Ranolf and Amohia,"¹⁰ by Alfred Domett, through all the forty-nine cantos (there are seven books and seven cantos to each book) which make up the

⁷ "Cæsar in Egypt, Costanza, and other Poems." By Joseph Ellis. Second Edition, with Emendations and Additions. London: W. Stewart & Co. Edinburgh: J. Menzies & Co.

⁸ "Heart Harmonies: Poems, Songs, and Sonnets." By Edward Croasdaile. London: Elliot Stock. 1883.

⁹ "The More Excellent Way." A Poem. London: Macmillan & Co. 1883.

¹⁰ "Ranolf and Amohia: a Dream of Two Lives." By Alfred Domett. New edition, revised. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1883.

two volumes. As an instance of the terrible prolixity with which the narrative is delivered, the hero's education gives an opportunity for the history of philosophy, as found in the pages of Schwegler and Bain, done into rhyme. We will give an instance (vol. i. p. 34) :—

“Then Schelling plies the metaphysic ball,
Which Reason's racket still will strike aloft
To overfly Sensation's bounding wall,
Though to the ground a thousand times it fall.
Those two ideas we prate about so oft,
The Soul—the Universe—are really two,
And are identified—O, not in you,
Nor any finite Consciousness so small,
But only in the Absolute—the All.”

The scene is laid for the most part in New Zealand, and Maori legends and incidents of life among the Maoris form the subject-matter of two-thirds of the poem. Mr. Donett has a wonderful command of the English language, and his verses are agreeable and melodious; but “Eternity,” or “Harley Street,” or the “Staff of Moses,” are short in comparison with “Ranolf and Amohia.”

Mr. E. J. W. Gibb prefaces his translation from “Ottoman Poems”¹¹ by a learned and interesting introduction, which gives an account of the character, metres, and history of Ottoman poetry. It is well worth reading. This handsome quarto volume also contains biographical notices of Ottoman poets, very many of whom were Sultans, and explanatory notes. The book is illustrated with some curious but uninviting portraits of these poetical Sultans. We select the following lines from a “Mukhannes, or Pentastich of Fuzûli” :—

“Ah! her face the rose, her shift rose-hued, her trousers red their shade;
With its flame burns us the fiery garb in which thou art arrayed.
No'er was born of Adam's children one like thee, O cruel maid!
Moon and sun, in beauty's circle, at thy fairness stand dismayed;
Seems it thou the sun for mother, and the moon for sire hast owned.”

There is nothing to be said against “Poems,”¹² by William Cleaver Wilkinson. They are serious and well-intentioned, the sort of verses which a cultivated man who is fond of poetry, and cannot get the rhythm of contemporary writers out of his head, might compose for his own amusement. “The Wife's Vigil,” and “Courage,” are above the level of the rest. The Homeric translations are praiseworthy.

We owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. W. J. Linton, for his delightful collection of the “Rare Poems of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.”¹³ The selection has been made with skill and judgment,

¹¹ “Ottoman Poems, translated into English Verse in the Original Forms, with Introductions, Biographical Notices, and Notes.” By E. J. W. Gibb, M.R.A.S. London: Trübner & Co. Glasgow: Wilson & McCormick. 1883.

¹² “Poems.” By William Cleaver Wilkinson. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. London: Trübner & Co. 1883.

¹³ “Rare Poems of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries; a Supplement to the Anthologies.” Collected and Edited, with Notes, by W. J. Linton. London: Kegan²Paul, Trench & Co. 1883.

and paper and type are all they should be. To all who love poetry, and to all who try to write verses, we commend the study of this welcome volume.

The excellence of Mr. Ross Neil's work as a dramatist does not require a fresh imprimatur. Still, we regret that our space will not permit us to do justice to the four Plays¹⁴ which he has recently published. The plot of "Andrea" is based on the historic fact that Andrea del Castagno assassinated his rival Domenico Veneziano, who had discovered a new secret of mixing colours. Jealousy, resisted at first, steals over Andrea, and transforms a noble and generous man, or one who had always acted on the supposition that he was noble and generous, into a cowardly and secret murderer. *Corruptio optimi pessima* is the moral of the play. Orestes interprets, rather than reproduces, Greek tragedy. The character of Clytemnestra is finely delineated. Pandora, which is a kind of masque or interlude, is delightfully fresh and charming. To genuine dramatic power, Mr. Ross Neil adds lucidity of thought, simplicity of style, and moderation, which is as commendable as it is rare.

"Edgar; or, the New Pygmalion; and the Judgment of Tithonus,"¹⁵ is published at Madras. It is anonymous. It is clearly the work of a man of some genius and not a little poetic faculty. But lucidity and moderation are conspicuous by their absence, and wilfulness and eccentricity take their place. Here are some curious expressions: "Gulping frogs and long-eared crickets goak and chirp in grass and thickets;" and "Angels with arched vans and reaching toes;" "Tell him to sheer"—that is, to go away. It has occurred to us that these plays are the work of a native student, or that they proceed from the pen of an Anglo-Indian who must have his "goak," *ruat cœlum*. They are well worth reading.

"Mirabeau, an Historical Drama,"¹⁶ by George F. Calvert, is carefully written, and offends in no respect. The character of Mirabeau, whose "cursed spite" was to wish to put things straight, and to be unequal to the task, is an interesting study. But "Mirabeau" is not an historical drama; it is a chapter of French history done into blank verse.

The "Journey to Parnassus,"¹⁷ by Cervantes, translated by James Y. Gibson, is a work of considerable merit. For not only is a great poem given almost for the first time to English readers, and given in a readable form, but the translator's preface, and the notes and illustrative pieces at the end of the volume, are highly interesting, and add greatly to our knowledge of the unapproachable Spaniard. The Spanish text and the English translation are on opposite pages. The

¹⁴ "Plays." By Ross Neil, Author of "Lady Jane Grey," &c. London: Ellis & White. 1883.

¹⁵ "Edgar; or, the New Pygmalion; and the Judgment of Tithonus." Madras: Higginbotham & Co. London: Trübner & Co.

¹⁶ "Mirabeau, an Historical Drama." By George F. Calvert. Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: Charles T. Dillingham. London: Trübner & Co.

¹⁷ "Journey to Parnassus." Composed by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. Translated into English Terceets, with Preface and Illustrative Notes, by James Y. Gibson. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1883.

etched portrait, concerning which Mr. Gibson has much to say, is delicate and winning. Cervantes seemed to have disliked minor poets. In the "Journey to Parnassus" he speaks of the "vulgar squadron," of "seven-month poets, twenty thousand told, whose being is a riddle without end." And in the Appendix to the "Parnassus," Pancraccio tells Miguel that he found Apollo and the Pierides ploughing up the ground where the battle of the poets had taken place, and that "from the putrid blood of the bad poets done to death on that field, a whole crop of little poets, small as mice, began already to peer forth, so that the whole country side was threatened with the plague of that evil seed." The following beautiful lines, from the "Journey to Parnassus," remind us of Wordsworth's "Mighty poets in their misery dead:"—

"Poets are made of clay of dainty worth,
Sweet, ductile, and of delicacy prime,
And fond of lingering at the neighbour's hearth;
For e'en the wisest poet of his time
Is ruled by fond desires and delicate,
Of fancies full, and ignorance sublime.
Wrapped in his whimsies, with affection great
For his own offspring, he is not destined
To reach a wealthy, but an honoured state."

Samples of a new translation of the "Divina Commedia"¹⁸ of Dante, by the Dean of Wells, promise well for the entire work, which Dr. Plumptre says will be proceeded with if the suffrages incline that way. The pamphlet contains a fine sonnet addressed to Mr. Gladstone, comparing him to Dante. It is not difficult to imagine who and what they are that would writhe in the Gladstonian Inferno.

We congratulate Mr. Lewis Campbell on his masterly translation of the seven plays of Sophocles into English verse.¹⁹ So great a success can only be measured by the difficulty of the undertaking; and the divergence between Greek and English idiom, ancient and modern turns of thought, is more clearly marked in Sophocles than in almost any other Greek author. Hence the supreme difficulty of translating his plays into the English language, except by excision and paraphrase. We maintain that Mr. Campbell has succeeded in expressing, in his own tongue and in a practical shape, wise and beautiful thoughts of the one poet who found the perfection which he sought.

Nor have we any less praise for Mr. E. D. A. Morshead's translation of the "Suppliant Maidens" of Æschylus.²⁰ We have no space for quotations, but we can assure our readers that as a translation it is excellent, and that, judged on its own merits, it is a poem of rare

¹⁸ "The Divina Commedia of Dante Alighieri." Samples of a New Translation. By E. H. Plumptre, Dean of Wells. London, Paris, & New York: Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co. 1883.

¹⁹ "Sophocles." The Seven Plays in English Verse. By Lewis Campbell, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Greek in the University of St. Andrews. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1883.

²⁰ "The Suppliant Maidens of Æschylus." Translated in English Verse. By E. D. A. Morshead, M.A. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1883.

beauty. In an age of successful translations, Mr. Morshead's "Suppliant Maidens" deserves a prominent place.†

The reprint of "Gorboduc; or, Ferrex and Porrex,"²¹ a tragedy by Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville, will be of service to the student of literature. The introduction by the editor, Mr. I. Toulmin Smith, discusses the joint authorship, and other points of interest.

We have received vols. ii. and iii. of Dr. Wordsworth's annotated edition of the "Historical Plays of Shakspeare,"²² and vols. vii., viii., ix., of the "Parchment Library Shakspeare."²³ In the preface to the third volume Dr. Wordsworth vindicates the right of expurgation for educational and domestic purposes. Each volume of the Parchment Library has a case of its own to preserve its spotless delicacy. We prefer these stiff white covers to the wonderful limp white cover which clothes "Helen of Troy."

Mr. C. A. M. Fennell's "Pindar"²⁴ displays that union of laborious research and unassuming directness of style which characterizes the best modern scholarship. The introduction contains an essay on the Pentathlon, a table of Metrical Schemes, and an Excursus on the Causative Middle. The notes, which are in English, and at the foot of each page, are clear and to the point. There is an introduction to each Ode. There are Greek and English Indices, and an Index of Quotations.

Messrs. Church and Brodribb, whose translation of the "Annals of Tacitus" met with the recognition which it deserved, have now put forth a translation of "Livy: Books, xxi.-xxv."²⁵ It is from such translations as these that not only will the English reader, but that vast race of imperfect scholars, gain perhaps, for the first time, a real insight into classical literature. This admirable volume contains some brief introductory matter and an ample index. Two useful maps are also given.

A revision of Arnold's "First Greek Book,"²⁶ by the Rev. Francis

²¹ "Gorboduc; or, Ferrex and Porrex." A Tragedy. By Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville, A.D. 1561. Edited by L. Toulmin Smith. Heilbronn: Verlag von Gebr. Henninger. 1883.

²² "Shakspeare's Historical Plays." With Revised Text, Introductions, and Notes, Glossarial, Critical, and Historical. By Charles Wordsworth, D.C.L. In Three Volumes. Vols. II., III. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1883.

²³ Seventh, Eighth, Ninth Volumes of "Shakspeare's Works." Parchment Library. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1883.

²⁴ "Pindar: the Nemean and Isthmian Odes." With Notes, Explanatory and Critical, Introductions, and Introductory Essays. By C. A. M. Fennell, M.A., late Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. Cambridge: The University Press. 1883.

²⁵ "Livy." Books XXI.-XXV.: the Second Punic War. Translated into English, with Notes, by Alfred John Church, M.A., of Lincoln College, Oxford, and William Jackson Brodribb, M.A., late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. London: Macmillan & Co. 1883.

²⁶ "The First Greek Book." By Thomas Kerchever Arnold, M.A. New Edition. Edited and Revised by Rev. Francis David Morice, M.A., Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. London: Rivingtons. 1883.

David Morice, M.A., as it is a revision in the direction of simplicity, will be welcomed by schoolmasters, to say nothing of schoolboys. -

The intellectual and moral problem of Goethe's "Faust,"²⁷ parts i. and ii., by A. Wysard, gives an analysis and critical exposition, not only of the well-known first part of "Faust," but of the difficult and unfamiliar second part. The style is clear, and the matter sensible. For better or worse, this essay is free from the subtleties of the higher criticism.

The "Greek Plays in their Relations to the Dramatic Unities,"²⁸ by George Gould, is an attempt to prove "that the notion of there being a law of dramatic unities is nothing better than an idle dream." But surely the Greek tragedians regarded the unities as a counsel of perfection, and strove to conform to them as far as possible. The violations of the law are as nothing compared with the evident existence of the principle.

Messrs. Macmillan add to their excellent Classical Series "The First Philippic of Demosthenes."²⁹ The introduction and notes by the Rev. T. Gwatkin leave nothing to be desired.

"Specimen Days and Collect,"³⁰ by Walt Whitman, is in some sort the prose counterpart of his celebrated "Leaves of Grass." The volume opens with an account of the parentage and ancestry of the author.

"The later years of the last century," he tells us, "found the Van Velsor family, my mother's side, living on their own farm at Cold Spring, Long Island, New York State, near the edge of Queen's County, about a mile from the harbour. My father's side—probably the fifth generation from the first English arrivals in New England—were at the same time farmers on their own land (and a fine domain it was, 500 acres, all good soil, gently sloping east and south, about one-tenth woods, plenty of grand old trees), two or three miles off, at West Hills, Suffolk County."

Next we have some reminiscences of Whitman's early life on Long Island, and afterwards at Brooklyn, where he attended the public schools, and began life in a lawyer's office. Two years later he went to work in a weekly newspaper and printing office to learn the trade. Of his amusements and tastes during this period we have many interesting details. His first subscription to a circulating library, when the "Arabian Nights," and Sir Walter Scott's novels, and after that his poems, laid the foundation of a taste for the reading of romances and poetry which he retains to this day. The theatre, too, he delighted in, and saw all the great actors and singers, American or European, in their most celebrated rôles. We hear, too, of his

²⁷ "The Intellectual and Moral Problem of Goethe's Faust." Parts I. and II. By A. Wysard, Professor of German Literature at the Anglo-German Schools, Brixton and Denmark Hill, S.E. London: Trübner & Co. 1883.

²⁸ "The Greek Plays in their Relations to the Dramatic Unities." By George Gould. London: J. S. Virtue & Co., Limited. 1883.

²⁹ "Demosthenes: the First Philippic." With an Introduction and Notes. Edited after C. Rehdantz, by the Rev. T. Gwatkin, M.A., late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. London: Macmillan & Co. 1883.

³⁰ "Specimen Days and Collect." By Walt Whitman.

passion for ferries. In his youthful years at New York and Brooklyn, his life was, he says,

“curiously identified with Fulton ferry, already becoming the greatest of its sort in the world for general importance, volume, variety, rapidity, and picturesqueness. Almost daily, later ('50 to '60) I crossed on the boats, often up in the pilot houses, where I could get a full sweep, absorbing shows, accompaniments, surroundings. What oceanic currents, eddies, underneath the great tide of humanity also, with ever-shifting movements! Indeed, I have always had a passion for ferries; to me they afford inimitable, streaming, never-failing poems.”

The Broadway sights, too, impressed him vividly. “Here I saw during these times Andrew Jackson, Webster, Clay, Seward, Martin Van Buren, filibuster Walker, Kossuth, FitzGreene, Hallick, Bryant, the Prince of Wales, Charles Dickens, the first Japanese ambassadors, and lots of other celebrities of the time.” In 1848-9 he was editor of a Brooklyn newspaper, *The Daily Eagle*. In 1855 he sent to press “Leaves of Grass,” being then in his thirty-sixth year. In 1862 the Secession War broke out. Walt Whitman immediately abandoned his editorial and other avocations, and devoted himself during the whole continuance of the struggle to ministering to the sick and wounded in the military hospitals, living for the most part at Washington, and making occasional visits to the front. The scenes which came under his notice at this period are most vividly described in the present volume, and seem, as was but natural, to have left a profound and overwhelming impression on him, stirring his nature to the very depths, and exalting and intensifying his patriotic and democratic sentiments. He even sees in the steadiness in action of American soldiers, and their heroic fortitude under wounds and sickness, a triumphant argument in favour of democracy; forgetting or ignoring that these same military virtues have been displayed by European troops in various ages, and under every form of government. Two facts concerning the Secession War deserve notice, as being in direct contradiction of the usually received opinion on the matter in England. First, we have it, on Mr Whitman’s testimony as an eye-witness, that an immense majority, quite nine out of ten, of the combatants on the side of the North were native Americans. Second, there were in the Northern army men from every State in the Union, without exception. Not one of the revolted States but had its contingent fighting under the Union flag. In a speech in the House of Representatives, April 15, 1879, Mr. Garfield said, “Do gentlemen know that (leaving out all the border States) there were fifty regiments and seven companies of white men in our army fighting for the Union, from the States that went into rebellion?” After the close of the war our author remained for some years in Washington, employed in the attorney-general’s department.

“In February, 1873,” he tells us, “I was stricken down by paralysis, gave up my desk, and emigrated to Camden, New Jersey, where I lived during 1874 and 1875, quite unwell, but after that began to grow better; commenced going for weeks at a time, even for months, down in the country, to a charmingly reclusal and rural spot along Timber Creek, twelve or thirteen

miles from where it enters the Delaware river. Domiciled in the farm-house of my friends, the Staffords, near by, I lived half the time along the creek and its adjacent fields and lanes. And it is to my life here that I, perhaps, owe partial recovery (a sort of second wind, or semi-renewal of the lease of life) from the prostration of 1874 and 1875."

We may add, that it was not alone to the influences thus alluded to that this partial recovery was due, but in no small degree to the poet's own energy, good sense, and cheerful patience. Gallantly he has fought for his life, disputing the ground inch by inch, never yielding to impatience or discouragement, delighting in the joys still left him, and, as the homely proverb has it, "cutting his coat according to his cloth." Amid the notes on external Nature, on the songs and habits of birds, on the trees, the skies, the stars, of which a great part of the volume is composed, so rare and slight is the mention of his infirmities that we might forget that the idyll was composed by a half-paralyzed man, were it not for such an entry as the following :—

"September 5, 1877.—I write this, 11 A.M., sheltered under a dense oak by the bank, where I have taken refuge from a sudden rain. I came down here (we had sulky drizzles all the morning, but an hour ago a lull) for the before-mentioned daily and simple exercise I am fond of to pull on that young hickory sapling out there—to sway and yield to its tough-limber upright stem—haply to get into my old sinews some of its elastic fibre and clear sap. I stand on the turf and take these health-pulls moderately, and at intervals, for nearly an hour, inhaling great draughts of fresh air. Wandering by the creek, I have three or four naturally favourable spots where I rest besides a chair I lug with me and use for more deliberate occasions. At other spots I have selected, besides the hickory just named, long and limber boughs of beech or holly, in easy-reaching distance, for my natural gymnasia for arms, chest, trunk-muscles. I can feel the sap and sinew rising through me, like mercury to heat. I hold on boughs or slender trees caressingly there, in the sun and shade; wrestle with their innocent stalwartness, and *know* the virtue thereof passes from them into me—or maybe we interchange; maybe the trees are more aware of it all than I ever thought."

There is much in "Specimen Days" which we should like to quote, if our space permitted, but little, comparatively, which calls for comment. The thought is often highly poetic, and always wholesome and unconventional. The form in which it is expressed is more open to criticism. At page 268 he says :—"Nothing is better than simplicity; nothing can make up for excess, or lack of definiteness." Now the want of definiteness is often painfully felt in his own style, while there is much of excess and redundancy. His sentences often read like lists of substantives; and both simplicity and definiteness are too often sacrificed to this heaping up of words, apparently with the view of more fully expressing something which after all remains obscure and intangible. Under the head of "Democratic Vistas" (p. 257), he gives us his idea of the literary style of the future :—

"Not merely the pedagogue forms—correct, regular, familiar with precedent, made for matters of outside propriety, fine words, thoughts definitely told out—but a language formed by the breath of Nature, which leaps overhead, cares mostly for impetus and effects, and for what it plants and invigorates to grow

—tallics life and character, and seldomer tells a thing than suggests or necessitates it.”

We conclude that “Specimen Days” are also a specimen of this new and especially democratic style. If so, we are not ripe for it, for it is, to us, the one great drawback to the book. Many of Whitman’s criticisms on contemporary literature, society, and morals, in America, are very striking and original, showing great insight and considerable power of generalization; but their philosophical value is greatly lessened by his allowing his democratic enthusiasm to overspread the whole field of thought. For him it seems as though everything fell under one of two categories—democratic or feudal. Democracy, too, seems to him to exist nowhere but in America. Another very noticeable feature in his philosophizing is, that so much—nearly everything—good or desirable—is in the future. He is perpetually violating the wise injunction of his countryman Artemus Ward: “Never prophesy, unless you know.” Thus he paints the present state of American morality, political, commercial, and social, with quite as black a brush as did the author of “Democracy.” “If I were asked,” he says (p. 233), “to specify in what quarter lie the grounds of darkest dread, respecting the America of our hopes, I should point to this particular”—that is, the absence of “the primary moral element.” But this is to be remedied in the future, *bien entendu*, by an “all-penetrating religiousness.” But it is to be a democratic religion, apparently, without churches or religious machinery, for he elsewhere prophesies that before another century is past there will be no more priests. Will not the religious world be somewhat like an army without officers? In the future, too, and likely to be so for an indefinite period, is the American annexation of Canada, which the great prophet of democracy no less confidently predicts. But in a future more remote and dim than all the rest, is the “race of orbic bards, sweet democratic despots of the West,” so eloquently apostrophized at page 241, and more fully described at page 253:—

“In the future of these States must arise Poets immenser far, and make great poems of death. The poems of life are great; but there must be the poems of the purpose of life, not only in itself, but beyond itself. I have eulogized Homer, the sacred bards of Jewry, Æschylus, Juvenal, Shakspeare, &c., and acknowledged their inestimable value. But (with perhaps the exception in some, not in all respects, of the second mentioned) I say there must, for future and democratic purposes, appear poets (dare I say so?) of higher class even than any of those—poets, not only possessed of the religious fire and *abandon* of Isaiah, luxuriant in the epic talent of Homer, or for proud characters as in Shakspeare, but consistent with the Hegelian formulas, and consistent with modern science.”

The appearance of such poets as these, especially a class of such poets, can hardly be confidently expected; yet on this apparently remote contingency, the continued existence and greatness of the United States (we are elsewhere told) depends. Walt Whitman’s critical remarks on the writings of Edgar Poë are well worth reading, as are also his criticisms on Carlyle and on Tennyson, but they are too long.

to quote. His remarks on British literature generally are not so happy; there is too much affectation of treating it as something foreign and alien. Here, as elsewhere, his *idée fixe*, democracy, warps his judgment; his patriotism runs away with him. He claims for America as close kinship with the literatures of Italy, France, Spain, &c., as with that of England, yet naïvely avows their foreignness by wishing there existed better English translations of them. There is much truth in his strictures (page 231) on modern culture;—

“As now taught, accepted, and carried out, are not the processes of culture rapidly creating a class of supercilious infidels who believe in nothing? Shall a man lose himself in countless masses of adjustments; and be so shaped in reference to this, and that, and the other, that the simply good and healthy and brave parts of him are reduced and clipped away, like the bordering of box in a garden? You can cultivate corn and roses and orchards—but who shall cultivate the mountain peaks, the ocean, or the tumbling gorgeousness of the clouds?”

His judgment of Darwin's “Theory of Evolution” is insufficient and unsatisfactory. Probably the new idea reached him too late in life, when his mind had already taken too decided a bent to be fully penetrated and imbued by a new theory of the universe. He evidently regrets the old legends of man's descent from gods or demigods, and falls into the common error of supposing that Darwin makes man the descendant of apes and baboons. For his own part (p. 326), Whitman thinks—

“the problem of origins, human and other, is not the least whit nearer its solution. In due time the evolution theory will have to abate its vehemence, cannot be allowed to dominate everything else, and will have to take its place as a segment of the circle, the cluster—as but one of many theories, many thoughts, of profoundest value—and readjusting and differentiating much, yet leaving the divine secrets just as inexplicable and unreachably as before—maybe more so.”

Evidently he has not taken in that the theory of evolution is not an ingenious word-system, like the metaphysical speculations of Kant or Hegel, but the discovery of a great natural law, like that of gravitation, dominating every form of life just as inevitably as gravitation reigns over matter. He does not see that man himself is but a small and fleeting phase of evolution, and his systems, religious and political, but the phases of a phase. One more quotation must close this notice, which our sense of the importance of the work under consideration has led us to extend to an undue length. In speaking of Protection (p. 332), Whitman asks the pertinent question: “Who gets the plunder?” “It would,” he says, “be some excuse and satisfaction if even a fair proportion of it went to the masses of labouring men, resulting in homesteads to such men, women and children—myriads of actual homes in fee simple in every State. . . . But the fact is nothing of the kind. The profits of ‘protection’ go altogether to a few score select persons, who, by favours of Congress, State legislatures, the banks, and other special advantages, are forming a vulgar aristocracy, full as bad as anything in the British or European castes of blood, or the dynasties of the past.”

A charming little volume, for which also we are indebted to America, is Mr. John Burroughs' "Winter Sunshine."³¹ It forms one of the delightful series published by Mr. Douglas, of Edinburgh, of which we have already spoken in our notice of "Rudder Grange." In the opening chapter Mr. Burroughs sings the praises of walking: it is, as he truly observes, the most perfect—indeed the only way of travelling which deserves the name. Curiously enough, in some of the northern counties of England the word "travelling" is almost exclusively applied to walking; a "gey good traveller" means a man who can accomplish a good day's journey on foot. After many pages of agreeable walking lore, Mr. Burroughs gives us, under the head of "The Snow Walkers," some charming notes on the habits of foxes, racoons, hares, squirrels, mice of various kinds, and other "small deer." One whole chapter is devoted to the fox, and a very interesting chapter it is. In the chapter headed "A March Chronicle," amid many exquisite descriptions of spring sights and sounds, we have a full account of the operation of making maple sugar.

"The most delightful of all farm work, or of all rural occupations, is at hand, namely—sugar-making. In New York and northern New England, the beginning of this season varies from the first to the middle of March, sometimes even holding off till April. The moment the contest between the sun and frost fairly begins, sugar weather begins; and the more even the contest, the more the sweet. I do not know what the philosophy of it is, but it seems a kind of see-saw, as if the sun drew the sap up, and the frost drew it down; and an excess of either stops the flow. Before the sun has got power to unlock the frost there is no sap; and after the frost has lost its power to lock up again the work of the sun, there is no sap. But when it freezes soundly at night, with a bright warm sun next day, the wind in the west, and no signs of a storm, the veins of the maples fairly thrill. Pierce the bark anywhere, and out gushes the clear, sweet liquid."

Did space permit, we should like to quote all that relates to this curious American production; the difference in the yield of individual trees even of the same group, which the author compares with the difference in the yield of milch cows; the quality (as with cows) being in inverse proportion to the quantity yielded; the holiday aspect of the work, with the camp fires for boiling down the sap into sugar. The whole scene is gracefully and vividly described, and forms a most enchanting picture of spring among the woods of America. Another chapter is devoted to the apples for which America is so justly famous. On this theme Mr. Burroughs is especially eloquent, most appetizingly setting forth the particular merits of the "red-cheeked Spitz," the "salmon-fleshed greening," the "Nuremberg sweetening," and a host of other varieties whose names are hardly known in Europe. Under the title of "Mellow England," we have the account of a visit to the mother country. He landed on the last day of September—at Liverpool we conclude—and his first impressions are thus described:—

³¹ "Winter Sunshine." By John Burroughs. Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1883.

“As we sped through the land, the heart of England, I thought my eyes would never get their fill of the landscape, and that I should lose them out of my head by their eagerness to catch every object as we rushed along! How they revelled, how they followed the birds and the game, how they glanced ahead on the track—that marvellous track! or shot off over the fields and downs, finding their delight in the streams, the roads, the bridges, the splendid breeds of cattle and sheep in the fields, the superb husbandry, the rich mellow soil, the drainage, the hedges—in the inconspicuousness of any given feature, and the mellow tones and homely sincerity of all; now dwelling fondly upon the groups of neatly modelled stacks, then upon the field occupations, the gathering of turnips and cabbages, or the digging of potatoes,—how I longed to turn up the historic soil, into which had passed the sweat and virtue of so many generations, with my own spade!—then upon the quaint old thatched houses, on the cluster of tiled roofs, then catching at a church spire across a meadow (and it is all meadow), or at the remains of tower or wall overrun with ivy. . . . Another thing that would be quite sure to strike my eye on this my first ride across British soil, and on all subsequent rides, was the enormous number of birds and fowls of various kinds that swarmed in the air, or covered the ground. It was truly amazing. It seemed as if the feathered life of a whole Continent must have been concentrated on this island. Indeed, I doubt if a sweeping together of all the birds of the United States into any two of the largest States would people the earth and air more fully. . . . An American, also, will be at once struck with the look of greater substantiality and completeness of everything he sees here. . . . It is worth a voyage across the Atlantic to see the bridges alone.”

Of London he says:—

“I am too good a countryman to feel much at home in cities, and usually value them only as conveniences, but for London I conceived quite an affection; perhaps because it is so much like a natural formation itself, and strikes less loudly, or perhaps sharply, upon the senses than our great cities do. It is a forest of brick and stone, of the most tremendous dimensions, and one traverses it in the same adventurous kind of way that he does woods and mountains.”

It was to him “one of the surprises of London to see, amid so much soot and dinginess, such fresh, blooming complexions, and, in general, such a fine physical tone and full-bloodedness among the people—such as one has come to associate only with best air and the purest, wholesomest country influences.” As might be expected from such a lover of the country and of walking, the parks in and near London possessed a great charm for Mr. Burroughs. It was a new sensation to him “to enter a city pleasure-ground like Hyde Park—a vast natural landscape nearly two miles long and a mile wide, with broad, rolling plains, with herds of sheep grazing, and forests and lakes, and all as free as the air.” In treating “English characteristics,” he says, “England is a mellow country, and the English people are a mellow people. They have hung on the tree of nations a long time, and will, no doubt, hang on as much longer—for windfalls, I reckon, are not the order in this island. We are pitched several degrees higher in this country. By contrast, things here are loud, sharp, and garish.” But were we to notice all that is worth noticing in this little volume we should have to quote from nearly every page, for, from beginning to end, it is charming reading.

The six or seven stories in "Old Creole Days"³² (another volume of the same series), are all so good that there is as much pleasure in praising as in reading them. Notwithstanding their brevity they are admirably complete as romances, and contain all the pathetic grace which so eminently characterizes the stories of American authors, who certainly possess the faculty of conveying the deepest and most subtle meaning in the fewest words.

Yet another book from America. Mr. McGloin's "Norodom, King of Cambodia,"³³ a work which, whatever its faults or imperfections, has at least the merit of being highly imaginative. In many respects it resembles Beckford's "Vathek," and in the vivid presentment of scenes of supernatural horror, equals, if not excels it. The scene is laid in Cambodia, in bygone ages; and the events are mainly brought about by sorcerers, demons (occasionally limited in their actions by good angels more powerful than themselves), and men hardly less demoniacal—or, as the author would express it, "demonian," than demons themselves. Of human interest there is not much; the characters lack the "touch of nature" which is necessary to kindle any glow of sympathy in the reader. Mr. McGloin's force lies in the domain of the supernatural, and here he shows a wealth of sombre invention which is certainly unusual. The description of the approach to the "Throne of Maqui," the Prince of Evil, is one of the most vivid, and at the same time weird and lurid, flights of fancy with which we are acquainted. The portrait of Maqui himself is, in our opinion, very finely conceived, and skilfully executed. We wish we could extend our commendations to Mr. McGloin's diction. Perhaps it is owing to the growing divergence of the English of England and the English of America, but to us it seems that the author of "Norodom" is perpetually using the wrong word, or, if the right word, then the wrong termination. Thus, why use "transpire," which means to become known, for "occur," or "happen"? And again, why invent the word "potence," when "potency" already exists? It would be easy to multiply examples, but the two we have adduced sufficiently illustrate our meaning.

As a transition from Transatlantic to European literature we have "Godfrey Morgan"³⁴ of which the author is a Frenchman, and the translator and publishers English, whilst the scene and most of the characters are American. It is not, perhaps, equal to some of M. Jules Verne's former productions, but still it is a lively and amusing story, and is certain to excite keen interest in youthful readers. The book opens at San Francisco, with the sale by auction of an island in the Pacific. It is bid up by two rival capitalists, from \$1,200,000, the upset price, to \$4,000,000, at which price it falls to

³² "Old Creole Days." By George W. Cable. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1883.

³³ "Norodom, King of Cambodia: a Romance of the East." By Frank McGloin. New York: Appleton & Co. 1882.

³⁴ "Godfrey Morgan: a Californian Mystery." By Jules Verne. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1883.

William W. Kolderup—his defeated rival, J. R. Taskinar, swearing to be revenged. Mr. Kolderup determines to utilize his costly and unprofitable purchase as a place of training and probation for his nephew and heir, Godfrey Morgan, who, brought up to marry the great capitalist's charming ward, Phina Hollaney, is in no haste to realize the bliss in store for him, but longs first to be allowed time and opportunity for a pleasure trip round the world. He even yearns to emulate the adventures of Robinson Crusoe. His fiancée, with rare good sense, is willing to humour his whim, and prevails on her doting guardian, Mr. William W. Kolderup, to let him travel for a couple of years *en garçon*. The great capitalist, unaccustomed to be thwarted, while apparently yielding his consent to this modification of his plans, determines to turn the pleasure trip into a severe lesson. And now he sees a use for his newly acquired island. He despatches Godfrey, accompanied by Mr. T. Artelett, commonly known as Tartlet, a dancing master—the comic man of the piece—in one of his own ships, with private orders to the captain that Godfrey and his companion shall be cast away—apparently by chance—on Spencer Island. This is managed with such skill that the pair struggle to shore with the conviction that the ship has gone down with all hands, they being sole survivors. Henceforward, the story is little more than a replica of Defoe's narrative, even to the arrival of the cannibals, the rescue of their victim, and his adoption as a "Man Friday." All this and much more has been pre-arranged by the crafty and providential Kolderup; but what he has not ordained nor foreseen is the appearance on the island—hitherto untrodden by any noxious animal—of a whole menagerie of wild beasts, secretly introduced there by the vengeful Taskinar. To these our poor hero, his comic friend, and his faithful Friday, are on the point, after the display of super-human courage and address, of falling victims, when the all-powerful Kolderup comes to the rescue, accompanied by the lovely Phina, and attended by a whole ship's company, and bears off the hardly beset Crusoes to "Frisco," where Godfrey, cured of his roving propensities, is quite willing to accept the blissful lot prepared for him.

Messrs. Nimmo and Bain have added to their excellent series of "Old English Romances," three new volumes, of which two are devoted to Tristram Shandy, while the third contains "The Old English Baron," by Miss Reeve, and Horace Walpole's "Castle of Otranto." In the case of Tristram Shandy the publishers have, we presume, acted on the principle that "good wine needs no bush," for the text is given without a word of preface or introductory matter of any kind. And certainly if any book may rely on its own merits, without the adventitious aid of a commendatory notice, it is "Tristram Shandy."²⁵ In some respects it comes nearer to Shakspeare than anything else in the whole range of English literature. As "The Waverley Novels" are the nearest approach to Shakspeare in depicting

²⁵ "The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman." By Laurence Sterne. In two vols. London: Nimmo & Bain. 1853.

scenes of war and adventure, and above all in the adequate and life-like presentment of kings, princes, and great nobles, so Sterne seems to us more Shakspearean than any other writer in his humorous and pathetic touches, and in his deep and subtle knowledge of human nature.

The introductions to the "Old English Baron"³⁶ and to "The Castle of Otranto"³⁷ are extremely well done; but we cannot endorse the Editor's estimate of the comparative merits of the two works as regards *couleur locale*. Miss Reeve is doubtless faulty enough in this respect: her characters are merely old-fashioned, as would be the real personages of her time, if we could have had their talk stored up for us by the photophone; but Walpole's characters are not, in our opinion, like real men and women of any time, but bear a wonderful resemblance, both in their sentiments and their mode of expressing them, to the *dramatis persone* of eighteenth century plays. Can anything be less mediæval than the following: "I hope my dearest Isabella does not doubt her Matilda's friendship. I never beheld that youth until yesterday; he is almost a stranger to me?" &c. Or again: "No, Isabella, said the Princess, I should not deserve this incomparable parent, if the inmost recesses of my soul harboured a thought without her permission." Such dialogue is enough to fix the date of the book if there were no other clue to it. Still, take them as they stand, and without attributing to them any qualities but what they really possess, "The Old English Baron" and the "Castle of Otranto"—the former especially—are more agreeable reading than many a modern novel, and are assuredly well worth reprinting in the elegant and attractive form in which they are now presented to us.

"Behind a Brass Knocker"³⁸ announces itself in the title-page as "Some grim realities in picture and prose." The prose is grim enough in all conscience, but the pictures are to our mind hideous caricatures rather than realities. It seems to us that the authors have not been happily inspired in choosing a boarding-house as the string whereon to hang their sketches of character, and such a boarding-house as it is! It converts the would-be grimness into squalor. But artistic treatment may make something of even such an unpromising subject as a low-class boarding-house; witness Dickens's picture of Todgers's in "Martin Chuzzlewit," and "Mrs. Lirriper's Lodgings," by the same author. But probably the authors of "Behind a Brass Knocker" are too sternly realistic to idealize, however ugly and dreary may be the facts on which they found their stories. We gather this from the mottoes prefixed to the work. In that case the series of sketches must, we conclude, be regarded not as fiction, but as a record of facts which have come under the authors' notice. The only question then is, was it worth while to relate them?

³⁶ "The Old English Baron; a Gothic Story." By Clara Reeve.

³⁷ "The Castle of Otranto: a Gothic Story." By Horace Walpole. London: Nimmo & Bain. 1833.

³⁸ "Behind a Brass Knocker." Some Grim Realities in Picture and Prose. By Frederick Barnard and Charles H. Ross. London: Chatto & Windus. 1833.

In a somewhat lengthy preface, the author of "The City of Three Spires"³⁹ informs us "that it is not with the mere design of adding to the already long list of works written for the purpose of amusement that the ensuing pages have been penned." It is then a didactic work in narrative form which we are invited to read. We confess to a preference for novels that are written "for the purpose of amusement;" nevertheless a "novel with a purpose" may be worthy of all respect, if it fulfils two essential conditions—first, the purpose must be an important and wise purpose; and, second, the story must be a tolerable one, and in some degree well told. How far the first of these conditions is carried out in the work before us may be judged from another passage from the preface, which declares that "the great lesson of the tale" is that "a marriage entered upon otherwise than with the benediction of the Church, resulting in the lack of grace and guidance in fulfilling its duties in the training of a family." On reading the story, one finds that, in the present case, the "benediction of the Church" was wanting because, by some unlucky oversight, the officiating clergyman was not in Priest's, but in Deacon's Orders, and the consequence is that a sort of curse rests on the family ever after. Surely amusement is a higher purpose than the inculcation of such twaddle as this. As to our second point, we will merely say that the story is on a par with the moral which it was written to convey.

Volumes consisting of several short stories are very popular in France, and justly so, for French novelists are eminently successful in this rather difficult class of fiction, contriving to compress into fifty or a hundred pages a story having at least as much interest and dramatic power as is usually found in a three-volume novel. But the art of making a short story interesting has not been a characteristic of English romance writers; in a collection of stories entitled "The Captain's Room, &c."⁴⁰ Mr. Walter Besant has shown that in England, too, we can write collections of tales which, though short, are neither slight nor vapid. All the tales in Mr. Besant's three volumes are good in their several styles, and the variety in style as in subject is one of their conspicuous merits when judged as a *recueil*; yet one quality they have in common—that wholesome, manly, tone of sentiment free from all pretence or affectation, which is a leading trait in Mr. Besant's writings.

"The Story of an African Farm"⁴¹ is an unusual book: it is in some sense a powerful book; but we cannot say that it is agreeable or lifelike. Regarded as a novel, it must be pronounced little short of a failure; for of plot there is hardly a trace, and the characters portrayed are too exceptional, too little swayed by the common hopes, fears, and interests of humanity, to permit the work to rank as a study of human nature. If we take it as a philosophical work, it must be accorded that it is bold and outspoken in its opinions, and

³⁹ "The City of Three Spires." Two vols. London: Bemrose & Sons.

⁴⁰ "The Captain's Room, &c." By Walter Besant. London: Chatto & Windus. 1883.

⁴¹ "The Story of an African Farm." A Novel. By Ralph Iron. London: Chapman & Hall. 1883.

that the conclusions arrived at are generally reasonable and sound ; but, after all, it is but a *réchauffé* of the philosophy of the age : here we recognize Strauss, there Herbert Spencer, and somewhere else John Stuart Mill. The accessories, the setting as it were—such as the South African scenery and daily life—are evidently literally printed off from Nature, and what story there is strikes us as being most probably a record of real events but slightly altered and adapted. Occasionally one comes upon a remark which is striking from its truth : as, for instance (vol. i. 255) : “ There are more fools and fewer hypocrites than the wide world dreams of. Hypocrites are rare as icebergs in the tropics ; fools common as buttercups beside a water-furrow : everywhere are their silly yellow faces ; whether you go this way or that, you tread on them ; you dare not look at your own reflection in the water but you see one.” From page 239 to page 280, the story pauses to make way for a sort of typical, spiritual history of a human life, from infancy to youth or early manhood. The starting-point is what is called “ revealed religion ;” then come various “ phases of faith” alternating with doubts which entail agonies of remorse, fears, and self-condemnation ; later, there is a stage during which the whole world seems an unmeaning chaos, and life not worth living. At length, when the intellect, rather than the feelings and imagination, is employed on the problem, something like a true and adequate theory of the universe seems to be reached. But the great fault of the book is that it is not natural ; the humanity it shows forth differs from real humanity, just as a skeleton differs from a living man. The author is so intent upon the unseen, that he is blind to what is visible around him and at his feet. His principal characters are so absorbed by the vast problems of the past and the future—in asking “ Whence ?” and “ Whither ?”—that they neglect the present, with its joys and sorrows, its affections, its tears, and its laughter, which to healthy human beings are infinitely more vital and more absorbing than any abstract speculations whatever.

It is difficult to divine why Mr. C. Gibbon has chosen for his new novel the title “ Of High Degree ;”⁴² nothing in the story explains it. We recognize the same excellence of style which characterized “ The Golden Shaft,” but there is a falling off in interest, and especially in the structure of the plot. There are well-drawn characters and powerful situations ; but an atmosphere of machinations and cross-purposes renders the book anything but pleasant reading.

We have received Part I. of “ *Altiora Peto*,”⁴³ by Laurence Oliphant. It would be premature to pronounce decisively on a work as yet incomplete ; but the first instalment is very promising. So far, every page is lively, clever, and, what is much rarer, *spirituel*. We shall look forward with pleasure to the completion of the story, when we hope to notice it more fully.

⁴² “ *Of High Degree.*” A Story. By Charles Gibbon. Three vols. London : Chatto & Windus. 1883.

⁴³ “ *Altiora Peto.*” By Laurence Oliphant. Part I. Edinburgh and London : William Blackwood & Sons.

Mr. J. S. Winter's "Regimental Legends"⁴⁴ belong to the class of books which may be styled "unliterary books." His military stories cannot be compared with Lever's for adventure, fun, and humour; nor have they the minute realism and caustic wit of Gaboriau's "Troisième Hussard." Still they are not without merit of a lesser kind. The conversations are extremely natural—never too clever to be true, and many of the incidents are good and well told. It is, perhaps, to be regretted that the author has thought it necessary to make all his characters so supremely aristocratic. Scarcely one officer who occupies at all a prominent place in his sketches but is the younger son of an earl or a marquis—or, at the very least, the eldest son of a country gentleman, with a Queen Anne's mansion, and an enormously long line of ancestors.

We suppose "The Bantoffs of Cherryton"⁴⁵ must be regarded as about an average novel; it is certainly better than some; only, like too many modern English novels, it seems as though one had read it all before. The leonine and colossal guardsman, the preternaturally beautiful heroine "with her wealth of hair"—golden hair, of course—who can change the whole current of men's lives merely by being once seen by them—these and the rest of the *dramatis personæ* have too much the air of being old acquaintance. The tricks of expression too are so familiar that the reader knows when to expect each one in its turn. After all, what we have said might have been summed up and condensed into one word. The book is not bad, but it is "banal." As in some parts of the world there are praying machines, so one cannot help suspecting there must be novel-writing machines in England. Their productions are wonderfully good considering, but naturally they have a painfully strong family likeness to one another.

The title "Only a Black Box"⁴⁶ is well borne out in the story so named. The daughter of an English officer of large fortune had been lost while little more than an infant, having been imprudently sent with her *bonne* into the streets of Paris on the terrible "2 décembre," the day of the *coup d'état* which inaugurated the Second Empire. Some seventeen years after, she is restored to her father, whose life had been wrecked by her loss, mainly through the exertions of an estimable young curate (the *jeune premier* of the piece), and the "Black Box" plays a leading part in her identification. It is a romantic story enough, but very soberly told; never rising to vivid interest, but more or less pleasant reading throughout. That the author is a clergyman is to be seen in every page, but the fact is never obtruded, nor made the plea for turning a novel into a sermon. That he is also a scholar, and a cultivated man, is equally manifest; if there were nothing else, the well-chosen mottoes to the chapters attest it.

⁴⁴ "Regimental Legends." By J. S. Winter. Three vols. London: Chatto & Windus. 1883.

⁴⁵ "The Bantoffs of Cherryton." By Arthur Kean. Two vols. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1883.

⁴⁶ "Only a Black Box; or, a Passage in the Life of a Curate." By Greville Phillimore. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1883.

It is difficult to get up any warm interest in the story of "Frank Ayrton,"⁴⁷ by Mrs. Hewett. It runs through some 250 pages of very tame colourless writing, in which, if there is little to excuse, there is still less to praise.

"Miss Standish,"⁴⁸ by A. E. N. Bewicke, is a foolish book. The style, the characters, the incidents—all are foolish. But most foolish of all is the choice of subject. Such topics as the rights and wrongs of women require wiser and more thoughtful treatment than A. E. N. Bewicke is capable of giving them. In such hands they are not only nonsensical, but unwholesome. Anything like detailed criticism of this production would be waste of time; still we should like to know how the turn of a woman's toe can indicate "contempt for the world of luxury," and what is meant by a man's "beginning to feel like a courtier la cavalier," and what particular type of beauty is indicated by "a face like a Psalm."

"No New Thing,"⁴⁹ by Mr. W. E. Norris, is an exceptionally good novel. The characters are admirably delineated and well contrasted; the dialogue is always natural and often witty; and the story, though not very eventful, is artistically conceived and well told.

"My Trivial Life and Misfortune"⁵⁰ is hardly a felicitous title, for it gives a false impression of a pleasant book. The word "trivial" conveys an idea of something frivolous, if not contemptible, an idea which would be quite erroneous in this instance. The story is anything but "trivial," and the writer is gifted with an unusual share of wit and perspicacity. The deep melancholy that pervades the book is relieved here and there by keen flashes of satire on the foibles and follies of modern English society. The picture is cleverly drawn, and not overcharged.

We find nothing favourable to say of "Love and its Counterfeit."⁵¹ It is neither pleasant nor profitable reading, and we cannot help thinking that it is the work of an unpractised hand. It is difficult to conceive an agreeable story with a hero who first deserts his wife and child for no cause whatever, then all but makes a bigamous marriage, murders his wife, and yet finally gets off scot-free.

"Self-Condemed,"⁵² by Mrs. Alfred Hunt, is a fairly good novel up to a certain point; that is to say, it is lively and entertaining, though the entertainment may not be of a very high order; of the style much the same may be said; it is bright and lively, and not

⁴⁷ "Frank Ayrton." A Novel. By Mrs. J. M. M. Hewett. London: White & Co. 1883.

⁴⁸ "Miss Standish, and By the Bay of Naples." By A. E. N. Bewicke. London: White & Co. 1883.

⁴⁹ "No New Thing." By W. E. Norris. Three vols. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1883.

⁵⁰ "My Trivial Life and Misfortune." By a Plain Woman. Three vols. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons. 1883.

⁵¹ "Love and its Counterfeit." A Novel. By Alice Bernard. Three vols. London: White & Co. 1883.

⁵² "Self-Condemed." A Novel. By Mrs. Alfred W. Hunt. Three vols. London: Chatto & Windus. 1883.

without a certain gracefulness of expression. The first volume possesses most of the sort of attractiveness wherein the especial merit of the book lies. The latter part of the story is mostly painful, and the *dénouement* is unsatisfactory.

“Mr. Scarborough’s Family”⁵³ is quite in Mr. Trollope’s old manner. There is the same clearness and reality in the presentment of the characters; and in the mode of narration, the same painstaking insistence, the same avoidance of anything like sketchiness, which marks his best works, and which, though it sometimes makes the action slow in its development, imparts to Mr. Trollope’s fictions an air of solidity and real life which few other writers have attained. “Mr. Scarborough” himself is an admirable and original creation; and in him the main interest of the story centres from first to last. But the book contains some other remarkable studies of character, as, for instance, Mr. Grey, the solicitor, and his daughter, the two sons of Mr. Scarborough, and Mr. Prosper of Burton Hall. Florence Mountjoy is such a heroine as Mr. Trollope loved to paint, and deserves to rank with his most successful delineations of female character. The plot, which we purposely abstain from forestalling, is ingenious, and keeps the reader’s curiosity alive to the very last chapter.

Mr. Dutton Cook’s “Nights at the Play”⁵⁴ is a collection of theatrical articles which have been written from time to time for the weekly newspapers. They manifest, it is hardly needful to say, a thorough acquaintance with the stage, both past and present; indeed, the history of some of the old plays whose reproduction they record is one of the most agreeable and successful features of the collection. The remarks on the various pieces that have occupied the London stage during the last fifteen or twenty years are impartial and intelligent—they are essentially the criticisms of a cultured expert. If they have a fault, it seems to us that they are cold—Mr. Cook is “nothing if not critical.” On no occasion does he seem to have been carried away or taken out of himself by either the piece or the acting. He often records the public enthusiasm, but never seems to share in it. This naturally imparts a sort of chilliness to the impressions received from his descriptions. One has no regret at not having witnessed this or that piece, when one has seen it through Mr. Cook’s eyes; and as regards such plays as the reader has seen for himself, he cannot fail in several instances to contrast with some wonder his own well-remembered enthusiasm with the lofty dispassionateness of the professional theatrical critic.

Mr. Alfred Rimmer’s “About England with Dickens”⁵⁵ belongs to a class of books which are very popular in the present day. Taking one or other of Dickens’ romances for his text, the author proceeds to

⁵³ “Mr. Scarborough’s Family.” By Anthony Trollope. Three vols. London: Chatto & Windus. 1883.

⁵⁴ “Nights at the Play; a View of the English Stage.” Two vols. By Dutton Cook. London: Chatto & Windus. 1883.

⁵⁵ “About England with Dickens.” By Alfred Rimmer. With fifty-eight illustrations, by C. A. Vanderhoof, &c. London: Chatto & Windus. 1883.

identify the scenes of their most remarkable incidents, and to supply all the information obtainable, topographical, antiquarian, &c., about the places supposed, with more or less probability, to be so identified. Mr. Rimmer has evidently a profound sympathy and admiration for the great novelist whose works he thus attempts to elucidate, and probably there are many to whom the results of his researches will give pleasure. There are fifty-eight excellent illustrations by the author himself, and by Mr. Vanderhoof.

In Mr. Fleet's little book, entitled "An Essay on Wit and Humour, and other Articles,"⁶⁶ we prefer the "other articles" to the main essay. All attempts to define wit and humour, and to distinguish between them, remind us of the celebrated dictum of *Punch* on mind and matter—"What is mind? No matter. What is matter? Never mind." One flash of either wit or humour is worth all the analysis of them that ever was written; and such flashes are by no means rare in Mr. Fleet's little volume. In the article entitled "The Last of the Philistines" they abound.

"The Alphabet,"⁶⁷ by Mr. Isaac Taylor, is nothing less than a history of written speech from its earliest commencement down to the present day. Mr. Taylor's contention is that all the multifarious alphabets, either in actual use or of which we possess records, have a common origin in the Egyptian hieroglyphics, whence, by a true process of evolution, they have passed from stage to stage, ever increasing in divergence and complexity—in a word, obeying the universal laws of evolution. But the principles on which the present history of the alphabet has been conceived and successfully carried out will be best explained in the author's own words. In his "epilogue" (ii. 362) he says:—

"It is only within the last few years that the discovery of immense stores of paleographic material has made possible a history of the alphabet. Without the evidence afforded by the Papyrus Prisse, the Moabite Stone, the Baal Lebanon vessels, the Assyrian dockets, the Hymyaritic inscriptions, the records from Safa, the papyri from Egyptian tombs, the epitaphs from Thera, the graffiti from Abu Simbel, the abecedaria from Etruria, the Pompeian tablets, the coins of Bactria and the Satrapies, the Persepolitan monuments, the Runic torques and broaches, and the edicts of Asoka, all of which have been brought to light within the present century, any attempted determination of the relations and affiliations of the great alphabetic families would necessarily be little more than mere guesswork."

From this resumé of the mass of materials employed the reader may form some idea of the vast labour, research, and erudition which the two volumes entitled "The Alphabet" represent. For the method on which Mr. Taylor has proceeded we must again give his own words (p. 363):—

⁶⁶ "An Essay on Wit and Humour, with other Articles." By F. R. Fleet. London: David Bogue.

⁶⁷ "The Alphabet: an Account of the Origin and Development of Letters." By Isaac Taylor, M. A., LL.D. Two vols. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1883.

"Of these principles the most important is the doctrine of evolution. The scientific revolution of which Darwin has been the great apostle is rapidly extending itself to all departments of human knowledge. Discarding the obsolete notion of arbitrary invention or creation, we seek for self-acting causes adequate to produce the results which are detected by minute research. We ask not only what a thing is, but how it came to be what it is. And we find that the greatest changes have been effected by the accumulation of variations, in themselves almost imperceptible."

We cannot, of course, pretend to reproduce even in barest outline Mr. Taylor's arguments, nor, save in exceptional instances, even the results he claims to establish. As we have already stated, the main contention of the book is that all known alphabets have been derived originally from the Egyptian hieroglyphics. The line of descent is as follows. From the hieroglyphics to an early form of cursive writing known as "early hieratic." Of this script, which was already alphabetic, we as yet possess but three examples, of which by far the most important is the "Papyrus Prisse," on which M. de Rougé founded his great discovery—the affiliation of the Semitic alphabet on that of the ancient hieratic of Egypt. From the ancient Semitic alphabet the Greek, the Latin, and indeed all other alphabets, have been derived, Aryan, Semitic, Mongolian, &c. Such is a slight and inadequate sketch of the argument of Mr. Taylor's most interesting and instructive work, which is so free from technicalities, and from anything like a trace of pedantry, that it is eminently adapted for general reading. Both volumes are enriched by numerous excellent plates, in which each letter of the various alphabets treated of is given in parallel columns, with its original prototype and the intermediate forms. We have, too, specimen fac-similes of the principal inscriptions brought in question. But, after all, to the general reader the great charm of the book is, that it is a mine of new and interesting facts, historical, geographic, and palæontological, which we come on incidentally while following the migrations of the alphabet through almost countless ages, and in every quarter of the globe. With some few instances of such facts we will close our notice. At page 16, under the head of "The Picture Writing of Savage Tribes," we read:—

"Probably the very earliest record which we possess of any actual event, is the scene depicted on the fragment of an antler, which was found in the rock shelter at Laugerie Basse, in Auvergne. A primæval hunter, naked save for the long hair which protects his body from the cold, has crept up to a gigantic Urus, feeding in the grass, and is seen in the very act of casting a spear at his unsuspecting prey."

We only wish we could reproduce the annexed woodcut which is taken from Mr. Boyd Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain." In the next page we are informed that "the cave men"—

"who have left behind them these records of their pursuits, were of Pleistocene age—an antiquity not as yet measurable to us by any computation of years, or even of centuries . . . a period more remote than the invention of pottery or spinning—prior even to the taming of any domestic animals, or the cultivation of cereals; earlier, so far as we know, than the construction of any kind of human habitation."

At page 61 we learn the enormous antiquity of the alphabet :—

“The immensely early date at which symbols of an alphabetic character are found on the Egyptian monuments is a fact of great interest and importance. It is of great interest, inasmuch as it constitutes the starting-point in the history of the alphabet, establishing the literal truth of the assertion that the letters of the alphabet are older than the pyramids—older, probably, than any other existing monument of human civilization, with the possible exception of the signs of the Zodiac.”

Passing over numberless other noteworthy and curious facts, we come to the origin of the “black letter” writing, and consequently the German script which has been based upon it. The “black letter,” we are told (p. 277), was originally “but an imitation of the vicious style of contemporary MSS.” Yet it was adopted in the printed types of all the Teutonic nations, not excepting our own, for we learn (p. 183) that “the earliest English books were printed with black letter types brought by Caxton from Bruges, in 1471 to 1477.” By what fortunate accident it came to pass that England adopted the Roman character, and so cast in her lot with the Latin races, instead of her Teutonic congeners, we are informed at page 184 :—

“It is interesting to note that the first book printed in England with the Roman letter was the treatise by Henry VIII. on account of which the Pope bestowed on him the title of Defender of the Faith, still retained by English sovereigns on their coins. It was probably in deference to the Italian taste that Roman types were obtained for a book intended as a compliment to the Pope. The fashion thus set by the King prevailed, the black letter which had established itself in English printing offices giving place to the Roman character.”

Mr. Eastlake’s handbooks of the Louvre, and of the Brera Gallery at Milan,³⁸ are the first of a series of “Notes on Foreign Picture Galleries” which he intends to issue for the use of Englishmen visiting the great continental collections.

“The main object of the author,” as we learn from the preface, “has been to indicate, as far as possible in categorical order, the principal pictures in each Gallery, by means of brief notices which will aid the visitor in his observations on the spot, and afterwards assist his memory in recalling the chief characteristics of style and treatment which such works present. Sketches, either made from photographs, or reduced from engravings of the most remarkable pictures described, accompany the letterpress; and it is hoped that the notes will thus prove serviceable to the traveller, not only for immediate use, but for subsequent reference.”

The only criticism we will venture to make on Mr. Eastlake’s notices is that they are perhaps too authoritative in directing the taste of the reader. In our opinion a man may more profitably admire the wrong picture than get his admiration of the right one at second hand.

³⁸ “Notes on the Pictures in the Louvre Gallery at Paris.” By Charles Locke Eastlake, F.R.I.B.A., Keeper of the National Gallery, London. With Illustrations. “Notes on Pictures in the Brera Gallery at Milan.” By Charles Locke Eastlake. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1883.

The new issues of the "Globe"⁵⁰ series are, Miss Yonge's "Book of Golden Deeds," Lamb's "Tales from Shakspeare," "The Vicar of Wakefield," Scott's "Marmion" and "The Lord of the Isles," "The Lay of the Last Minstrel," and "The Lady of the Lake," Cowper's "Task," "John Gilpin," &c., and lastly, a book of verse for children, selected from the best authors, by Coventry Patmore, and entitled "The Children's Garland." The pressure on our space forbids us to do more than express our hearty commendation of the choice above indicated, but we cannot in justice withhold a special word of praise to the "Children's Garland." It is the best collection of poetry for children that we have seen.

We have received vol. v. (Loo—Mein) of the "Encyclopædia Britannica."⁵⁰ Of the previous four volumes of this magnificent work we wrote at some length in our January number. The present volume maintains the same high standard of excellence. The article on "Mammals" is especially interesting and instructive.

Mr. Percy Smith's "Glossary of Terms and Phrases"⁵¹ supplies, within the compass of one moderate-sized volume, the meaning of an immense variety of words, phrases, and quotations, which are all occasionally met with in current English literature, yet one or other of which hardly any ordinary reader has not, at one time or other, found a stumbling-block. "Of these terms and expressions" (it is explained in the preface) "some are more or less technical and scientific; some are simply uncommon; some contain allusions mythological, historical, geographical; some fall under a very large class which must be styled miscellaneous; some belong to other languages than our own." The meanings are correctly and concisely given, and the etymology where necessary. Altogether, the "Glossary of Terms and Phrases" is likely to prove a most useful work of reference to a large class of readers.

⁵⁰ *Globe Readings from Standard Authors* :—

"A Book of Golden Deeds." By Miss Yonge.

"Tales from Shakspeare." By Charles and Mary Lamb.

"The Vicar of Wakefield." By Oliver Goldsmith.

Scott's "Marmion," and "The Lord of the Isles."

Scott's "Lay of the Last Minstrel," and "Lady of the Lake."

"The Task," by William Cowper.

"The Children's Garland. From the best Poets." By Coventry Patmore.

London : Macmillan & Co. 1883.

⁵⁰ "The Encyclopædia Britannica." Ninth Edition. Vol. V. Edinburgh : Adam & Charles Black. 1883.

⁵¹ "Glossary of Terms and Phrases." Edited by the Rev. Percy Smith, M.A. London : Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1883.

INDIA AND OUR COLONIAL EMPIRE.

INDIA.—The condition of affairs in Afghanistan has been somewhat disturbed during the past few months, though unfortunately the news which filters down to the British frontier does not afford a precise or very reliable picture of the course of events in the interior. Abdurrahman has been engaged in hostilities with the Shinwarris, a turbulent tribe inhabiting a portion of the Khaibar mountains and some of the eastern valleys in the Sufed Koh; but the campaign appears to have been short, though not so decisive as was at first imagined. Still the increase of the Amir's garrison in Jellalabad will probably exercise a pacificatory influence over the restless tribes between that town and our north-west frontier. The Shinwarri rising seems to have had no appreciable effect on the trade passing through the Khaibar Pass, for the returns exhibit no decrease during the past few months. Rumours have been rife as to troubles in Herat, which require the Amir's presence in the western part of his dominions. Fortunately our interests are not unrepresented in that quarter—not exactly in Afghanistan, it is true, but on its north-western confines, where the Russian movements have recently attracted so much attention. Mr. A. Condie Stephen, attached to the Teheran Legation, has been recently travelling about northern Khorassan, and collecting much valuable information about the Russian movements and their anticipated designs on Sarakhs and Merv. Lieutenant-Colonel C. E. Stewart, too, an officer possessing an intimate knowledge of, and sympathy with, Eastern ways, and well qualified for the task by his previous service in the same region, has been deputed to watch the course of events on the Perso-Afghan frontier, reporting to Teheran whatever he may consider important or noteworthy. Even if the Amir should visit Herat, it is improbable that Colonel Stewart will venture across the frontier on to Afghan soil; but being a *persona grata* to the inhabitants of these districts, and possessing a fund of tact, he cannot but uphold the *prestige* of our name, and prove a useful counterpoise to the growing influence of Russia in those parts.

The Criminal Procedure Bill still occupies the forefront of Indian topics, to the virtual exclusion of matters of really greater moment. The agitation so unfortunately aroused by the measure appears to have in no way subsided, and the recent meeting at St. James' Hall proves that the feeling and opinions of Anglo-Indians are generally and strongly opposed to the contemplated measure. The authority and experience of the principal speakers on that occasion were incontestable; party politics were rigorously eschewed, and there was on the whole a studied moderation in the tone of the speeches, which could not but be gratifying to those who have been anxious to import some calm reasoning into the heat of the discussion. In the meantime the reports and opinions of the various local administrations in India have been dropping in, and it is an open secret that the former attitude of approval of the "Libert Bill" has been very sensibly modified, and that the prevailing feeling of the provincial governments is now one of ill-

disguised or avowed hostility to the measure. Should the consensus of these authorities be, indeed, so strong and so decided, it would scarcely be possible to persevere with the Bill. We are still of opinion that the scope and the practical effect of the proposed laws have been ridiculously exaggerated; in the face of our experience in Ceylon, where there is absolute equality between the two races, the anticipation of evil results from the establishment of a like state of things in India seems a sheer puerility. But there is no disguising the fact, that there has arisen a very general alarm, groundless though it may be, and no prudent Government would wish to persevere with a small measure of abstract justice where the opposition was out of all proportion to the benefits which would ensue from it.

The Bengal Tenancy Bill, introduced into the Governor-General's Council on March 2, by the Hon. Mr. Ilbert, would have attracted more attention in this country had it not been eclipsed by the more sensational, but really far less important, Bill enlarging the criminal jurisdiction of native magistrates. The Bengal Tenancy Bill is an attempt to define the respective rights of the zemindars and cultivators throughout the Lower Provinces, an extent of country peopled by sixty millions of inhabitants. By a curious coincidence the Bill follows in some respects the main lines of the Irish Land Act, and malevolent whispers have not been wanting, suggesting that the Bengal measure arose in a mere idle desire of its authors to emulate the achievements of the British Parliament. This allegation, however, is totally unfounded, as any one who has taken the trouble to study the history and development of the land question in Bengal can vouch. The permanent settlement of 1793, left the right of the ryots or occupying cultivators outstanding and undefined, and the subsequent course of events undoubtedly tended to obscure, efface, and even to destroy ultimately these privileges, notwithstanding the reiterated assertions on the part of the Government of its right to legislate for the protection of the cultivators. The fact was, though the Government took pains to make known its right, no practical steps were taken to discharge the obligation until 1859, and the Act then passed was in reality not intended to codify the law of landlord and tenant in Bengal, but simply to amend one particular branch of it that relating to the recovery of rent. This important truth, however, was not immediately made known, and previous to that the share of the increased value of the holding property claimable by and due to the landlord had been hotly contested in the courts of law, till in the Great Rent case of 1865, the majority of the judges held that when the enhancement of what was once a fair rent is sought on ground of increased value of produce, the enhanced rent should be proportioned to the former rent in the same ratio that the enhanced value of the produce bore to the former value. During the seven years succeeding the passing of the Bengal Act of 1869, which transferred the trial of rent and enhancement suits from collectors to the civil courts, incessant efforts were made by the landlords to obtain higher rents, a movement which was met by determined opposition on the part of the tenantry, more especially in the Eastern

districts, against what they conceived to be unjust and unauthorized demands. The rapid development of the growth of jute and the improvement of communications in the Eastern districts had placed the cultivator there in a position of comparative affluence, and this led to the anxiety of the landlord to share the profits. The administration reports of the period are filled with accounts of illegal exactions on the part of zemindars, of the frequent reprisals of their tenants, of the formation of agrarian leagues, and of the anxious efforts of the executive to avert breaches of the peace. In 1873 occurred the Pubna riots, consequent on the raising of rent payable by Mohammedan tenants to Hindu landlords, and ninety-nine convictions took place in Pubna alone; but the inquiries made by the Government into the cause of the outbreak brought into clear light the substantial character of the tenants' grievances and the need of applying a drastic remedy. In 1879 a commission was appointed by Lord Lytton's Government to prepare a digest of the existing statute and case law, and to frame a draft consolidating Bill. The necessity for this Commission had been still further made apparent by the recommendation of a committee of experienced Behar officials, who had reported, after careful inquiry, that in their opinion the whole rent law should be re-cast, and this position was still further strengthened by the authority of the Famine Commission, who had, by independent research, arrived at a like conclusion. The Rent Commission, composed of gentlemen of the highest experience in the subject, set diligently to work, and in June, 1880, submitted their report and a draft Bill; but owing to Sir Ashley Eden, the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, being unable to concur in several points with the proposals of the Commission, Mr. Reynolds was deputed to revise the Bill; and in July, 1881, a bulky set of volumes was submitted by the Government of Bengal to the Government of India. No less than sixty-four reports, memorials, and notes—many of them of great length—had been received and carefully considered. There was hardly a principle or a section that had not formed the subject of comment or controversy.

This was the position in which the affairs stood when the Government were called on to approach the question, and it is reassuring to observe that the cry for reform was not confined to the officials, but had been endorsed by the high independent authority of the Famine Commission. Their remarks are both weighty and pertinent :—

“We can feel no doubt that in all the provinces of Northern India, and particularly in Bengal, it is the duty of the Government to make the provisions of the law more effectual for the protection of the cultivator's rights. This opinion is primarily based on the historical ground that they have a claim, as a matter of strict justice, to be replaced, as far as possible, in the position they have gradually lost; but it may also be supported on the economical ground, that in the case of these large cultivating classes security of tenure must have its usual beneficial effect, and that, as a rule, the cultivators with occupancy rights are better off than the tenants at will. Wherever inquiry has been made, it has been found that, in all matters relating to material prosperity, such as the possession of more cattle, better houses and better clothes, the superiority lies on the side of the occupancy tenants, and, as a rule, they hold larger areas of land. Where the subdivision of land among tenants at will is

extreme, and in a country where agriculture is almost the only possible employment for large classes of the people, the competition is so keen that rents can be forced up to a ruinous height, and men will crowd each other till the space left to each is barely sufficient to support a family; any security of tenure which defends a part of the population from that competition must necessarily be to them a source of material comfort and of peace of mind such as can hardly be conceived by a community where a diversity of occupation exists. It is only under such tenures as convey permanency of holding, protection from arbitrary enhancement of rent and security for improvements, that we can expect to see property accumulated, credit grow up, and improvements effected in the system of cultivation. There could be no greater misfortune to the country than that the numbers of the occupancy class should decrease, and that such tenants should be merged in the crowd of rack-rented tenants at will, who, owning no permanent connection with the land, have no incentive to thrift or improvement."

In the face of all this, Mr. Ilbert remarks that it must be abundantly clear that there is an urgent need for legislation, and that the two main objects at which this legislation should aim are:—

1. To give reasonable security to the tenant in the occupation and enjoyment of his land; and
2. To give reasonable facilities to the landlord for the settlement and recovery of his rent.

Herein comes in the important objection that such a proceeding constitutes an invasion of the contract with the zemindars embodied in the permanent settlement. The subject is a well-worn one, but it is difficult to help feeling that Mr. Ilbert has correctly interpreted the nature of the arrangement made by Lord Cornwallis. He points out that the permanent settlement was simply a contract between the Government and the zemindars as to the amount of land revenue payable by the latter. The ryots were not consulted about the arrangement, and were in no sense a party to it; and according to the most ordinary principles of contract, it could not affect any right which they then had or might thereafter acquire. The Government said to the zemindars, As between ourselves, you, and not we, shall be deemed to be the proprietors of the soil. But it did not confer on them the rights of landlords in the English sense, to the prejudice of the cultivators. To take two points of conspicuous dissimilarity. Every one knows that a large portion of the money paid by an English tenant to an English landlord as rent represents interest on capital which has been expended on farm-buildings, drainage, and the like; but no portion of the money paid as rent by the ordinary Bengal ryot represents interest on capital. In the next place, the English landlord or his agent knows pretty accurately who his tenants are, what rent they pay, and where their lands lie. But these are just the facts which the zemindars and his agent complain that they have so much difficulty in finding out, and which he is always asking the Indian Government to try and help him to find out. Imagine an English landlord coming to Parliament and asking it to help him in making up a proper rent-roll!

Mr. Ilbert observes that the promised Bill will not profess to be a complete or exhaustive code of the Law of Landlord or Tenant, but merely to amend and consolidate certain enactments relating to that subject, custom being expressly saved. It would be quite beyond the

scope of a Review like this to describe the measure in detail, but it may be mentioned that some of the most important provisions relate to *khamar* or private land and *rai-yati* land—*i.e.*, destined for occupation by ryots, the extent of the former being fixed and unchangeable—a very wholesome provision, considering the persistent tendency on the part of the landlords to increase this class of land. The perplexing difficulty as to the correct definitions of a ryot has been solved partially, for the Government do not appear to be finally satisfied therewith, by limiting the term to tenants who hold land for purposes of agriculture, horticulture, or pasture, or who have come into possession for such purposes. The faulty definition of an occupancy ryot adopted by the Act of 1859, by limiting it to those who could prove continued occupancy of the same land for twelve years, will be amended by compelling the ryot to prove a twelve years' occupancy of any *rai-yati* land in the same village or estate. Among the incidents of the occupancy right, when obtained, are included the three F's, fixity of tenure, fair rent, and free sale. With regard to the ordinary ryots, a class not very numerous, but nevertheless needing protection, it will be provided that he shall not be ejected under enhancement of rent without compensation for disturbance, and such improvements as he may have effected. There are other clauses, the more important of which are aimed at the removal of fertile causes of dispute and litigation between landlord and tenant. Viewed as a whole, the measure will undoubtedly prove to be a landmark in the history of Indian legislation; and the scrupulous fairness with which the Government have endeavoured, after the most prolonged and patient inquiry, to deal with the interests of both zemindars and ryots, gives promise of real success.

THE COLONIES.—The Cabinet changes, resulting in the transfer of Lord Kimberley from the Colonial to the India Office, and the assumption of the office of Colonial Secretary by Lord Derby, furnished an opportunity, which the latter judiciously and promptly availed himself, of receiving the Agents-General for the Colonies at the Colonial Office on the 16th of January last. Those present could not, of course, be said to form a complete list of the representatives of the Colonial dependencies of the British Empire. Canada and the Cape, New Zealand and the four leading Australian Colonies were indeed represented, but Ceylon, Natal, and the West African Colonies, Jamaica and the other British West Indian Islands, British Guiana and Honduras, and many other minor Colonies were by the necessities of the case conspicuous by their absence. Nevertheless the open recognition of the Agents-General in a quasi-diplomatic position is a gratifying incident which cannot but add a fresh link to the relations so happily subsisting between Great Britain and her dependencies abroad, while the very gaps in the chain may bring into clearer prominence the need of securing some official representative in this country for those Colonies which lack it.

One of the most exciting of recent events in connection with our Colonies has been the provisional annexation of the large and important island of New Guinea, through the action of the Queensland Government on April 4 last. The proximity of this colony to New Guinea, the two countries being separated only by the breadth of Torres Straits (some 80 miles), has for some time passed naturally made the Australian Colonies, and especially Queensland, the most northern thereof, keenly sensible to the awkward consequences that might result were New Guinea once to fall into the hands of a foreign Power who might found a convict establishment there, and subject Australia to inconveniences far greater even than those that have accrued from the existence of New Caledonia. About five years ago there was a rush of gold diggers to Port Moresby, on the south coast of New Guinea, whither they had been preceded by missionaries, but the gold venture proving unsuccessful, the question of annexation, which had been then mooted, fell through. The question twice came under the notice of Lord Derby in December and January last, but on each occasion the Government declined to sanction the act. The Queensland Government were, however, clearly in earnest, and they have now boldly annexed the country, trusting to get the *ex post facto* consent of the Imperial Government. The act is indeed somewhat calculated to startle one, for the area of New Guinea is nearly 312,000 square miles, or nearly as large in extent as England, Scotland, Ireland, and France put together. It is clear, however, from the promptitude with which the Governments of New South Wales, South Australia, and Victoria, have hastened to express their cordial concurrence in the policy of the step, that the annexation finds favour with those civilized nations who are most concerned therein, for the claims of the Dutch to a portion of the island cannot be looked upon as having any real or substantial ground of existence. Our Government, however, have found themselves unable to sanction the bold action of the Queensland Government, though the hint that such a step ought not to have been taken on the responsibility of one Colony alone, indicates that the Home Government are more opposed to the means adopted than to the end itself. And in using this incident as a powerful lever towards effecting a federation of the Australian Colonies, Lord Derby has shown sound discretion and statesmanlike judgment.

As regards the natural products and resources of New Guinea, we are not particularly well informed, as no exhaustive survey has yet been made, even of the coast line, while the interior is almost wholly unexplored. Surveys have been made of detached bits of the coast, and travellers, among whom may be mentioned D'Albertis, Miklucho-Maklay, and Lawes, have penetrated a short distance inland. Mr. Powell, who has spent eight years on its coast, is of opinion that there is no other island in the world equal to it in respect of its natural products. Tortoise and pearl-shell, ivory, nuts, gum, sandal-wood; camphor trees, sago, arrowroot, ginger, sugar-cane, ebony, and birds of Paradise plumes are obtainable, while tobacco is grown in large quantities. Copper, tin, and gold, have been found, and other minerals

are believed to exist. It is probable that we shall soon have farther information supplied to us respecting the island, as an exploring expedition, headed by Mr. William Armitage, F.L.S., has been organized by the proprietors of the *Melbourne Argus*, and has already started for Cook Town and Thursday Island.

Turning to *Queensland* we note that the Acting Governor has just opened the local Parliament, and in his speech paid a grateful tribute to the memory of the deceased Governor, Sir Arthur Kennedy, whose successor, Sir Anthony Musgrave, has recently been nominated. It is in contemplation to submit to the approval of Parliament regulations regarding the importation of agricultural labourers from British India, a step which will render unnecessary the importation of labourers from China and the Pacific islands. A fortnightly service of the British India steamers will be secured for the conveyance of the immigrants.

The financial statement of the new Colonial Treasurer of *New South Wales* was made on February 7 last. The revenue of the year was estimated at £6,819,200, and the expenditure at £6,483,000, leaving a surplus of £336,000, which, added to the balance at the close of 1882, would place the sum of £2,182,000 to the credit of the colony at the end of the present year, a combined surplus much smaller than that estimated by Mr. Dibbs' predecessor, but due to the fact that the present Government had determined on stopping sales of land in every way which could legally be done, pending an amendment of the New South Wales land laws. Mr. Dibbs took the opportunity to express his gratification at the financial condition of the colony, and to dwell on the excellent security for the public debt. Unlike the national liabilities of older nations, which have been incurred to meet the expenses of long and devastating wars, the debt of New South Wales is but the partial cost of vast and reproductive public works, daily becoming of greater benefit, and consequently of increasing value. When, moreover, we consider that the revenue referred to is yielded by a population of less than a million, and that the railways, taken as a whole, could probably be placed upon the London market for a sum considerably exceeding the total amount of the public debt, there is indeed good ground for concluding that the views of the Colonial Treasurer are not over sanguine.

The *New Zealand* financial statement was made by the Colonial Treasurer on the 28th of June. A balance of £30,000 was realized after the actual expenditure for the year ended the 31st of March last had been met, and a deficit of £52,000 was anticipated on the revenue for the year 1883-84, a deficiency which will be met by an increase of the property-tax one farthing in the pound. The Colonial industries are rapidly developing, and although trade has been partially depressed, a return of prosperity is assured.

The returns of the late harvest show that it was one of the most bountiful which the colony has ever seen, and this will doubtless stimulate enterprise. New Zealand is not dependent on her wheat

harvest alone. Her exports of wool amount to over fifty million pounds a year. She is rapidly taking up the culture of the vine and other fruits, of tea, of silk, and other articles, both for home consumption and export, while the trade in frozen meat bids fair to rival in value that in wool. As to timber, the United States Consul at Auckland has been collecting some interesting statistics, which show that the forests of the country cover an area of not less than 20,000,000 acres, of which about half consists of Crown lands, about five million acres are the private property of the white or European population, and the remainder owned by the Maori or native inhabitants. There are many descriptions of timber grown, but the *kauri* pine, found in the vicinity of the sea in the province of Auckland, is considered the most valuable. It often grows to a height of 200 feet, and besides the excellent "mottled" timber obtained from it, it yields a gum which has for years formed one of the chief exports of Auckland.

Sir W. Jervois, the Governor, has been drawing attention to the question of the colonial defences, and in the course of his observations pointed out that while Great Britain could act against any foreign expedition, the Colonies must be prepared for the sudden landing of cruisers or a privateer or two, a surprise which the greatest naval power could not exercise sufficient vigilance to prevent. To guard against this it is important to have adequate means of defence (the expense of which would not be great) together with a properly trained volunteer force.

The Dominion Parliament of *Canada* was opened on the 9th of February by the Governor-General, who, in his speech from the throne, referred to his visit to British Columbia, and to the important results which might be anticipated to result from the Canada Pacific Railroad. Various important measures were announced: amendments of the laws affecting Parliamentary representation, and the assimilation of the franchise throughout the provinces, measures dealing with factory labour, and the issue of licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors, which it is in contemplation to restore to the Municipal Councils, a step which will be regarded with much interest in this country, where the expediency of dealing with the liquor question as a matter of local government is now becoming generally recognized.

In *Tasmania* recent discoveries of gold have caused much excitement throughout the island, and the largest nugget ever obtained in the colony, and weighing 243 ozs., was discovered in a small creek on the fall of the Whyte River, Corinna district.

A most interesting paper was read on the 12th of June, at the Royal Colonial Institute, on planting enterprise in the *West Indies*, by Mr. D. Morris, M.A., F.G.S., Director of Public Gardens and Plantations in Jamaica. The scope of the paper, though wide, embracing, as it did, Honduras, British Guiana, and other outlying dependencies, was nevertheless not incorrectly described, as the colo-

nies referred to, containing an official area of upwards of 96,500 square miles, peopled by nearly one and a-half million souls, form a natural group, having a common interest in the development of kindred products, all of an essentially tropical character. The population of these colonies has been often supposed to be stationary or declining; but the census figures show an increase of sixteen per cent. in the last ten years, which is a very decided proof of the contrary; while another idea, that the West Indies generally are in a state of stagnation or decay, was refuted by the lecturer, on the ground that the abolition of slavery and unequal competition with bounty-fed beet sugar had done their worst, and that the sugar islands of the West were now recovering from these trying difficulties. The total export and import trade in 1881 amounted to an aggregate value of nearly seventeen millions, which is an increase of nearly three and a-half millions on the value in 1866. It is noteworthy that the United States and Canada are yearly receiving a larger proportion of the West India exports in the form of sugar and tropical fruits, while the trade with the mother country is gradually decreasing. Many, however, believe that the opening of the Panama Canal will exercise a beneficial effect in the last branch of trade, owing to the advantageous position of the West India Islands. For more than two centuries the staple industry of the West Indies has been sugar, with its secondary products, rum and molasses; and at the present time the West Indies supply two-thirds of the sugar exported from British possessions. But as there are obvious disadvantages in relying on one staple industry, Mr. Morris strongly advises the cultivation of other products for which the West Indies are adapted. In Jamaica there are good unoccupied sites for the growth of tea, coffee, and chinchona, and lower elevations suitable for oranges, cacao, spices, &c., and so on, throughout the whole of the West Indies. In British Guiana alone there is an area equivalent to two Ceylons untouched; in British Honduras we have more than the whole area of the Fiji islands; to Trinidad could be added the wealth of the Straits Settlements; and the resources of the unworked soil of Jamaica might emulate the prosperity of at least four colonies of the size of Mauritius. Cocoa-nut plantations might very advantageously be established on apparently barren coast-land, and after eight years would yield, with practically no cost of maintenance, about £10 per acre, with sixty trees to the acre. The fruit trade is a growing industry in Jamaica, and is a particularly promising one for men with only moderate capital; and as regards tea, Mr. Morris is of opinion that it might be grown in the same island at a cost of about 7½d. or 8d. a pound. Chinchona has been particularly successful in Jamaica, and it is estimated that at the end of the ninth year the returns, deducting cost of barking, curing, and shipping, will have amounted to about £175 per acre, against a total outlay of about £50 per acre. There are many other products on which Mr. Morris dwells, and which proves that these islands are probably unsurpassed for the remarkable advantages which they offer to the British capitalist.

THE
WESTMINSTER
AND
FOREIGN QUARTERLY
REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1883.

ART. I.—GREAT BRITAIN, THE UNITED STATES, AND
THE IRISH QUESTION.

IN the United Kingdom the bearings of American experience on matters pertaining to Ireland are so little known or considered, and in the United States the Irish question is so very imperfectly understood, and is frequently so entirely misrepresented, that we propose, in the following observations, to discuss the issues presented, with the expectation of showing the merits of the case from the point of view of American democratic principles, and of the political policy of the Liberal party in the British Islands.

There is an Irish question in a sense in which there is not an English, or a Scottish, or an American question. It is a something which touches on the form of existence of the nation, and not on mere subsidiary changes or ameliorations. There is a national discontent as contrasted with what may, in general terms, be called national content in England and Scotland. There is a condition of high tension as between the Irish people, their feelings, their laws, and their condition, whereas in England and Scotland there is comparative equilibrium between the people and their expectations on the one hand, and the realities of their life on the other.

To this, however, there is in Ireland a marked exception, and that is the province of Ulster, which in many places, and in most respects, approximates to the condition of the sister island.

[Vol. CXX. No. CCXL.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. LXIV. No. II. X

So that Ireland does not all show complete divergenco from English and Scottish conditions ; it has one link that exhibits an intermediate state of things, and thus the Irish question is in some degree stripped of its apparent simplicity and completeness. But it is fortunate that the uniformity of political and social tension has thus been broken, as it offers a contrast of conditions on the same soil, and will thus enable us to get a glimpse of two differentiated civilizations developed out of the same system of law and government.

What the Irish question really is, it would be very difficult to define with any degree of precision, because there is a good deal of it in the air, and in the imaginative minds of Irishmen. Perhaps the real issues are much more limited than Irish patriots would have us believe. We shall have to cross a wide gulf if we are to bridge over the wild ravine that separates the political child of imagination from the dark leaden-grey type which prints, "Be it enacted," &c. ; but it will be our task to try to indicate the lines of thought on which final conclusions must be based, and final judgments pronounced. And here we venture the statement that Irishmen have contributed very little in the way of suggestions towards the amelioration of the condition of their own people. They have kindled in the atmosphere of Irish public opinion the apparently unquenchable fires of ferocious hostility and bloodthirstiness against that historical personage, "the hated Saxon." In all this they have shown the great imaginative qualities of the Celt for both good and evil, the fierce unreasoning ardour, the wild echoes of poetry and romance, and only now and then the calmer reasoning of men who deal with facts and not with fancies.

Among nations as among individuals, however much the gift of imagination is to be prized, it rarely leads to those practical ideas, to that cautious sagacity, to that complete adaptation of means to ends from which material success in the world, and accumulations of wealth, usually result. The imaginative mind is sanguine and visionary, though sometimes far-seeing ; but in its neglect of time, place, and circumstance, it is continually in danger of failure in the more practical arts of life to which the great majority of the people must devote themselves. The world owes much to those who have the gift of imagination, far more than it ever will, or indeed ever can, repay in kind ; but it is well for a nation if this marvellous gift is not too generally distributed in a high degree—that is, it is well if there is enough to give birth and expression to new ideas, without such excess of it as would leave too few persons of practical capacity to carry the ideas into effect. In Ireland the imaginative faculty altogether dominates the national character, thus seriously interfering with practical success ; while

on the other hand, the English race have very marked practical qualities, but are singularly deficient in imagination.

Now there is no doubt that in Ireland, as in every country in Europe, England and Scotland included, there has in the past been a vast amount of misgovernment and of systematic injustice, and there is still a great deal of reconstruction to be accomplished. Yet the last half-century has witnessed the advent of Catholic Emancipation, the abolition of the Test and Corporation Acts, the disestablishment of the Irish Church, the passage of the Irish Land Act of 1870, and now the great Irish Land Act of 1881 which, with some imperfections still to be remedied, nevertheless stands forth as one of the most momentous steps in the legislation of Europe during the present century. To these and numerous other minor measures specially affecting Ireland must be added a host of very important changes in every department of social and political administration, such as the Education Act, the Ballot Act, the repeal of the taxes on knowledge, and the various measures for the reform of Parliamentary representation, which have applied to Ireland as part of the United Kingdom. No country in Europe can show such important legislative benefits as have been conferred on Ireland during the last half century, and no country in Europe can in an equal degree hope for the continuance of the beneficent policy under which the Irish people are now working out their destiny. Why then, it may be asked, has there lately been such discontent in Ireland?

To explain this a variety of reasons may be adduced. It is perfectly certain that the Irish have been as well off during the last ten years as at any previous period, and that they are now better off than ever before.* The discontent of recent years

* "The improvement since 1841 (in Ireland) surpasses the progress made in any other country in Europe. This has arisen in great measure from the emigration of peasant farmers, whose labour was so ill-directed that in 1840 it took sixty-seven Irishmen to raise food for 100 inhabitants. The farms are now larger, labour is more productive, and the value of farm-stock compared with population is £10 per inhabitant, or double the ratio of Europe. Comparing the farm-holdings of 1841 with the present, we find:—

	1841.		1879.	
	No.	Ratio of Total.	No.	Ratio of Total.
From 1 to 15 acres .	563,000	... 84 per cent. ...	232,000	... 43 per cent.
Over 15 acres . . .	127,600	... 16 " ...	298,818	... 57 " "
	<hr/>		<hr/>	
No. of Farms	690,600		530,818	

"The holdings under fifteen acres have diminished 60 per cent., while the farmers over that area have grown almost threefold."—*The Progress of the World*, by M. G. Mulhall, London, 1880, p. 130.

The following figures are taken from an Article in the *Fortnightly Review*, for June, 1883, "A New Exodus," by Sydney C. Buxton, M.P., p. 876:—

is not therefore due to any new grievance, although bad harvests may have produced exceptional distress, as they have always done in a greater or less degree. The cause is to be looked for in the imaginative character of the people, in political agitation and its effects on the minds of an excitable race, and largely in that spirit of human progress which has been found altogether irresistible by the despotic governments of Europe, and even by the Czar himself in the last quarter of a century.

It is evident that with improved legislation comes the desire for further improvement, and with an amelioration of the physical conditions of life comes a desire for still greater comforts. In every country the education of the people becomes more and more an object of promotion and supervision by the Government, so that there are arising everywhere higher ideas of life and a higher standard of intelligence, and these in their turn bring a demand from the poorer classes for a larger share in this world's goods as the minimum of civilized existence. No reasonable man can doubt that immense political and social benefits have accrued to Ireland in the last quarter of a century, and such being the case it is grossly unjust to impute to the British Government or to the mythical "hostile Saxon" of Irish diatribes, a desire to misgovern Ireland, when the Statute Book shows such a long list of unjust laws abrogated, and of just and generous laws enacted for the benefit of the Irish people.

In the United Kingdom the vast increase in the number and circulation of newspapers and other forms of cheap literature, the greatly extended means of communication, the rapid strides that education has made, the increased political power exercised by the masses of the people, the development of postal facilities and the establishment of the telegraph, the influence of emigration and of foreign travel in spreading greater intelligence amongst those who remain at home, the increase in wages and the higher standard of living, all these and numerous other causes have gradually built up a power in the masses of the people of the British Islands that must be reckoned with both

CONNAUGHT.						
	Total Holdings.		Between 1 and 5 acres.	Per cent. of Total Holdings.	5 to 15 acres.	Above 15 acres.
1841 ...	155,600 ...	...	100,209 ...	64·3 ...	45,400 ...	9,200
1851 ...	116,600 ...	...	18,400 ...	15·7 ...	49,200 ...	49,000
1881 ...	119,700 ...	...	15,200 ...	12·7 ...	49,900 ...	54,600
1881 com- pared with	Decrease 36,100 ...	Decrease 85,000 ...	...	...	Increase 4,500 ...	Increase 45,400
1841 }	23·2 % ...	85 % ...	...	...	10 % ...	493·4 %

These figures of Mr. Buxton's and Mr. Mulhall's speak for themselves beyond the possibility of contradiction.

by British statesmen and by Irish political leaders. In former times such a power did not exist, the absence of intelligence and of effective organization, even though there were great political leaders, rendering it impossible that the mere moral sense as to unjust laws and indefensible conditions could have the all but irresistible potency that it possesses in the present generation.

A few years ago Mr. Gladstone's reference in the House of Commons to the masses of the people as the same "flesh and blood" as the Members of that honourable body was received by the Conservatives and by the aristocratic organs in the press with derision. Such views were a new and dangerous evangel in the eyes of those who have driven the Christ of the Sermon on the Mount out of their churches, and substituted instead the gospel of fashionable and aristocratic pseudo-piety. Yet to-day such a remark would not be regarded with the same contempt, because ever since then the privileged classes and their satellites have been hearing more and more loudly the warning note of a resolute people with whom they cannot now afford to trifle.

In the United States the people are so powerful politically, that no one man, however apparently eminent, counts for very much; but in this country we have inherited feelings and ideas that cause us spontaneously to range ourselves under the banner of the leader representing our principles with enthusiasm and devotedness, and a great deal is left to his individual discretion, though, of course, he is in large measure controlled by the Cabinet that comes together, not by election, nor by individual choice of the Prime Minister, but by a joint process of natural selection and of self-assertion. It is a survival from despotic and oligarchical times, though it cannot long escape modification. The position of leader offers, however, a splendid opportunity to a truly great man, though there are but few such to be found in any age. Fortunately for us we have at present a Prime Minister of extraordinary genius, and possessed of an influence in this country that has rarely, if ever, fallen to the lot of any British statesman. It is scarcely necessary to speak, even to Americans, of his distinguished characteristics, his encyclopædic knowledge, his wide scholarship, his remarkable oratorical gifts, his perfect sincerity tinged with religious asceticism, his sympathy with the down-trodden and the unfortunate, his passionate devotion to the cause of justice and to the amelioration of the condition of the masses of the people.

In the United States Mr. Gladstone's character is better understood than even in this country; and certainly the marked distinction between the characteristics of the late Lord Beaconsfield and of those of his great rival, or, more precisely his great superior, is much more accurately drawn in the daily conversations

of the American people than in those of the English people, even of many of Mr. Gladstone's own followers. There is in the American atmosphere such a remorseless solvent of all pretence, show, and sham, such a contempt for pomp and pageantry, and what we call national glory, that there is little or nothing of the glamour of such things thrown over the American mind; whereas it is practically impossible for even the most enlightened and least prejudiced Englishman entirely to free himself from the influences of the confusing atmosphere in which he lives. The idea of the well-informed American is that Lord Beaconsfield was a man of remarkable genius, endowed with a fertile and subtle imagination, with boundless audacity and courage, aiming solely at personal power, and therefore bending all his great faculties towards that end, leading a party that he in the main despised for their want of intelligence and of ideas, making the worse appear the better cause, prophesying the direst ruin from the measures of his opponents, and then bidding for power by offering far more extreme measures. In brief he was regarded as an oriental magician, playing a simply selfish and brilliant part, without much regard to means or ends.

Mr. Gladstone, on the other hand, is regarded in the United States as ardently working towards the chief object of all government—namely, towards the triumph of justice to all classes, and thus very specifically towards the welfare of the poorer classes, whose interests and rights have in past ages been most seriously neglected, and indeed to a very great extent ignored. The consequence is, that the Americans, with faculties unobscured by anomaly and custom and fashion, sympathize with Mr. Gladstone as the apostle of democracy, the advocate of the "flesh-and-blood" theory of the white races, and one of the greatest exemplars of constructive powers of statesmanship that this country has produced.

We may remark here, however, in passing, that the greatest figure in English public life to the American eye is that of Mr. John Bright. He, however, has been content to find himself like a Saul among his fellows, a head and shoulders above all the rest; and thus we might say that Mr. Bright has been the unrivalled leader in the field of ideal politics, with earnest temperament, generous enthusiasm, undaunted courage, the greatest orator perhaps of this age, and he has led the people out of the Egypt of political disability through the wilderness of doubt, discouragement, and fierce hostility and denunciation, into the promised land of political power and influence, whilst the privileged hosts of Pharaoh have been mostly drowned in the Red Sea. Mr. Bright has thus, by leading this invincible crusade in favour of liberty, brought us much closer to the

American people than we ever were before, by making a very long stride towards popular government. But he has never cared for official life, and so, in saying that he has been the great leader in ideal politics, we do not mean to impute that his ideas were not practical, because they have nearly all been made law: we merely wish to point out that he has left to others, and particularly to Mr. Gladstone, the great practical work of constructing and carrying through Parliament those important measures which were necessary to give effect to the principles advocated by Mr. Bright and by his coadjutors and followers throughout the country.

Now, the Irish owe to Mr. Gladstone, both for what he has intended and for what he has accomplished, more than to any statesman in any period of their history. He has performed herculean labours for them, such as, indeed, it is very doubtful if any other man in this country had the requisite knowledge and experience, and the individual ascendancy and intellectual power to effect. The Irish Land Act of 1881 is an entirely new departure in the land laws of civilized countries. Notwithstanding all the pretensions and claims of the Irish leaders in the last ten years, neither Mr. Parnell nor any of his followers put forward any such sweeping programme as Mr. Gladstone embodied in this Act. They brought forward abundance of cases of hardship and cruelty, overpowering reasons why a change should be made, but they did not formulate any practical remedy for the evils they complained of. It was Mr. Gladstone, with the support of the Liberal party, who cast aside all half-measures, and brought in a Bill embodying these three conditions of agricultural tenancy, which ultimately became law—fixity of tenure, power of free sale of tenant-right, and fair rent to be determined by courts to be instituted for the purpose. We need scarcely remark that no such measure as this would have been passed by the American Congress. The people of the United States would not have tolerated such an interference with the laws of contract as it involved. No member of Congress could be found who would propose anything so indefensible from the American point of view.

The law in every State in the Union gives more complete powers of eviction to the landlord than the Irish law gave, and no American landlord would have dreamed of permitting arrears of rent to accumulate to the extent which was the custom in Ireland. Eviction would have been swift, sure, and complete in any State of the Union, without the slightest feeling on the part of the landlord that he was guilty of any inhumanity or injustice. We do not pretend to say that in thus evicting under conditions even of hardship to the evicted, he would have been doing an act

of injustice ; we are contending simply that the American landlord evicts his tenants with more swiftness and more certainty than has ever been the case in Ireland. He says, in brief, that his contract with the tenant entitles him to so much money or produce, at such time or times, and he must have it or the tenant must quit. Indeed the law of contract is rendered inviolable by the highest mandate in the Republic—by the Constitution of the United States itself.

But while we repel the suggestion that any one has the slightest claim or right to interfere with the due fulfilment of any lease or contract in the United States, we have a right to ask what justification there is for the attempt, on the part of some American newspapers, not under Irish influences, to incite the Irish tenantry to secure, by legal or illegal means, the abrogation of the law of contract in regard to Irish holdings? Is it that in the generosity of their hearts some Americans are overflowing with the most fervid humanity towards distant people whom it is the most earnest object of their lives to benefit at somebody else's expense? Not more than twelve months ago, a Senator, speaking in the Senate at Washington, upbraided his colleagues, more particularly those from New England, for welcoming with generous enthusiasm four millions of slaves to liberty at the expense of their Southern owners, and of then welcoming with equal fervour the Chinese to California, though the shrewd New Englanders had practically driven the Chinese from North Adams, where they for a time had succeeded in establishing themselves. It cannot be doubted that if Americans had been landlords in Ireland, they would have resisted the Irish Land Act with all their energy.

It will, therefore, be seen that we have not a much more exalted opinion of the republican landlord of America than we have of the Irish landlord. They both acted on the same principle, and a very good one—namely, to get all they could from their property. If, indeed, there is a question of generosity, it is the rule with the Irishman and the exception with the American. The reason of this is not far to find. The Irishman is dealing with very poor people, and therefore the occasions on which he is tempted to be generous, or, more correctly, is morally compelled to be so, are very numerous, are, in truth, part of his every-day life. The American of the Northern and Western States, on the other hand, is dealing with well-to-do, self-reliant, and energetic people, who, except on rare occasions, are quite able to take care of themselves, and are in no need of the daily forethought and forbearance of others.

But this law of contract, under which both American and Irish landlords acted, was found by a Tory Commission to be a failure

so far as Irish tenants were concerned, and the party of progress decided that if that law was a failure, then they must provide in its stead a law that would be a success under the conditions in which the law of contract had failed. The evil was not in any antiquated laws that might have been easily remedied by borrowing a few clauses from the Code of the State of New York, because the American law of leases and of eviction was more favourable to the landlord than the Irish law. But there was an element in the case of Ireland that marked it out from the United States, England, Scotland, and the rest of the civilized countries of the world. To say that the law of contract was a failure, was to say that the Irish tenants were too weak a race to hold their own against their landlords, and also to say that the Irish landlords were too strong and too able a race for the poor peasantry of the country to contend with them on the ordinary basis of demand and supply. In every other civilized country the tenants had been fairly able to defend themselves.

But here were the agricultural tenants of Leinster, Connaught, and Munster confessedly altogether at the mercy of their landlords, confessedly too feeble and too incapable of organizing and of helping themselves, to be left to the immemorial law of civilized society which the leading nations of the world had come to regard almost as a law of Nature. Not the inadequacy of the law therefore, but the weakness and incapacity of the race in practical matters, constituted the true difficulty, and that is the reason why they failed to defend themselves, and why they failed to work out or to propose any practical remedy. It will readily be expected therefore, that, in dealing with a race deficient in practical expedients and endowed with an over-abundance of imagination, the great majority of the landlords, though with many honourable exceptions, were beyond all doubt unduly oppressive and extortionate, though they did not exceed their legal rights. But the Liberal party, aroused by the helplessness of the tenants as against the landlords, and instigated by the determination to put an end to this injustice, inaugurated their crusade against excessive rents, and against the system of eviction, which ultimately led to very decisive success.

We can hardly be audacious enough to assume that if we or our American friends had been Irish landlords, we should have been less extortionate than the rest; any more than that if we had been born and bred in the Southern States and had inherited a plantation and slaves, we should have been abolitionists. There are reasonable expectations and unreasonable ones, and it would have been very unreasonable in us to have expected that most Irish landlords would go about looking for tenants who would offer to pay them less than the rent which other tenants were

willing to give. Such philanthropic landlords as diligently pursued this course would have been regarded with supreme contempt by the average American, because the latter likes to get himself, and to see others get, the very last dollar of what is his by right.

Although the slaveholders had an indefeasible title to their slaves by the Constitution of the United States, and the Irish landlords had their undoubted rights in the institution of private property and the law of contract, yet the people of the Northern and Western States did not accept the judgment of the slaveholders on the subject of private property in slaves, nor did the British people accept the judgment of the Irish landlords as to the sacredness of landed property so far as regarded the position of tenants and the range of rents. Only in an enlightened age can such a question be dealt with, and the cause of the Irish Land Act was not that the tenants were worse off than before, seeing, as we have shown, that the reverse was actually the case, but that the English and Scottish Liberals were more enlightened and more powerful, both in the country and in the House of Commons, than ever before, and that the bold and aggressive ideas of Mr. Bright and his coadjutors and the brilliant statesmanship of Mr. Gladstone had prepared the public mind for sincere and earnest efforts in dealing with the great pending questions of which the Irish land was declared to be the chief. To show conclusively, however, that the failure of the Irish tenants to hold their own was due more to the incapacity of the people than to the state of the law, it is only necessary to point out that in the province of Ulster, where there is a large infusion of Scotch Presbyterians, the custom of tenant-right sprang up in the conflict between landlord and tenant, giving the tenant a claim to compensation for his improvements and for the goodwill of his holding, whereas in Leinster, Connaught, and Munster—Roman Catholic provinces—the tenants under the same system of laws as in Ulster were never able to create or enforce any such customary right.

To interfere by law to redress the grievances of the Irish tenants was only possible during the last fifteen years, as before that time the political power of the people was too restricted, and statesmen were not possessed of the quickened consciences and enlightened minds that great popular agitations have done much to create. So that it is to the vast Liberal constituencies of England and Scotland only as yet beginning to make their just influence felt in Parliament, that justice to Ireland, as embodied in the Land Act, owes its existence. We do not undervalue the services of Mr. Parnell and his Parliamentary and other supporters; but the Land Act was not their work, and if in some respects they helped it, they also used their best efforts to

defeat it, and to embarrass Mr. Gladstone in every possible manner. We entirely sympathize with the Irish people in their efforts to ameliorate their condition, but unfortunately we can but rarely approve of the methods by which Mr. Parnell and his friends attempt to effect their ends, any more than we can commend the obstructive tactics of the Conservatives in trying to defeat just and beneficent legislation.

Without the Liberal party and Mr. Bright and Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Parnell and his followers would have carried on their agitation in vain, as the patriots who preceded them had done. Modern ideas and the power of the democracy had made such progress that not only was it possible to remove disabilities, but to make great fundamental changes in the principles of the law, and these changes, too, against the direct interests of those who but quite recently were in reality the governing classes. And Mr. Gladstone never stood so high in the estimation of the masses of the British people as when, in the greatest and most courageous act of his life, he struck down the ancient prerogatives of the landlords as being the source of injustice and extortion in Ireland, and decreed that there should be fixity of tenure, and that the law courts, and not competition, should determine the amount of a fair rent.

Yet there is another side to the picture, and one in which sadness cannot fail to mingle. The gain to the Irish tenant was the loss to the Irish landlord; and although we could not have justified Mr. Gladstone if he had held his hand, still we cannot but feel that the Irish landlord was exercising what was regarded, not only in Ireland, but in the United States and everywhere in Europe, as his absolute right—namely, letting his property on the terms which tenants were willing to give for it. He did not compel people to become his tenants, they offered for their holdings in precisely the same way as farmers were doing in the valley of the Mississippi or of the Sacramento. With any other civilized race, the landlord's rights would have remained comparatively undisturbed, but in this age, and in Ireland, it was found necessary to dispute them at the bidding of a higher law than the law of contract, that, namely, of the preservation of society and civilization. But no revolution, even if it is inevitable, can be made without injury, and what might seem injustice. The Irish Land Act undoubtedly inflicted a large amount of hardship on Irish landlords, as their property was valued on the basis of its income, and that Act practically decreed a compulsory diminution of income, and thus a large loss in the selling value of their property. We cannot, therefore, but feel regret that this partial reconstruction of Irish agricultural society should have necessitated a serious loss to the great body of the landlords, many of them

themselves poor people, while, in numerous instances, there were mortgages and family and other charges on the land which the owner, though deprived of part of his income, was compelled to meet in full.*

Turning to the Southern States, we find the negroes in precisely the same position as agricultural tenants in which the Irish tenants were before the passage of the Land Act. In time, as they become more enlightened, and at the same time more numerous, they may also demand fixity of tenure and a legally determined fair rent; but at present the pressure of population is not great enough to force the question into public notice. The negroes are as yet but few in number relatively to the field of labour open to them, the competition amongst themselves for holdings is not excessive, and, therefore, they are able to protect their own interests; whereas, the Irish tenants were so numerous, relatively to their field of labour, that they could not protect themselves from the excessive competition of each other. It is no merit of the Southern landlords that the negroes are few, nor was it any fault of the Irish landlords that tenants were many. But in the case of the negroes the principle of supply and demand works on the whole very satisfactorily, whereas in the case of the Irish tenants it proved a failure, and had to be set aside as inapplicable in the circumstances.

The Irish leaders put forward the claim that the soil of Ireland belonged originally to the Irish septs or clans, and that, therefore, the Irish people ought to be recognized as the owners of it to-day. None but an extremely imaginative race would put seriously forward a claim like this, based on something that was in existence several hundred years ago; and the fact that it should be advanced is a proof of the impracticable views of the race in whose interest the claim is made. The recognition of it would give most of the United States to the Indians, part of it to the French, and

* A deputation of Irish landlords and others has recently had an interview with Mr. Gladstone to explain the hardships to which many Irish landlords have been subjected by reductions in rent as fixed by the Commissioners of the Land Court, and they have suggested that the Government might materially assist in alleviating these hardships by advancing money on mortgage, or assisting to advance it, through some agency, at low rates of interest. The difference between ordinary mortgage rates of interest and those at which the Government, through some agency, might enable landlords to borrow whose rents have been considerably reduced, would be a very material saving; and, under the circumstances, if the preservation of Irish society has been a subject of such national importance as to compel a reduction of rents by law, that is a very good reason why, having effected that purpose, the Government should, even by law if necessary, alleviate the condition of those landlords at whose expense this inevitable reduction of rents has been made.

to the Spanish, and to the Mexicans and others. No claim could possibly be wilder or more preposterous, yet it does not appear so to the Irish leaders with whom we have to deal. What they probably really mean is, not that any such claim can be revived after a lapse of two or three hundred years, but that as the Irish tenants are very poor, if they could possess the soil they now cultivate they would be richer, and if by some miraculous power they could thus suddenly find themselves the owners of their holdings, then they would only possess what had formerly been the property of their remote ancestors. And they do not discriminate very closely between their desire to be owners and their right to be owners, even if they have to look back some hundreds of years for the mere shadow of such a right. If, on the other hand, any such pretension could possibly be entertained for a moment, why should the present Irish tenants alone be made richer without any compensation to the large number of Irish people who are not tenants, yet equally poor and equally entitled to benefit by the rights of their ancestors if there ever were such rights?

We must take the world much as we find it, with all its statutes of limitations; but while we are bound to accept the conquests, spoliations and confiscations of both ancient and modern times, and to recognize the validity of gifts and grants that were utterly indefensible, and of the land frauds in the United States in recent times, we are equally bound to see that the injustices of the past, which public opinion condemns while public policy palliates and condones them, are not made to inflict manifest and intolerable wrong on the generation to which we ourselves belong. In no country in the world is the principle of title by occupation so thoroughly recognized as in the United States, and a prescriptive title of thirty years there would seem as indefeasible and irrevocable as if it reached back to the time of Columbus.

It is by no means perfectly certain that even the Land Act will bring about any special millennium, although in itself it is a most important measure. The question arises whether large numbers of the holdings are not even now too small for anything like contented family life, notwithstanding the immense change since 1841 towards larger holdings that the figures we have already quoted show.* We may protect the tenant against

* Mr. Tuke, who is engaged in the supervision of assisted emigration from Ireland, says in a recent letter to *The Times*, that the emigration he is promoting is leading to larger holdings; and he believes that the Irish farmers themselves have the distinct conviction that, except on farms of a certain size, it is impossible to maintain a decent existence, and that they will, where they have the opportunity, act on the principle of consolidating small holdings.

having to pay £20 when he ought only to pay £15, but can we place him in the cultivation of eight acres where he and his ancestors have been content to settle on four, or of four acres where he has but two? We can promote migration from more thickly to more thinly settled parts of Ireland itself, and we can encourage emigration to the United States or to the British Colonies. But while we do this we cannot fail to be most painfully impressed with the fact that we are having to deal with the Irish in ways that have not yet been found necessary in the case of the peasantry of the poorest and most backward countries in Europe. It is a task of extraordinary difficulty effectually to help millions of people who have failed to help themselves. It will not suffice to attribute this state of things to misgovernment, as Ireland has not been singular in misgovernment. Every country in Europe has suffered from arbitrary and oppressive laws, and in nearly every case to a much greater extent than Ireland has in the last fifty years.

Yet Ireland, an integral part of the home of European liberty, closely bound up with one of the richest countries in the world, and enjoying equal freedom with it though sustaining fewer burdens,* looking across to the shores of the United States and Canada, where all are welcome to equal rights and duties, and seeing from its coasts numberless ships and steamers inviting the poor, the discontented, the ambitious and the adventurous to betake themselves to any country under the sun, we say that Ireland with all its advantages and all these opportunities nevertheless presents a peasantry so weak and helpless that we have been compelled to abrogate in their favour that law of contract on which every country in Europe bases its civilization, under which every other peasantry is able to hold its own, and without which the United States would lose its energy and ambition, and the mainspring of its unrivalled powers of achievement. It is not in remote Scandinavia, or outlandish Roumania, or not very accessible Hungary or Bohemia, that a more generous polity has been forced to exact a more considerate law, but in the green isle of Erin.

Nor does the comparative contentment in other countries arise

* "It is stated in a Parliamentary paper, issued in the session of 1876, that whereas the existing distribution of representation prescribes England and Wales to return 493 members, Scotland 60 members, and Ireland 105 members, the numbers, if regulated by population, would be 476 for England and Wales, 70 for Scotland, and 112 for Ireland; if regulated by contributions to revenue, 514 for England and Wales, 79 for Scotland, and 65 for Ireland; and if regulated by the mean of the two numbers, 494 for England and Wales, 75 for Scotland, and 89 for Ireland."—*The Statesman's Year-Book for 1883*. London, 1883, p. 200.

from the fact that the land elsewhere is more generally owned by the occupier than in Ireland, and particularly is it not the case in England and Scotland. It may be that the competition of the United States in grain is causing, as it is even in the State of New York and the New England States, lands at one time used for crops to be fit only for pasturage. And we have no doubt that much of the land under tillage in Ireland never was fit for anything but pasturage, and this can only be remedied by a diminution of the population.

Nor is there any valid argument in the charge that the unwise restrictions in trade between Ireland and the sister island deprived the former of the opportunity of being a manufacturing country. As far back as 1785, Pitt offered the Irish Parliament complete freedom of trade, but that corrupt body rejected the offer. With the establishment of the Union, however, in 1800, vanished every impediment to Irish trade with Great Britain; and it is indeed strange that in the eighty-three years that have since elapsed, the inhabitants of Leinster, Connaught, and Munster have not betaken themselves to manufacturing. It is probable that in the absence of coal and iron the conditions are not sufficiently advantageous. At the beginning of this century the great manufactures of the Lancashire and Yorkshire of our day can hardly be said to have been even in their infancy, so much has steam power changed the localities and the conditions of profitable manufacturing. And while the three southern provinces have stood still in this respect, Ulster has taken a decided position in the manufacturing world, in the linen trade, and in shipbuilding and other pursuits.

But for these ancient European oligarchies there is this to be said, that the British Parliament acted with selfish exclusiveness, after the manner of the times in all other countries, while the Irish Parliament was one of the worst that ever found despotic power in their hands and a comparatively helpless people at their mercy. It may, however, somewhat reconcile our outraged feelings in the retrospect when we call to mind that the restrictions on trade between Ireland and England in the last century were much the same in their effect as those which the United States to-day impose on the trade of their citizens with all foreign countries, a policy not for revenue, but conceived in the interest of protection. We can only express our regret that in the eighty-three years during which Ireland has had complete equality with England and Scotland as to trade, so little has been done in the three southern provinces to develop manufactures, and thus give diversity of employment to the people.

We cannot escape the conclusion, therefore, from what we see

in the United States and in the towns and cities of England and Scotland, as well as in Ulster, that there are qualities in the Irish race that render them very much less fitted to carry on the practical business of life when they are by themselves than when they are intermingled with races wanting in the strong points of the Irish character, but possessed of those mechanical and executive qualities in which the Irish are deficient. The age of misgovernment in Ireland, as in England and Scotland, has long since passed away, although in many important respects much of a progressive character has yet to be accomplished. We say nothing of the exceptional legislation at present in operation, as that is the necessary corrective of wild attempts at outrage, intimidation, murder, and revolution, which no civilized government can tolerate, whether in America or Europe.

In the United States, with an unwisely liberal naturalization law, conferring all the rights of citizenship on aliens without a sufficiently long period of probation, there is a decided delicacy, now that the evil is so conspicuous, in bringing prominently forward the facts that show in a very marked degree the inadaptability of the Irish for the responsibilities of the free individual life of the great Republic. No one can glance at the action of the Irish in American politics without seeing that they are as great a danger, in proportion to their numbers, to the smooth working and to the stability of representative institutions in the United States as the Irish in Ireland and in the towns of England and Scotland are to the harmony and the development of free and just institutions in the United Kingdom. When we see the shameless effrontery with which the Irish organize themselves for the purposes of despotic power in the large cities of the Union, when we witness the raw levies of Irish immigrants swearing falsely as to time of residence so as to break through by perjury the too slender barriers that Americans have raised for their own political protection—when we have thrust upon us the glaring evidence that these Irish patriots, pretending to leave their own country because they are oppressed, immediately on their arrival in New York bend their patriotic steps towards those halls where the Irish vote is organized and manipulated, and range themselves under the banner of the most corrupt and unscrupulous party of politicians that ever disgraced the honour and thwarted the interests of a great and generous people, for the purpose of preying on American institutions and subordinating American interests to the selfish purposes of an oligarchy composed chiefly of foreigners,—we feel impelled to do Americans the justice denied to them at home, where there is a strong desire not to alienate the Irish vote by too plain speaking, of pointing out to them that the free and unfettered

patriot of the Irish vote is the greatest enemy of American liberty to be found on their soil.*

Far be it from us to say that there is not an immense number of Irishmen who have accepted the duties and responsibilities of American citizenship in perfect good faith, because it is notorious that such is the case. They have become the adopted sons of a new country, and their pride is to assimilate themselves with the people who have offered them a hopeful shelter and an unbounded prospect for the energies and the intelligence of themselves and their descendants, and they are only too thankful to have exchanged the narrow, cramped and over-populated island of their birth for the broad American continent where ages yet unborn will spread themselves in peace and plenty, and where the poor people crowded out of Europe will long continue to find a haven of rest, and an unclouded vista of new life and new possibilities. To those Irishmen and their descendants who have truly become Americans, and think and act in the line of American ideas, and who have mingled and intermarried with the neighbours who welcomed them, what greater subject for thankfulness than that they have found an appropriate field for intelligence and energies which in Ireland would have been wasted, if, indeed, they had ever been called forth?

But the existence of the Irish vote organized as a separate institution apart from the American vote, and with totally distinct objects for the Irish, is a warning that Americans have an Irish question on their soil much the same in its general character as the one we have here. And if the party of "America for the Irish" were to become numerous enough, those who believe that America is for the Americans, and not for the Irish exclusively, would be under the necessity of abandoning their present indifference, and of organizing themselves into vigilance committees in defence of liberty itself. The ordinary rights of American citizenship are not privilege enough for the Irish politicians. They will not be content with anything less than controlling the governments of American cities, and plundering the people who tolerate their vagaries. In Ireland we do not tolerate too many of such eccentricities, so that patriots of this type have to cross the Atlantic to find the opportunity of carrying out their beneficent intentions.

* In a late speech in New York, during the dynamite excitement in this country, General Grant referred in the language of displeasure, not to say disgust, common to the great majority of Americans, to the abuse of American soil and of American citizenship, by the Irish dynamite faction and their abettors in the Irish-American Land League, who advocate such atrocious acts against civilized people and civilized Governments as are a disgrace to humanity.

The instances that could be adduced to show the ungenerous-ness and impracticability of the Irish character are overwhelming in number, but we will select two as showing their tendencies in politics. A few months ago a vacancy occurred in the representation of Newcastle in the House of Commons, and the Liberal committee of that city, in search of a candidate, invited Mr. John Morley, who stands in the very front rank with but few rivals in this country as a litterateur and writer on philosophical politics. Lately the editor of the *Fortnightly Review*, and for the last three years the editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, which has been famous for its enlightened and uncompromising advocacy of justice to Ireland, in season and out of season, with the Gladstone Ministry and against them, we know of no single man, saving Mr. Gladstone, to whom the Irish party were, during the last three years, under such signal obligations as to Mr. Morley. It so happened that the Irish voters in Newcastle amounted to about 2,500, at least, so it was stated in the newspapers, though it is probably an over-estimate; and it was further alleged, that before the election took place, a missive was sent from the Irish Parliamentary party in London, of whom Mr. Parnell is chairman, notifying the Irish electors that they were to vote for Mr. Bruce, the Conservative candidate. Fortunately, however, Mr. Morley was elected by a large majority in spite of the opposition of the Irish voters, of whom, there is no doubt, a large proportion went against him. This is a type of Irish action in the English and Scottish burghs, where so many of them have found high rates of wages and permanent homes. We have, therefore, in every large centre of population, a body of Irish politically unassimilated just as they are in the United States, always uncertain, never acting on any individual convictions, always voting together in obedience to outside dictation, a curse in national and often in local politics, as exercising their electoral privilege without personal responsibility or patriotic interest in the affairs of the country, the supposed existence of which was the chief claim to the extension of the burgh suffrage to householders. Can a free people be created and maintained out of individuals who have not the habits, instincts, or tendencies that lead to individual independence?

The other case that we have selected is that of the Irish vote in the House of Commons on the second reading of the Affirmation Bill of the last Session, which was rejected by a majority of three. This Bill—though drawn really in the interest of freedom and common-sense, and on the admission of Members of Parliament permitting the substitution, not to Quakers only as at present, but to all of an affirmation of allegiance in place of an oath—would have had the effect of permitting Mr. Bradlaugh to take

his seat for the burgh of Northampton, for which he had been three times elected. Now Mr. Bradlaugh, however objectionable in the eyes of the majority of persons his views on religion may be, has always been an ardent supporter of all those Liberal measures for which the Irish members have so strenuously contended, and he is one of the successors of that long line of political soldiers who have fought the battle of civil and religious liberty in this country, to whom the Irish are under great obligations for the liberties they enjoy. But the patriotic Irish members, of whom the Catholic portion owe even their right to sit in the House of Commons to the successful struggle of the Liberal party against the same influences as are now opposing Mr. Bradlaugh's right to sit, had so little of the freeman's love of justice and equality, which is beyond all others the most striking political characteristic of Americans, that they voted unanimously against the Affirmation Bill in order that they might exclude one of their most earnest and most uncompromising supporters. Not only that, but some of these fire-eating champions of justice were so carried away by the splendid triumph of intolerance, bigotry, and tyranny which seem second, if not indeed first, nature to them, that they threw up their hats in the air, and so misconducted themselves in the House as to be publicly charged with gross indecency. Irish patriots are always for themselves, and generally to the exclusion and if necessary to the injury of everybody else. But the Liberal party of this country stand on a much higher platform; they are unswerving in their policy of justice to Ireland, and their conduct would be regarded as infamous if they were not equally unswerving in their determination, so far as in them lies, to do justice to Mr. Bradlaugh.

It is not to be wondered at therefore, if sincere Liberals find it difficult to preserve much feeling of respect for the Irish leaders; and if they see in the acrobatic politics of Mr. Parnell and his friends, not only the action of irresponsible and impracticable men, but of men entirely wanting in sympathy with representative institutions, altogether regardless of the rights of others, and especially dangerous to the growing democracy of this country, to whom the Irish are under the greatest obligations, in whom lies their only hope, but against whom they direct the most malignant hostility. These sentiments are not only those of the progressive classes here, they are exactly the views we have heard expressed by the most active-minded Americans in regard to the policy of the Irish-American politicians in the United States. The Irish leaders have no lot or part in the great progressive movement of the British Liberal party, or any generous ideas in the cause of humanity at large on either side of the Atlantic. Irishmen had but little sympathy with the patriotic efforts on the

Continent during the last thirty-five years, and they were bitterly opposed to Italian freedom and unity, much as those in the United States were hostile to the North and to American unity during the civil war, and strongly opposed to the emancipation of the negro. So that in listening to their patriotic outpourings, we must separate the greater part which is sound from the insignificant fraction which may be sense; and we must also distinguish the alleged atrocious grievances which are dragged up from the ancient history of the last and previous centuries, from the very moderate grievances of the present day which the Liberal party—the friends whom they oppose—are striving to redress.

In 1882 a Bill was discussed in Congress and passed, and then made law by a two-thirds' vote against the President's veto, which practically prohibited further Chinese immigration into the United States. Under the circumstances President Arthur was right in vetoing the Bill, and Congress was right in passing it by a two-thirds' vote, because it was a Bill involving a new principle of public policy, and it was for the representatives of the people, and not the President, to assume the responsibility of its adoption. It involved the greatest departure from the theory of American institutions that had taken place in the annals of the country; and although "delicate questions" were very skilfully avoided in the discussion, on the ground that prudence is generally better than valour, the two examples of the limits of American inclusiveness as to political rights which were before all men's minds and which were present in all private conversations, were the effect of the enfranchisement of the immigrant Irish and of the negroes. Not a single word was heard of adverse criticism as to the enfranchisement of the immigrant English, Scotch, French, Germans, Italians or Scandinavians, nor of course against those Irish who have sunk their nationality and become for good and all American citizens. It is true that there were also strong reasons for the policy of the Bill offered by the classes in California engaged in manual labour and in manufactures; but the question was fought to a great extent on the political ground of the danger in a Republic of races that do not assimilate, and of the desirability of their exclusion as a national policy.

One Republican Senator, speaking in defence of the principle of the Bill, boldly proclaimed that the enfranchisement of the negro had proved a dismal failure in the Southern States, and was a menace to free institutions; but no one ventured to declare, though many thought it, that the creation of a distinct Irish political party for purely Irish objects was a defiance of American institutions, and showed not only that the number of Irish immigrants ought to have been limited long ago, but that

the policy of enfranchisement after five years' residence, though perfectly wise as applied to the emigrants from every other country in Europe, had been a mistake as applied to the bulk of the Irish, however exemplary the conduct of the Irish minority had been. This is a question frequently in the minds of Americans, who are indignant at finding many of those whom they receive as patriots prove to be only vipers; yet it is one always avoided by the American press and by politicians in their public utterances, because it is too late to retrace their steps, and therefore it is wise not to throw into the arena of politics irritating subjects which could lead to nothing but trouble. We can sympathize with the American people when we see an Irish oligarchy mostly immigrants organized for plunder, prostituting the forms of American institutions to the basest and most corrupt purposes. All we can hope for is that the people of the United States will show that forbearance which the Liberal party in this country have so patiently exhibited, and are prepared to exhibit, in dealing with the rule-or-ruin policy of Irish patriots.

It is a strange commentary on the conduct of the Irish members, who are ambitious to guide the fortunes of the free and independent Irish Republic, that during the six years of Tory repression of Irish ideas and Tory refusal of Irish remedial legislation, they were mild as doves and comparatively silent in Parliament, because they knew that the Tories would strike with despotic severity and with exceptional laws; but from the moment that the magnanimous and friendly Gladstone came into power with a Liberal following determined to do justice to the Irish tenants, the Irish members began a course of obstruction of remedial measures for Ireland, and of opposition to Mr. Gladstone and his Government, and caused an immense waste of time by all sorts of preposterous parliamentary manoeuvres. They incited the excitable Irish people to such a degree against this friendly Government that there were perpetrated a long series of such wanton, cruel, and brutal outrages, and such murders and murderous assaults as were simply appalling, and a disgrace to any people pretending to civilized life.

We do not say that Mr. Parnell and his friends did not in some commendable way effect a great deal of good, because there can be no doubt that their agitation, in conjunction with the determined efforts of British Liberals, was indispensable to the success of Mr. Gladstone. But we do say that in presence of the greatest political friend Ireland ever possessed, and in presence of the most friendly House of Commons that ever dealt with Irish questions, the Irish members showed themselves to be irresponsible, ungenerous, impracticable and reckless. And one of the greatest difficulties in the path of democratic progress in

the United Kingdom and in the way of the efforts of active reformers, is to be found in the wild and inconsistent views and methods of Irish patriots which here, as in the United States, are altogether subversive of the liberty and equality of a free people. The Americans have refused citizenship to a few paltry Chinamen, and have prohibited their further immigration, thus departing from the all-embracing theory of democratic government till then triumphant, because the venality and unscrupulousness of the Irish and the negroes in politics compelled them to look to national self-preservation; and here the action of the Irish members and of a large body of their countrymen is in the highest degree prejudicial to the progressive amelioration of our institutions, because people in this country, even the most Radical, are not prepared for a glorious and patriotic deluge in Ireland. We may depend upon it the British Radical has the strongest feelings on the subject of national self-preservation, and he never will, even in the name of Irish patriotism, abandon the substance of British liberty for the fantastic will-o'-the-wisp of Irish anarchy.

There are numerous remedies suggested for the poverty of the Irish tenants and people generally, and the three principal are peasant proprietorship, emigration, and the introduction of manufactures. In so far as these or any other remedies are feasible and can be furthered, it is certain that the Liberal party will do everything they can in reason for the benefit of Ireland. There is nothing easier than to offer suggestions in critical circumstances, but here, as in the United States, it is one of the most difficult things to suggest some real method by which poor people can get more than they possess. So far as peasant proprietorship is concerned, we have but little belief in its practicability in Ireland, although it is an alluring name, and its beneficent influence under other circumstances has been proclaimed by the most eminent economic authorities.

In examining the question of peasant proprietorship it is necessary to bear in mind that the recommendations of the system by John Stuart Mill and others were made as an improvement on precarious tenure, no compensation for improvements, and excessive rents; and, certainly, peasant proprietorship offers great advantages over such conditions. But the Liberal party have just given to Irish tenants fixity of tenure, fair rent by valuation of the Land Court, and power of sale of tenantry, and those terms secured by positive enactment are much more satisfactory than peasant proprietorship. If a tenant is to become a peasant proprietor, he must have the margin of money necessary to secure the farm. Irresponsible politicians may exercise their ingenuity in devising schemes of annual payments

by which a tenant will become a landlord in twenty-five, or forty, or fifty or more years. But while it is easy to conjure with figures, it is exceedingly difficult to conjure with facts. There is no trouble in getting a formula for annuities that will convert on paper the Irish tenants into landlords in any number of years one pleases. Nor is there any difficulty in showing the Regent Street or Broadway shopkeepers and warehousemen how, by paying a larger sum annually than they do now in rent, they may, in a given number of years, be owners and no longer tenants of the properties in which they carry on their business. But there is something wanting besides the formula, and that is, money; and manipulate figures as we may, no capitalist or public body would be wise in advancing on an Irish farm the full amount of its selling value, any more than a London Mortgage Company or a New York Trust Company would advance on a Regent Street or a Broadway property the full amount of its selling value.

The tenant converted into a peasant proprietor must pay more annually for perhaps fifty years—that is, far beyond the term of a working life—than he does now as a tenant; and therefore this farmer, who is so poor that we have had to change the Irish land laws to protect him, is expected to be rich enough not only to pay the fixed fair rent, but to pay an annual instalment in redemption of the price of his farm, so that whatever happens to the poor tenant who has undertaken to become a peasant proprietor, this at least we know, that he would be better off if he had no such annual instalment to pay. Then he must take not only the chances of good and bad harvests, but also a rise or fall in the value of the property itself. After having paid instalments for many years he will be in danger of a fall in land, wiping out the value of all that he has paid.

If he is a tenant, on the other hand, he is adjudged to pay a fair rent calculated to yield perhaps three or four per cent. on the selling value of the land, and so long as he pays that, he cannot be dispossessed except for some reason deemed by the Court to be sufficient, and then only on receiving large compensation, amounting to seven years' rent, if the rent is £30, or under. If through failure to pay his rent he is evicted, he can sell his tenant right to the landlord, or to some other tenant. At the end of fifteen years the rent is subject to re-valuation either by the court or by consent, between landlord and tenant, so that these periodical re-valuations make him a permanent tenant at a rent which is re-adjusted every fifteen years, so as to be always fair and equitable in changing circumstances as to profit on cultivation. This system is very much preferable to peasant proprietorship, as it is practically proprietorship with no

possibility of eviction except for some unusual purpose which the Courts approve of, and which carries large compensation to the outgoing tenant, so long, that is to say, as the tenant pays a fair rent, which is equivalent to saying that the nominal landlord holds a mortgage for the full value of the land ; and so long as the tenant pays about four per cent. interest or less, on this full value, he cannot be ejected. If the tenant were a proprietor, and had paid one-quarter of the purchase-money in cash, it is hardly too much to say, that the interest he would have to pay on a mortgage for the three-quarters would be greater in amount than the rent he now pays to the landlord for the holding. It is almost unnecessary to remark that the danger of foreclosure of mortgage, and consequent loss of the holding would be much greater than the danger of eviction is now, because the tenant only pays a fair rent, whereas in most cases the interest on the mortgage would be excessive and ruinous. The result of establishing peasant proprietorship would be that the interest payable on mortgages would be far larger than the legal fair rent payable to the landlord, and we should ultimately be called on, in justice to Ireland, to pass an Irish Interest Act providing that the interest on mortgages of holdings must not exceed three-and-a-half or four per cent. Already we know that the local money-lender in Ireland is regarded as one of the curses of the country ; and deliberately to establish, or even encourage, a system that would throw the tenants of Ireland from the system of the fair rents of the landlords into the extortionate and relentless grasp of the local usurers, would indeed be an act of extraordinary folly. We have already given the Irish tenants practical proprietorship without any payment, and with interest at a very low rate in the form of rent ; and as these are by far the most favourable terms of occupancy for a poor people that have yet been devised, peasant proprietorship is altogether undesirable because an easier, more profitable and more appropriate system has already been introduced.

The next remedy suggested is emigration, and this is generally regarded as offering more grounds for hope than any of the other suggestions. By adopting a very extensive system of emigration, a great deal of present good might be done ; although it is difficult to find remedies that are not accompanied by great drawbacks. Those most willing and anxious to emigrate from poor surroundings are generally those who, on account of their superior intelligence, energy, and ambition, are most needed at home. But to withdraw population from the more crowded districts would undoubtedly be a great service both to those who go and to those who stay, and it would have the very important advantage of enabling insufficient holdings to be added to, and

thus of helping to bring about a condition of comfort and contentment among the peasantry. But if the departure of large numbers should have the result of only again stimulating the increase of population, then in a few brief years there would be a recurrence of all the present evils. If it could be rendered certain that an extensive system of emigration would, by diminishing the excessive numbers, bring about a higher degree of permanent comfort and a higher standard of living among the Irish people, which they would not permit themselves to sink below, then hardly any expenditure by the Government that might be necessary to carry out such an emigration scheme would be too great.

But it would be unwise to expect that even emigration will achieve very marked results where such a vast change has to be effected. The danger is that with a people who have for so long endured such a low and poverty-stricken scale of living with comparative equanimity, the temptation when they are better off to so increase in numbers as gradually to relapse into their former wretchedness, will be too great for them to resist. A man may change his trade or his religion, but to expect that millions of people are going completely to change their character, would be an extremely sanguine forecast. No race that ever lived could suddenly take the fullest advantage of the opportunity of rising to a higher condition of social life, though selected individuals might, and the Irish temperament is one of those least likely to be kept at a high degree of tension in new circumstances, even if the peasantry were once raised to a greater degree of comfort. But it is right that no reasonable means of increasing their present or permanent welfare should be left untried, and therefore emigration should be undertaken by the Government. If it does not effect all the good we could wish, it will at least produce considerable amelioration in the condition of the people.*

* Nothing could more clearly show the virulent animus and the utterly irresponsible character of the Irish politicians in the United States than the late visit to President Arthur of a deputation from the Irish American Land League headed by Mr. Sullivan, of Chicago, its President, to urge upon him the danger to Americans and their institutions of the arrival at New York or Boston of a few pauper emigrants from Ireland. Not the American people born on the soil, not the poor American mechanic or labourer who might look askance at the flooding of the labour market on which he depended for his daily bread, had any complaint to make, any ungenerous or unsympathetic feeling for the poor Irish glad to find their way to a land of hope; but the leader of the organized Irish patriots in the United States and some of his followers rushed from Chicago to Washington in hot haste, not to denounce the dynamite ruffians, not to urge precautions against corruption and fraud, but to insist that the power of the United States Government should be

The next suggestion of a remedy is of the investment of English capital in manufacturing in Ireland, and in the drainage and reclamation of bogs and swamps. This would be very desirable as a means of employing labour and of diversifying industry. But what Englishman or Scotchman with his capital safely in this country would care to remove it to the three Southern Provinces of Ireland, with a very doubtful prospect of profit, when he reads almost daily in the press the speeches of the Irish leaders, breathing out threatenings and denunciations against the British people, and inciting the Irish populace, on whose co-operation and labour British capitalists would have to depend, to hatred and to confiscation? What Northerner, in the days of the Ku Klux and the Bulldozers would have deliberately transferred his capital from his northern stronghold to districts in which these lawless hordes were a law unto themselves, and a terror to the people within their reach? We very much regret that manufactures do not exist to any extent in Leinster, Munster, and Connaught; but in the present lawlessness and unfriendliness of the people, there is no possible inducement for manufacturers to betake themselves to these provinces. We have already referred to the great manufacturing activity of Ulster, where there is a more thrifty, self-reliant, and energetic population, with a large infusion of Protestants; but we see no hope of a similar state of things in the other provinces, which are almost altogether Roman Catholic, so long as the popular ideal of government is anarchy; their ideal of security, lawlessness and intimidation; their ideal of liberty, despotism by the small clique to whom they give unlimited and irresponsible power, and whose advice, often misguiding and dangerous, they implicitly follow. Capital will not flow either from England or the United States to Ireland so long as there is no peace, no security, and no stability in the Irish people themselves; but if the time ever comes when the Irish leaders are wise men, and the people are

invoked to send back to Ireland about twenty of his own poor countrymen and countrywomen, whose independence in the United States could in all probability have been secured by the gift of the amount of money that it cost to take that deputation from Chicago to the White House and back. No wonder the Irish in Canada were at a loss to understand the motive for such inhuman conduct against their own race, whom they pretend to be anxious to assist and to raise to comfort and independence. This is but a poor augury for the treatment that the Irish people would receive at the hands of the leaders of the Irish Republic if such a thing were possible, which happily for them it is not. President Arthur has the gift of exceeding good sense, and as long as he is in office it is safe to say the American Government will do nothing unjust, unfriendly, or undignified; and few men in America are more likely than he to take such ebullitions of spite and rage with calmness, and equanimity, and to rate them at their true value.

willing to abandon political turbulence and welcome industrious capitalists, there will be some hope of benefit to the people from this source.

Frequently the cry goes forth that the Irish Republic is at hand, and many are carried away by the glamour of a name which they regard as identified with a sort of millennial institution. Amongst the Irish in the United States the delusion is even more general than in Ireland, because as they are not willing to mingle on equal terms with the rest of the world, and as they are not numerous enough to secede and set up on American soil the free and independent Irish Republic, they are anxious for the time when that invincible institution shall be established on the soil of Ireland. And in the imaginative ardour of hope they hold enthusiastic meetings and pass resolutions of undying hatred to England and Scotland, and stipulate for the early establishment of their republic in Ireland, because there are at least a hundred Irish-Americans waiting to offer themselves from patriotic motives for the presidency of the Irish Republic, and probably twenty thousand more whose ambition does not go beyond the position of a Cabinet Minister, or General, or Admiral, or Ambassador, or Judge, and if these are filled up, then of tide-waiter or constable. But the Irish here are also dreaming of seals and red-tape, and drafts on the Bank of the Irish Republic, and official dignities, and are not likely to give way even to the trained politicians of Tammany Hall.

In spite of the ridicule with which Americans are wont, in private and sometimes in public, to treat the extravagant pretensions of Irish patriotism, they have, no doubt, a decided liking for anything that bears the name Republic, and for this reason they have a sort of indefinite floating belief that there might be something good even in an Irish republic. We quite understand the charm to the American ear of the talismanic word Republic. But there is something more important than names: there are the things that the names represent; and though the name of the Irish Republic may bring up mental foreshadowings of some sort of beneficent institution, a consideration of what it would really be, will show that it could hardly fail to prove the greatest calamity that ever overtook a generous though misguided people. Let Americans imagine what would be the result of the city of New York being placed under the sole government of Tammany and Irving Halls, so that the "Irish idea" should be absolutely supreme. Why, the prospect of such a thing would be regarded with alarm and horror. If the supposition were to be made that the inhabitants of Brooklyn were for some cause or other to carry on the city government of New York, there would be no such fear and trembling, because, although, of

course, New Yorkers prefer to manage their own affairs themselves, yet they have ample confidence in the decency, common-sense, and conscientiousness of the American people, and they would trust the inhabitants of Brooklyn and, we daresay, those of London, Liverpool, or Glasgow, under circumstances in which they would utterly distrust the Irish-American politicians.

In New York the Irish have no special grievances against the American inhabitants except the one for which the Irish vote is specially organized—namely, that Americans are so unkind as not to give the Irish patriots all the public offices. Yet we have never heard a single defence of the conduct of the Irish organized vote, and we have rarely heard this important subject referred to without a wish being expressed that this method of systematically perverting the procedure of democratic government could be swept away. A republic with universal suffrage is in American estimation a very good thing; but is the republicanism of the Irish in New York and other large cities, and the universal suffrage as concentrated to be bought and sold in the Irish vote, a republicanism or universal suffrage that can be regarded by Americans with approving eyes?

It cannot be concealed that the preponderating opinion regarding the Irish, arrived at with due deliberation by Americans after seeing their conduct under the most hopeful and most favourable circumstances in the United States, is that they are deficient in the qualities requisite for a republican form of government, and in appreciation of public rights and duties; and that they are sadly wanting in that sentiment of justice essential to freemen by which each guarantees his own rights by respecting the rights of others. Their narrowing tendency to clanship for exclusive and selfish political purposes, and the readiness with which they place themselves and their votes at the beck and call of some leader without judging of his acts or his motives, and without any regard whatever to the general welfare, are fatal to the existence of the conditions out of which democratic institutions spring. Liberty exists in Ireland not in consequence of any self-governing qualities in the people, but because the British Government, in all circumstances, and at all hazards, maintains law and order. Liberty exists in New York and the other large cities of the Union, not by the co-operation of the mass of the Irish voters, but in spite of their worst machinations in the abuse of the forms of republicanism to selfish and unpatriotic purposes, which, if they could be effected, would lead to the subversion of liberty itself.

Yet some Americans, though we have met but few of this class, have been so carried away by Irish rhetoric, that they are anxious for the establishment of the Irish Republic. They expect

to see Ireland regenerated by the waving of green flags and by brass bands playing Irish patriotic airs. If they could only see the name of the Irish Republic on the map of the green isle, then they think liberty, peace and prosperity would be assured. But it would be an irretrievable misfortune for the Irish people. There are no elements among the poorer people out of which to form a republic in the agricultural provinces of Leinster, Connaught and Munster, and the middle classes and the wealthier classes would be uncompromisingly opposed to it; while the people of Ulster will never be foolish enough to cut themselves off from connection with a great empire, from participation in a great trade, from being citizens of the greatest commercial country in the world, with all its advantages, in order to be the denizens of a small, poor and insignificant Republic of five millions of people, half a million of whom ought to emigrate for the benefit of the rest. The history of the Irish Republic, even if it could be founded—which, however, we regard as utterly impossible—would be confiscation, intimidation, terror, assassination, civil war, and in twelve months or less the British Government stepping in at the call of humanity. If New York has no confidence in the honesty of purpose or in the political methods of the Irish political voters to whom it has extended a friendly welcome, where they ought to appear to the very greatest advantage in the midst of a Republican people, what can we expect the political leaders to do in Ireland with a poor, ignorant and helpless peasantry?

Americans are justly proud that their magnificent domain has been the chosen refuge of the social exiles of Europe, those who believed that their labour and talents could there bring greater prosperity and happiness than in the overcrowded countries of the old world. But amid all the diverse races that have betaken themselves to that land of hope, there is but one that has not assimilated itself under the banner of American political citizenship, but one that has abused the rights and duties of hospitality, but one that has set up an organization for the purpose of counteracting the free play of republican institutions, but one that has organized systematic fraudulent naturalization and systematic fraudulent repetition of votes in different districts, but one race that has done everything in its power to gain its own exclusive and selfish ends at the expense of the great American people; and it is for the politicians of that one race that some Americans are ignorantly and thoughtlessly claiming the right to form an independent Irish Republic, where they may carry out at the expense of a large body of poor, ignorant and industrious Irishmen who are quietly pursuing the even tenor of their way, much as the great mass of Americans are doing in their own

country, the same course of destructive and despotic policy, and of unscrupulous attacks on free institutions as the political leaders of the same race have done and are now doing in the United States.

We have said there are no elements in Ireland out of which a Republic with any pretensions to stability or durability could be formed. We cannot regard the present erratic Irish leaders and their unreasoning and irresponsible followers as fit material out of which a real Republic could be created, even if we were convinced that they were a majority in Leinster, Connaught, and Munster. The party of progress in England and Scotland are willing to support the Irish people in all reasonable legislation. But we have ample notice that the aim of the Irish leaders is to find in an Irish Republic the opportunity for a policy of intimidation, outrage, confiscation, and revenge, and we are bound at all hazards to avert any such danger. This is the deliberately expressed policy of the Irish leaders, both here and in the United States, of which they have given us abundant warning, because they like to take all mankind into their confidence.

Perhaps Americans sometimes overlook the principles on which even their own government is founded. Politics is a practical art, at least in the domain of legislation, and it is customary to deal with political questions as they arise. The American Republic is based upon the principle that the majority of the electors must everywhere rule. This is the cardinal principle of the democratic system. But questions will arise as to the interpretation of this republican principle, and strangely enough it has, in the United States, been subjected to a tremendous test. In 1861 the Southern States formed themselves into the Southern Confederacy, and proclaimed their independence of the other States of the Union, on the ground that in accordance with democratic principles each State had sovereign rights by which it was independent of every other State and of the United States Government, and that the majority of the citizens of each State were therefore at liberty to act in their sovereign capacity. In pursuance of these assumed paramount rights the Confederacy adopted a flag, issued money, levied taxes and customs duties, and performed other acts of sovereign prerogative. Although many Southerners were opposed to secession, and still more were opposed to war, no one doubted that the majority of the people in the seceded States were in favour of secession and of the Confederacy.

The question then came up as to whether the Northern and Western States should accept the decision of the majority of the Southern people, and recognize the independent status of the Southern Confederacy, and it was decided to deny the doctrine of

State sovereignty, and to oppose the wishes of the majority of the Southern people as involving the dismemberment of the Republic. The Constitution of the United States, promulgated when the then existing States contained only about three millions of people, distinctly provided for State sovereignty; but in 1861, when the Union comprised thirty-one and a half millions of people, of whom twenty-seven millions were whites, a higher law was called into being, that, namely, of the preservation of the unity and indivisibility of the American Republic. It is true that the passions, prejudices, convictions, and interests that clustered around the institution of slavery gave birth to a form of social life and of civilization incompatible with the civilization of the North and West. The South felt itself perpetually menaced in its special institution by the other States, which were hostile to slavery and earnestly engaged in efforts to oppose its spread and effect its abolition. In the single Federation there were two antagonistic bases of society and of politics, in two distinct geographical divisions, and never were two separate nations more fiercely arrayed against each other, or, seemingly, more utterly irreconcilable than the North and the South.

The Southern States did not separate for the mere purpose of having an independent government, but to protect against the most manifest danger that institution of slavery which they had inherited, with which all their interests were bound up, and in which their wealth in great measure consisted, and moreover that institution which was consecrated in their minds not only by the traditions of their country but by the fiat of the United States Constitution. Yet in spite of the Constitution, in spite of the opinions and interests of nine millions of white Southern people, in spite of American law, in spite of the republican principle of the will of the majority, the Northern and Western and Pacific States practically set all these aside, and proclaimed the principle that the preservation of the Union was paramount to all other considerations. The Republic could only be rent in twain if the whole power of the North and West proved insufficient to maintain it. The people of the North would not tolerate the idea of a slave confederacy on their borders, hostile and aggressive, which would inevitably lead to endless disputes and troubles, and to wars subversive of both progress and liberty, while it would dispel that dream of national greatness which had always been one of the favourite themes of American patriotism.

We need not recall the terrible struggle that ensued, that tremendous war in which slavery perished for ever, and the doctrine of State sovereignty received a crushing defeat; but while we draw a veil over this inevitable conflict as one of the saddest pages in human history and the most mournful in the

annals of civilized nations, we have at least the gratification of feeling that the great American Republic was preserved, and we believe that a generation has arisen in the South who feel thankful that the great cause of fratricidal strife has been removed from their midst for all time.

The people of the British Islands cannot tread in the path of a greater or more illustrious example. They are willing to do justice, and more than justice, to the people of Ireland. There is no institution like slavery to interfere with a united and harmonious policy; but it will never be tolerated by the democracy of England and Scotland, and certainly never by the aristocracy, that an independent Republic or any other separate form of Government shall be set up in Ireland to suit the views of two and a half millions of people, even if so many, out of a nation of thirty-five millions. Even if the Irish leaders were the wisest of men, even if their institutions were totally different, as was the case in the Southern States, we should even then consider as the Northern States did, the unity of the kingdom as altogether paramount. If they were wise men they would not wish an independent Irish Republic, because they would see in the growing democratic power a security for justice, if that is the real object at which they are aiming, and in England and Scotland and the wide range of the outer British Empire, embracing nearly three hundred millions of people, one of the most magnificent fields for the labour, the intelligence, and the talents of an increasing and comparatively poor people.*

* Since this article was written, our attention has been called to a volume of 470 pages on the "Irish Question," written by an American author after a most exhaustive examination on the spot, and after hearing the views of the principal of the Irish political leaders. We extract from the English reprint the following passages, as we believe they exhibit the only conclusion at which an impartial and comprehensive mind can arrive—namely, that even from the American point of view the English and Scottish Liberals are the true friends of Ireland:—

"The reforms that the English Liberal Party have already brought about, revolutionizing in many respects the old order of things, the promises of further changes in the direction of giving the people larger rights and liberties, the extension of the right to vote, the reform in the grand jury system and in county government, the changes that will break up the great feudal estates and abolish the laws that have kept the land in the hands of a small class, the well-known design of Mr. Gladstone to extend and enlarge the powers of local governments, and the general tendency among the Liberals to favour reform and progress in every direction will suggest, I think, to most Americans the conclusion that the English Liberals are, after all, the true friends of Ireland, and much more likely to promote the objects that the masses of the people desire, and that are needed for the peace and prosperity of Ireland, than the Conservatives. Would it not be far wiser for the Irish party in Parliament to support the Liberal party earnestly and fairly in its efforts to promote these reforms, than to hinder and embarrass it, and so delay business as to excite the

What a misfortune, what an injury it would be to permit an independent Republic to be set up, and thus cut off the Irish people from British citizenship, from those numerous careers at home and abroad in every walk of life, in which the Irish find that ample and remunerative occupation which does not exist in Ireland, and which cannot be in any extensive degree created in that country! As every one knows, the Irish swarm in the great towns and cities, and are found everywhere welcomed and successful at the bar, in the press and literature, in art and science, in the civil services, in commerce, both here and in all our dependencies. What does not Ireland owe, and how much more may it not owe in the future, to the fact that her sons are citizens of a great empire in which every career from the highest to the lowest is open to them?

What sort of a figure would even a New England Republic present if its sons were debarred from the citizenship of the United States? The people of Scotland who send fifty-one Liberal members to the House of Commons to support Mr. Gladstone and only nine Conservatives, and are thus far in advance of England, though not of Wales, in the liberality of their opinions, might be thought to have much stronger reasons for setting up an independent legislature than the Irish have. The Scotch won and preserved free institutions because they had the qualities that enabled them to do so, in spite of their immediate proximity to a rich and powerful neighbour not always friendly, and they are deprived of legislation that an independent Scottish Parliament would undoubtedly grant because of the less liberal and less progressive English members, and also because of the obstructive tactics of Mr. Parnell and his friends; but does any sane man suppose that the Scottish people could be persuaded into having even forced upon them such a fauciful absurdity as an independent Scottish Republic?

But the Irish people, that is those of the three Roman Catholic Provinces, never having really won for themselves free institu-

indignation of the English people, hinder conciliatory measures, and create a demand for such rules of procedure in the House of Commons as seriously endanger the rights of free discussion and the privileges of minorities in representative legislatures? . . . Under the old system of land tenure the tenants were accustomed, sometimes with reason, to attribute their misfortunes and hardships to the landlords. Under the more favourable provisions of the new laws the fault will generally be with themselves rather than with the landlords, if they are not more prosperous. . . . The old passions and prejudices, the hatreds and distrusts, will [not?] die in a day. Designing men will, for generations to come, be able to profit from them, for the advancement of their own personal and political ends, regardless of the welfare of the people."—*The Irish Question*, by Professor David Bennett King (of Lafayette College, U.S.) London, 1882, pp. 316-318.

tions, and having much less capacity for self-government than the Scotch, are anxious to find in some high-sounding catchword a solution of difficulties which are well-nigh insoluble, and which their seclusion under an Irish Republic would only increase and intensify. If the Irish are badly off now with the whole field of an enormous empire in which to pursue their fortunes, what would they be as separately a poor people in a poor country depending on themselves and their own island or rather on the three poor provinces, for Ulster will never sacrifice the substance of British citizenship for the shadowy scarecrow of Irish Republicanism? It is difficult for the rising and irresistible democracy of this country to have any sympathy with the impracticable and irresponsible ideas of the Irish leaders. The party of progress cannot change the climate of Ireland so that its foggy and wet days will give place to the sunshine of California; they cannot keep the population of Ireland from increasing to excess; they are not responsible for the cultivation of crops on land that is only fit for pasturage, nor for the existence of bogs and barren land, or the occurrence of bad harvests; they are not responsible for the agrarian outrages for which the only remedy in Ireland, as in the United States, is something akin to martial law; but as their power increases year by year, they become more and more responsible for wise legislation to meet Irish needs, and they will assuredly be responsible that no attempt at an Irish Republic shall ever isolate Ireland and make the people more helpless than they are at present, or place in a part of a neighbouring island a hostile and revengeful Government of a faction. The British Radicals have strongly supported the principle in regard to Irish affairs that a policy of strict justice is the only effective remedy; but here, as in America, in time of danger or disturbance, force is the only immediate resource so long as unscrupulous and irresponsible politicians dangle before the eyes of an imaginative people hopes of an Irish Republic which will no more be tolerated by the British democracy than the Southern Confederacy was by the democracy of the Northern and Western States. The people of the British Islands are gradually drawing nearer to the people of the United States, because we are gradually increasing popular liberties in this country; and as the democracy of England, Scotland, and the North of Ireland sympathized with the assertion of the principle of the indivisibility of the American Republic, they confidently look across the Atlantic for encouragement in their earnest efforts to do justice to Ireland and to maintain the indivisibility of the United Kingdom.

ART. II.—HENRY GREVILLE AND LORD RONALD GOWER.

1. *Leaves from the Diary of Henry Greville.* Edited by the Viscountess ENFIELD. London : Smith, Elder & Co. 1883.
2. *My Reminiscences.* By Lord RONALD GOWER, F.S.A., a Trustee of the National Portrait Gallery. Two volumes. London : Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1883.

WELL has it been said, "This is a day of memoirs, confessions, autobiographies, apologias," and it might have been said even more of diaries and reminiscences. To that very full department of the literature of our day these two books are, at the time we write, the latest additions. We notice them together because they form—not without many and considerable breaks—a history for the last fifty years of our political and still more of our social life. The earliest leaf from Henry Greville's diary is that of June 25, 1832; the latest is that of September 17, 1852. Lord Ronald Gower's reminiscences extend from his early boyhood—he was born in August, 1845—up to the present time. Satisfactorily to review Lady Enfield's publication is impossible. The selections from the diary are preceded by the briefest of prefaces. The volume is not divided into chapters; it has neither table of contents nor index; the unhappy reviewer, therefore, is driven either to the labour of making an index for himself, or to trust to his memory. Some few men, Dr. Arnold was one memorable instance, Lord Justice Knight-Bruce another, possess the power of recollecting not only particular passages in a book, but the pages where they are to be found, and their exact position on the page. Wanting this power, the searcher for particular "leaves" in this diary will find it to be what Carlyle described as "an uncounted handful of needles to be collected from an unmeasured continent of hay."

Henry Greville was a younger brother of Charles Greville, whose memoirs are known to all the world. There was yet another brother, Algernon, who for thirty-four years was private secretary to the Duke of Wellington; he must have had as great (perhaps greater) means of knowing men and events as either of his brothers. Whether he kept a diary or journal we know not; but we have not hitherto seen or heard announced the publication of any such work. When Henry Greville was born we are not told by Lady Enfield; and we are left to infer his death

from her speaking of him as "her late uncle." Judging by Charles Greville's age,* we imagine that Henry was about thirty at the date of the first extract from his journal. Lord Ronald Gower† met him in July, 1868; he therefore survived his brother Charles at least three years.‡ In December, 1834, the Duke of Wellington, during his then monopoly of the Government, appointed Henry a *précis* writer at the Foreign Office. ("Leaves," &c., p. 47.) In the April following he received from the Duke a diplomatic appointment in Paris; we cannot determine whether it was the post of Attaché or of Secretary to the Embassy (p. 55). In September, 1846, we find him again in England, and apparently no longer engaged in diplomacy, nor does he seem to have returned to it; and towards the conclusion of the volume we find that he held some office at Court, which required his attendance on the Queen at the opening and proroguing of Parliament; this, he says, was "the only one Court function it amused him to perform."§ His character is thus sketched by his niece:—

"Those who knew him well will acknowledge the truth of my description when I say that his temperament was so happy and cheerful that it surrounded him with pleasant associations, making his life, on the whole, a joyous one, full of interest, and full of sympathy for all with whom he came in contact. He had an extensive acquaintance with foreign society, and should these journals be read by any of those who enjoyed his intimacy, whether at home or abroad, they will, I doubt not, recognize many characteristic traits of one who was a warm and faithful friend as well as a most pleasant and agreeable companion."||

According to Lord Ronald Gower, whom we shall find remarkably free-spoken, "acerbity" was a characteristic of Charles Greville; "frivolity" of Henry.¶ Charles Greville's friends appear to have spoken of him very frankly. Lady Granville, describing Hodgson, Byron's friend, said, "He is like Charles Greville, *only good*."** Henry Greville's diaries were left to Lady Enfield with the intention that she should publish them when she thought fit. They are not, we are told by her, intended as rivals to the memoirs of the eldest brother.

"This work," continues Lady Enfield, "cannot aspire to the depth of thought, the carefulness of style, the pungency of satire, which characterized the journals of my uncle, Charles Greville. As a lite-

* He was born April 2, 1794. Preface to the Greville "Memoirs," p. 10. Conf. reference to H. Greville's Oxford days, "Leaves," &c. p. 431.

† "Reminiscences," vol. i. p. 314.

‡ Charles Greville died Jan. 18, 1865. Preface to the Greville "Memoirs," p. 11.

§ "Leaves," &c., pp. 319, 392.

|| Preface, p. 6.

¶ "Reminiscences," vol. i. p. 90.

** "Leaves," &c., p. 6.

rary composition they are doubtless inferior to these; but still I venture to think and hope that in this volume there will be found something to amuse and to interest, with little or nothing to wound the most sensitive feelings.”*

The two brothers composed and revised their journals in a very different spirit. We find this entry in Henry's diary:—

“In the evening went to the Granvilles, where I found Charles reading his journal aloud, and we discussed what was and what was not worth recording in a diary. When I am writing my journal I generally feel that what will be hereafter most amusing is generally that which had best not be recorded; and then, what is important to-day is trite to-morrow. We live so fast” (p. 371).†

In another place he says, “I find it next to impossible to keep a journal in London, the great events are so great, and the little ones so trivial” (p. 343). Charles Greville always contemplated the possibility that after he was gone his journal would be read, and he adds, “I regard with alarm and dislike the notion of it containing matters *about myself*, which nobody will care to know.”‡ While alarmed about himself, he was, we suspect, careless and indifferent as to anybody else.

Henry Greville was devoted to private theatricals and to music. “His musical parties,” so the editor tells us, “were very charming in every way, and, being himself a thorough connoisseur in music, he attracted around him the best artists of the day. Mario, in particular, was one of his most intimate friends” (p. 334). The most interesting portion of this volume is the diarist's reminiscences of Talleyrand, with whom, in the closing years of the Prince's life, he was very intimate, and whom he describes “as a very kind old man.” On the first page we read that Louis Philippe wanted to have Talleyrand at the head of the Government, but he felt “it was not suited to him, owing to his age and ‘son ignorance sur la Nouvelle France,’ ‘les mœurs et habitudes’ of those who played conspicuous parts in the Chambers; that he was not fit to ‘conduire une Assemblée,’ and felt that he could be of more use as ambassador in England than in any other capacity” (p. 1). In the autumn of 1834, Greville paid the Prince a visit at his château of Valencay, “well situated on an eminence, commanding an extensive view and surrounded by a deep moat, and having terraces lined with orange trees. The forest is charming, of great extent, with large broad alleys cut for driving and hunting” (“Leaves,” p. 20). Life in a French country-house half a century ago is thus described:—“The day

* Preface, p. 5.

† Under date Nov. 21, 1850.

‡ Preface to Greville's “Memoirs,” p. 7.

begins with 'déjeuner a la fourchette' at half-past eleven, after which the company adjourn to the salon and converse until two o'clock, when the promenades begin. Dine at half-past five, and go to bed at any hour; but the early dinner hour makes the evening interminable, and the disposition of the furniture in the drawing-room is not favourable to society." One of the old statesman's customs was remarkable. "The Prince is uncommonly well, and seems as happy as possible, 'au sein de sa famille.' *Every evening at nine o'clock* (the entry in the diary is for October 12) *he drives for an hour*, and on his return plays his rubber of whist until eleven o'clock, when the post arrives from Paris" (pp. 20, 21). Many of Talleyrand's anecdotes and terse witty sayings are recorded. We select a few specimens. Referring to the horrors of the first French Revolution, "En bien," said the Prince, "soyez sur que si la République venait, elle nous rapporterait de pareils évènements, car les elemens existent toujours." We, who saw Paris in the power of the Commune, saw also the fulfilment of this prophecy.

"The Prince was very proud of a definition he had made of 'L'Amour.' 'L'Amour est une réalité dans le domaine de l'imagination.' Lady Clanricarde disputed the *justesse* of the definition, for love was *not a reality*. He would not give in, and said his definition was a much truer one than that of Scudery—

'L'amour est je ne sçais quoi,
Qui vient de je ne sçais ou
Qui finit, je ne sçais comment.'

"He made me laugh very much by a story against Narbonne, who was anything but amusing. One day he and the Prince were driving together on the Pont Neuf, and M. de Narbonne was particularly tiresome, when suddenly they saw a man, who was walking along, yawn violently, upon which Talleyrand said to M. de Narbonne, 'Ne parlez donc pas si haut en nous entend.' 'Les ignorans n'approchent pas tout a' fait de la vérité; les sçavans vont souvent au dela,' was one of his sayings (p. 22). Another was 'S'appuyer sur les bayonnettes est très bien mais non pas de s'y asseoir'" (p. 406).

Of the Lady Holland, whose eccentricities are chronicled by Macaulay* and by Charles Greville, Talleyrand said what in the opinion of Henry Greville was true of her:—

"Elle place une assertion, 'et sa preuve est son secret. Elle jette de propos mais elle ne développe pas. Elle fait semblant de tout sçavoir, car cela lui donne de l'importance, et quand elle ne sçait pas, elle invente, et la méchanceté vient de fausses nouvelles,' and this was why so many ill-natured stories were traced to Holland House" (p. 28).

* See Macaulay's description of Talleyrand at Holland House: "Talleyrand's Life," vol. i. pp. 231-2. †

Those who have been amused with the lately republished memoirs of Madame d'Abrantés, will be sorry to read that

"Talleyrand said the greater part of her 'Memoires' were false: 'Il n'y a pas même jusque'à l'année de son mariage qui fut vraie.' 'Ah, said Madame de Dino, 'c'est ce qu'il y a de plus excusable.' The whole time she (Madame de Dino) belonged to the Empress's household, she never saw Madame D'Abrantés at Court but once; the Emperor could not endure her, and he only suffered her to be presented to the Empress after Junot's death, and from regard to his memory. Talleyrand said she was very pretty,* *avait assez d'esprit*, but although she *travailloit ses memoires, elle ne les écrivait pas*; but they were written by two men who gained a livelihood by the trade. 'Elle étoit,' said Talleyrand, 'ce qu'on appelle un mauvais sujet'" (p. 24).

At a dinner at Lady Clanricarde's, Greville met, among other guests, Talleyrand and Brougham. Of Brougham, he says "that he talked without ceasing. His French is very bad." Elsewhere we are told of Brougham: "Somebody was comparing his manners, the other day, with those of Dupin,† who is rather in the same style," and some one remarked that "Dupin, 'ne sait pas les convenances de la bonne compagnie; Lord Brougham les brave'" (p. 123). At this dinner,

"Brougham and Talleyrand talked of Mr. Fox. Talleyrand said he had known him intimately. 'Qu'il étoit la meilleure personne du monde, écrivoit—des plus charmantes lettres, et parloit Français a merveille. Il disoit toujours qu'il le parloit mieux qu'il ne l'entendoit.' His favourite study was Madame de Sévigné. One day Talleyrand saw a volume of her letters lying amongst all the classical authors, ancient and modern, in Fox's room; and on Talleyrand expressing his surprise at finding her in such exalted company, Fox said: 'Mais comment donc? Elle contient les plus parfaits modèles dans tous les genres d'éloquence.' Those were his words. Brougham expressed his surprise, and asked Talleyrand if he admired Madame de Sévigné. 'Pardi je crois bien,' he said. Brougham said Fox was very fond of Macchiavelli, and he constantly read him. Talleyrand asked if Fox had not been 'très occupé de Madame Siddons.' 'Oh, que non,' said Brougham, 'je ne conçois pas comment ou pourroit l'être: on seroit tout aussi bien occupé de la mer que de Madame Siddons. Elle étoit trop grande dans son genre pour inspirer de l'amour. La Compagne des Indes, par exemple, pourrait oser l'aimer rien moins que cela'" (p. 46).

This idea will remind our readers of Sydney Smith's exclamation on hearing of the intended marriage of a very stout friend: "Marry her! What, all of her? It is impossible; you might

* Henry Greville describes her in 1834 as a "brown-looking old hag," p. 38.

† The eminent member of the French Bar.

walk round her, or read the Riot Act over her and disperse her ; but marry all of her it is impossible.”

It is well known that Talleyrand on his deathbed was, *pro forma*, at least, reconciled to the Church ; of this fact Mr. Greville gives a full narrative, which it is interesting to compare and contrast with another account just published, and emanating from another and a very different source. M. Ernest Renan in his “Recollections of my Youth,” relates—

“that about the month of April, 1838, M. de Talleyrand feeling his end draw near, thought it necessary to act a last lie in accordance with human prejudices, and he resolved to be reconciled in appearance to a Church whose truth, once acknowledged by him, convicted him of sacrilege and of dishonour. This ticklish job could best be performed, not by a staid priest of the old Gallican school, who might have insisted upon a categorical retraction of errors, upon his making amends, and upon his doing penance, not by a young Ultramontane of the new school, against whom M. de Talleyrand would have been very prejudiced, but by a priest who was a man of the world, well read, very little of a philosopher, nothing of a theologian, and upon those terms with the ancient classes which alone give the Gospel occasional access to circles for which it is not suited. Abbé Dupanloup,* already well-known for his success at the Catechism of the Assumption among a public which set more store by elegant phrases than by doctrine, was just the man to play an innocent part in the comedy which simple souls would regard as an edifying act of grace. His intimacy with the Duchesse de Dino, and especially with her daughter, whose religious education he had conducted, the favour in which he was held by M. de Quélen (Archbishop of Paris), and the patronage which, from the outset of his career, had been accorded to him by the Faubourg St. Germain, all concurred to fit him for a work which required more worldly tact than theology, and in which both earth and heaven were to be fooled.”

“It is said that M. de Talleyrand, remarking a certain hesitation on the part of the priest who was about to convert him, ejaculated, ‘This young man does not know his business.’ If he really did make this remark, he was very much mistaken ; never was a priest better up in his calling than this young man. The aged statesman, resolved not to erase his past until the very last hour, met all the entreaties made to him with a sullen ‘not yet.’ The *Sto ad ostium et pulso* had to be brought into play with great tact, a fainting fit, or a sudden acceleration in the progress of the death agony would be fatal, and too much importunity might bring out a ‘No,’ which would upset the plans so skilfully laid. Upon the morning of May 17, which was the day of his death, nothing was yet signed. Catholics, as is well known, attach very great importance to the moment of death. If future rewards

* Afterwards the well-known Bishop of Orleans. He died in 1878. He was the Bishop Wilberforce of French society.

and punishments have any real existence, it is evident they must be proportioned to a whole life of virtue or of vice. But the Catholic does not look at it in this light, and an edifying deathbed makes up for all other things. Salvation is left to the chances of the eleventh hour. Time pressed, and it was resolved to play a bold game. M. Dupanloup was waiting in the next room, and he sent the winsome daughter of the Duchesse de Dino, of whom Talleyrand was always so fond, to ask if he might come in. The answer for a wonder was in the affirmative, and the priest spent several minutes with him, bringing out from the sick room a paper signed Charles Maurice de Talleyrand Perigord, Prince de Benevent."

"There was joy, if not in heaven, at all events in the Catholic world of the Faubourgs St. Germain and St. Honoré. The credit of this victory was ascribed, in the main, to the female grace which had succeeded in getting round the aged Prince, and inducing him to retract the whole of his revolutionary past, but some of it went to the youthful ecclesiastic, who had displayed so much tact in bringing to a satisfactory conclusion, a project in which it was so easy to fail. M. Dupanloup was from that day one of the first of French priests."*

This is Mr. Greville's version of the story :—

"The Prince's family had of course been most anxious to avoid any religious *scandale*; and Madame de Dino, foreseeing that in the common course of events his death could not be far distant, had endeavoured by *degrees* to reconcile him with the Church. She had consequently much encouraged the visits of the Abbé Dupanloup, a clever man, and her daughter Pauline's confessor, and it seems that some little time ago Talleyrand had composed a letter to the Pope *semettant en regle* with the Church, and asking His Holiness forgiveness for the two offences of which he had been guilty against its authority: his marriage, and (as I understood) his having appointed constitutional bishops. When he was evidently dying, Madame de Dino was very anxious that he should see the Abbé, and desired Pauline to tell him he was there and wished to be admitted to him. 'Pourquoi?' said the Prince. 'Il voudroit vous parler de moi mon oncle,' she answered, and upon this he consented, and the Abbé was with him for some time, and upon his leaving him, Talleyrand said, loud enough to be heard by all present, 'M. l'Abbé, votre visite m'a rendu très heureux.' This took place on the Wednesday, and it was then proposed to him that the letters which he had written to the Pope should be read over to him for his signature, to which he at once consented, and so much had he all his faculties, that he observed that a phrase had been omitted. He then expressed a desire that these letters should be antedated to the day previous to that on which he had pronounced his discourse at the Academy; but upon this being objected to he at once gave way.

* "Recollections of my Youth," by Ernest Renan, p. 145. M. Renan was a pupil in the Petty Seminary of Saint Nicholas du Chardonnet, and training for the priesthood. M. Dupanloup was Superior of the Seminary. Conf. Article on M. Renan in our present number.

These letters were taken at once to the Archbishop of Paris, who delegated full powers to the Abbé to give the Prince absolution, and to say that he was sure these letters would give great satisfaction to the Pope, and 'que quant a lui, il donnerait, volontiers sa vie pour celle du Prince.' The Prince replied, 'Remerciez, M. l'Archevêque, et dites lui que sa vie est bien plus precieuse que la mienne, et que je désire qu'elle lui soit longtemps conservée; la mienne est finie.' It was then proposed to him to take the sacrament, but he said 'Je suis fatigué; je le ferai demain à cinq heures; d'ailleurs il a toujours été mon principe de ne me jamais presser, et je suis toujours arrive à tems.' (pp. 125, 26).

He, therefore, to the last, acted on his maxim—the reverse of the one usually received—"never do that to-day which you can put off till to-morrow." The circumstances of political life he used to say varied so much from day to day, that if a Minister attempted to be in advance of his work he would generally find he had wasted his time. Accordingly, at five he took the sacrament, at eight o'clock the King and Madame Adelaide* arrived. On seeing the King he was at first agitated, but, soon recovering, said:—

"'Ce'st un insigne honneur que la Roi fait a ma maison.' He then presented to the King by name his three physicians and his valet de chambre, and then said, 'les autres personnes ont l'honneur d'être connues de votre Majesté.' This was very curious at such a moment, and reminds one of the etiquette of the time of Louis XIV. The King remained a very short time, and soon after the Prince sent for the daughter of Madame de Talleyrand (Charlotte), who was to 'faire sa première communion,' yesterday, and he gave her a watch, saying to her, 'Si je vais la haut. Je prierai Dieu pour vous!' and then pointing to her, said, 'Voilà le commence-de la vie and voici la fin; singulier rapprochement.' After this he spoke but little, desired to be placed on a chair, and gave no signs of consciousness from one o'clock to a quarter to four, when he died" (pp. 126, 27).

Such were the last moments of one whom Mr. Greville truly described as almost the last specimen of a "Grand Seigneur de la Vieille Cour." His farewell remark to Mademoiselle de Talleyrand supports M. Renan's judgment on the sincerity of his reconciliation to the Church. Of Louis Philippe, Mr. Greville relates several interesting anecdotes, the most curious being one told him in 1846 by Mr. Sneyd, who heard it so far back as 1819, from the Lady Bute of that day. Mr. Sneyd, we learn from Lord Ronald Gower "had been a great courtier when he was a boy at Eton. His parents lived at Windsor when his father was attached to the Court. George III. had given him a Latin grammar, and he was quite an ardent admirer of that

monarch.* He was, in Greville's opinion, "one of the most available members of society in a country-house. He knows everything, and has a very apt memory, and withal much fun and drollery;" he frequently amused Greville "with droll and dramatic stories of the Hollands, Lord Bathurst and others" ("Leaves," &c., pp. 9-151).

"When Louis Philippe was an *émigré* here, he lived almost entirely at Luton, and even received a pension from Lord Bute of £500 per annum. One day at Luton, Louis Philippe was walking up and down the library while Lady Bute was writing. It was at the time when Napoleon was at the zenith of his fame and glory. Louis Philippe said to Lady Bute, 'Do you know, Lady Bute, I believe that in one respect you don't treat me like all my other friends?' 'How is that?' asked Lady Bute. 'Why,' he replied, 'you tell others of their faults, but you never allude to mine. I wish you would do so!' 'The task is not a very pleasant one,' she replied. 'However, since you wish it, I will say frankly to you that, considering the darkness of your prospects, you are'—'I know what you are going to say'—he interrupted her by saying, 'You think I am ambitious! Well, it is quite true—it is *plus fort que moi*; and at this very time, when there is not a gleam of hope of my being restored to my own possessions, and to the position I have a claim to, you will say it is madness; but I have a rooted conviction that I shall one day live to be King of France'" (pp. 156, 7).

The late Lady Granville had an interview with Louis Philippe shortly after his arrival in England in 1848. He told her everything relating to his flight, and said:—

"La question avait été considérée dans toutes ses phases;" that he had asked Guizot whether, supposing it were necessary, he would advise the order to be given to the troops to fire upon the National Guard, and that Guizot had replied, 'Non, sire; je ne veux pas finir comme Polignac'. . . .

"Quant à la France," the ex-king said, 'je m'en lave les mains. Ils ne veulent pas de Nemours car cela serait dans l'ordre. Ils veulent *Le Sourd* (meaning the Prince de Joinville). Qu'ils le prennent donc; ce ne serait point un bonheur pour lui, mais peut être un avantage pour la famille.' He added, 'that his reign had lasted eighteen years, and Guizot's Ministry eight, which was too long for them, and they were now anxious for a change'" (p. 238).

This no doubt is the temper of modern Frenchmen, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say of modern Parisians. At the beginning of 1870, a friend of ours asked a Parisian shopkeeper, "What is your objection to the Emperor?" "Oh, he has been here so long," was the reply. Louis Philippe told Mr. Greville's mother, "he certainly had not been aware how much depended

on himself individually in France, or that this 'bouleversement total' could have occurred by his abdication" (p. 244). This may only be an instance of his habitual insincerity.*

We have this story of a former celebrity in the Parisian theatrical world—Mademoiselle Mars, who was *très méchante*, had spoken of the Royal *Gardes du Corps* as

" 'Ces canailles de garde du corps,' which, they hearing, very foolishly sent one of their officers on the following morning to demand an apology. She was in bed when he arrived, but her maid went into the room to announce him, leaving the door open, when Mademoiselle Mars said :—' Qu'est ce que c'est ? ' ' Madame c'est un des officiers de la garde du corps qui desiro vous parler. ' ' Dites lui, ' she said, ' que Mars a rien a faire avec les gardes du corps ' " ("Leaves," p. 71).

At Chatsworth, in 1832, Mr. Greville saw for the first time the present Queen.

"She appears," is the entry in his diary, "gay and intelligent, and her manner is both childlike and royal. . . . I sat next to the Baroness Lehzen, who assured me that the princess was a delightful child, not at all shy, fond of music and drawing, and has a great facility for learning modern languages. . . . The princess sang with a nice little clear true voice."†

The old Duke of Wellington is presented to us in a melancholy aspect. Speaking of the Duke's passion in the last years of his life for exhibiting himself, Greville says, "he goes to every lighted candle." The Duke accompanied the Queen when she visited Manchester, "and was received," says Greville, "with extraordinary enthusiasm, notwithstanding which my sister had to nudge him constantly to keep him awake, both going and coming back, and with very small success." The editor adds, in a note, "he opened his eyes and obediently made his well-known salutation—two fingers to the brim of his hat" (pp. 390-398).

We have a glimpse of two of our great men of letters. "March 2, 1849: Dined with the Ashburtons, and amongst others met Carlyle, the author, whom I had never seen before. He talks the broadest Scotch, and appears to have coarse manners, but he might be amusing perhaps at times" (p. 322). Dining at Holland House, amongst the guests he met Macaulay. "Macaulay," he says, "has been at Holland House collecting

* *Vide* Sir John Bowring's "Recollections," p. 137; and Senior's "Conversations," vol. i. pp. 9-127.

† "Leaves," pp. 8, 9. The Baroness Lehzen was the Princess's governess. After the Princess ascended the throne the Baroness acted as the Queen's private secretary.

matter for his history. He was very silent to-day.* "The flashes of silence," as Lord Carlisle remarked, came much more frequently than when Charles Greville used to meet Macaulay at Holland House. Of Guizot, Mr. Greville says, "I don't think his society very agreeable. He has not enough of the 'give and take' in his conversation; 'il debite, et ne cause pas.'" He adds that "Guizot praised Macaulay's History greatly, and rejoiced that justice should be done to the character of that great man William III., and on whom he pronounced a warm panegyric." Of another great scholar of an earlier day Greville tells this story, on the authority of the third Marquis of Lansdowne:—"Lord Lansdowne having heard that Porson got drunk every night, determined one evening from curiosity to sit him out. When Porson had drunk all that the bottles contained, and when all the guests had risen, he walked deliberately round the table, and poured out the dregs of all the bottles, which he swallowed, and then, desecrating in a corner of the room a large tankard of small beer, he took it up and gulped down a large draught, which done, he said to Lord Lansdowne:

"When port and sherry are all spent
Then is small beer most excellent."—("Leaves," p. 395).

In reference to the storm raised by what was called "The Papal Aggression," we find the following entry: "Ashley† amused us by saying he had asked Shiel‡ what he thought would be the effect of all this popish affair, to which Shiel replied, 'It don't much matter what I think, but if you would like to know what Father Ligo thinks, I can tell you he is d—ning Wiseman by bell, book, and candle.' John Ashley said of his brother that, "next to a religious ceremony, the most solemn thing he knew was shaking hands with Ashley" ("Leaves," p. 375).

We close our extracts with an entry relating to the first Derby administration:—"March 8, 1852: The new Ministry has given rise to a volley of jokes. Disraeli is particularly the subject of this pleasantry, and it is mostly of a biblical nature. Somebody complained that he was ignorant of finance. 'Never mind,' was the reply, 'Exodus comes before Numbers.' Another person was *chaffing* Lady Colchester, a sister of Lord Ellenborough, upon the Government being designated '*Benjamin's mess*,' to which she replied, '*If he gives us Joseph's corn it will be all we want*'" (p. 417):

* Quoted in Trevelyan's "Life of Macaulay," vol. ii. p. 324 and note.

† The present Earl of Shaftesbury.

‡ Or *Sheil*, as, according to a writer in the *Saturday Review*, May 26, 1853, the name should be spelt.

We turn now to Lord Ronald Gower. With the frankness which is one of the charms of his book, he tells us his reason for publishing his "Reminiscences." "Once upon a time," he says, "an Italian nobleman built himself a funereal monument. On being asked why he did not leave the care of this work to his relatives after his death, he replied that he had little confidence in their taking the trouble or going to the expense of doing so."*

"Agreeing with this Italian," he therefore determined to publish these "Reminiscences" during his life. He justifies their publication in the motto on his title-page: "All men are interested in any man if he will speak the facts of his life for them; his authentic experiences which correspond as face to face to that of all other sons of Adam." No author's name is attached to this motto; we therefore attribute its authorship to Lord Ronald himself. We do not dispute the proposition, but when a man's experiences are so diversified as are those of Lord Ronald Gower, he may far more confidently than most men hope that his "Reminiscences" will not prove entirely "without interest to the general reader."

The reader who does not find in these volumes something to please and interest him, must indeed be hard to please and interest. Is he interested in social life? Here he will find the experiences of one who, as successively the son and brother of one of our most powerful Dukes, is familiar with the very highest of our social circles. If the reader is interested in Parliamentary life, here he has the experience of one who was in two Parliaments a Member of the House of Commons, an intimate friend of Mr. Gladstone, and one of the dearest friends of Lord Beaconsfield. Is the reader interested in art? He will find here descriptions and criticisms of the principal works of art in this country and on the Continent, by one who was "born literally in an art palace" (vol. i. p. 1), possesses hereditary artistic tastes which he has sedulously cultivated, and who, although as with characteristic frankness he admits, "as a painter he was a decided failure" (p. 379), is a sculptor of no mean repute. Does the reader prefer travel and adventure? He will find here the experiences of one who was a friend of Garibaldi, a witness of some scenes in the Italian War of 1866, and of others in the Franco-German War, and in Paris during the reign of the Commune, of one who has been in the United States, in China and Japan, and in Australia. In addition to the attraction of these multifariously diversified experiences, the book possesses the charm inseparable from the free spoken utterances

* Vol. i. preface.

of a mind more than ordinarily intelligent, cultivated and amiable.

We are told that the late Bishop Dupanloup often said "that a man's worth is to be measured by the respect he pays to his mother."* If this be so, and for ourselves we assent to the statement, in point of worth, Lord Ronald will bear comparison with any man. His mother Harriet, wife of the second Duke of Sutherland, one of the most amiable of her sex, whom in person Lord Ronald so closely resembled, that when they were walking together in Paris through the Palais Royal, a lady passing said to her companion, "Voilà, une mère et un fils qui se ressemblent comme deux gouttes d'eau" (vol. i. p. 216), was the object not only of his respect, but of his deepest affection, which finds expression in almost every page where he mentions her. Of all her sons he was her most constant companion. A year after her death he wrote in his diary, "I have lost what really made life worth living; there was always the knowledge that she would enter into whatever one did or felt. Whether in sorrow or in joy, her sympathy was always near, always ready even in the most trivial matters." For several successive years he spent the anniversary of her death alone at Trentham, the family seat where she died; and writing, nearly twenty years after her loss, he reiterates the conviction that "after her death existence seemed to me a blank, and life lost for ever what makes life most precious and worth having."† "A good Liberal," Lord Ronald tells us, "among the gilded youth of the present day, is as rare as a dull American or a witty Scot" (vol. ii. 327). He himself is a singularly good specimen of this unfortunately rare animal. Recording his taking his seat in the House of Commons in 1867, he notes:—

"My uncle, Charles Howard, and my cousin F. L. Gower,‡ introduced me into that august chamber. I could not have been between two stouter Liberals. . . . My politics, like those of my house, are and have been Liberal—not in the Radical, but in the Whig sense of that comprehensive term. Now that aristo-Liberals vote often with Conservatives, it is worth remembering, that in the year 1862, and half a dozen succeeding years this was rare" (vol. i. 278).

Whig though he be, he yet speaks of aristocratic customs and institutions, if not in a Radical, in a very sensible but cynical, if not contemptuous tone. Referring to the time when his family became the "Leveson-Gowers," as they are commonly called, he says—

* "Recollections of my Youth," by Ernest Renan, p. 157.

† Vol. i. p. 324. Conf. p. 318.

‡ Respectively M.P.'s for one of the Divisions of Cumberland and for Bodmin.

"I have always disliked the practice of bearing double-barrelled names, thinking that one is enough for an individual; when, as in my case, the Christian name is added to the surname, it seems to me an additional reason for keeping to one family name and discarding the others. Surely, to be addressed by five names, besides a title, is an absurdity only fit for a Spanish or Portuguese princeling, and, be it said without offence, I have often found the people that love a long leash of names are generally easily described by a word of a single syllable. One family, and one Christian name is enough for me at all events" (p. 70).

Speaking of his descent from Thomas Gower, "Serjeant painter" to Queen Elizabeth, he quotes the legend on the portrait of this worthy at Milton House. It runs thus:—

"'Though youthful ways did me intyse from armes and vertue,' &c., he had recourse 'to pensils trade,' a trade which he appears to have esteemed as more worthy than pride of ancestry, and he points his moral by introducing at the top of his likeness his coat of arms, placed in a balance, which is far outweighed by a compass. Agreeing entirely with my artist ancestor, that Art and Science are far nobler objects of pursuit than pride of pedigree, I have copied his device for a book plate."*

Probably many younger sons of dukes hold with Lord Ronald the opinion we now transcribe, but few, if any, have the moral courage to avow it:—

"Early in August I went to Inverary to assist at Lorne's† coming of age. I had entered my twenty-first year on the second of that month, but younger sons, as is well known, do not come of age—they only become one-and-twenty; but of course the eldest son of a duke's coming of age is quite a different thing, and must be attended with much ceremony, great expense as a rule, and general rejoicings, as if he had gained a victory or distinguished himself greatly by his being presumably the son of his father, and the inheritor of his wealth, estate, and ailments" (p. 251).

Lord Ronald, if he does not hold, inclines to the opinion of Mr. Bright, "That a house of hereditary legislation cannot be a permanent institution in a free country."‡ Describing the old family seat of the Gowers—Dunrobin—he mentions that

"The walls of the outer hall are emblazoned with the coats of arms of the House of Sutherland and its alliances. . . . There are vacant spaces for the cognizances of unborn dukes and duchesses. On seeing these places John Bright inquired, with good-humoured sarcasm, whether the family really imagined it likely that these vacant spaces

* Vol. i. p. 68. This device will be found on the title-page of the book.

† His nephew the Marquis of Lorne.

‡ Speech at Manchester, Dec. 10, 1858.

would be filled. Who, indeed (is Lord Ronald's comment), can tell whether dukes and duchesses coats of arms and coronets will exist in the land two or three generations hence?" (vol. i. p. 48).

Here is his opinion of our gilded youth. Referring to his efforts to make himself a painter, he writes :—

"On my return to Castle Howard, in order to finish a work I would have done well not to have begun, I worked harder than ever, nine hours a day! Mark this, gilded youth! Probably the gilded youth will think me the greater fool of the two, as the labour, I have confessed, ended in failure; but it proves that one who might have led the same easy, useless, frivolous, aimless life, thought it better to bury himself down in an old house in Yorkshire and work as few of the poorest of clerks and attorneys do or can" (vol. ii. p. 91).

This reference to the powers and habits of work of attorneys and their clerks is unhappy. Lord Ronald does not know the classes to whom he refers; not that we mean to disparage Lord Ronald's industry or his genius, taking genius in its usual acceptation as denoting a great capacity for taking pains. Of both his industry and his genius there is abundant evidence throughout this book. We attribute in a great degree his breadth and liberality of opinion and feeling, so unusual in men of his birth and position, to the fact that his education was not of the usual contracted kind common to his class—Eton or Harrow first, and one of the Universities afterwards, and at school or college associating only with members of their own class. From his earliest years he was carefully educated at home by masters mainly foreign. He attended lectures at the Edinburgh academy. He then became, with other English boys, an inmate in the family of a Swiss pastor at Colovrex, "a delightful village about seven miles from Geneva, on the Swiss side of the lake." This pastor, M. Eymar, was a good type of an aged Calvinistic clergyman, too kind and large-hearted to be bigoted, "but full of pride and zest for his religion and of the traditions of the Church of Geneva." The impressions made upon Lord Ronald by Switzerland he thus records: "Had I a son I should certainly send him to Switzerland, even if he learned nothing there, for the beauty of its scenery and the delight of living near the Alps and among its highly-educated and generous people, would be in itself a liberal and generous education. Youth in Switzerland may be, under favourable circumstances, a foretaste of heaven" (vol. i. p. 154, 55).

In the following year he joined his Scotch nephews at Eton. "Few men," he says, "acknowledge that they disliked the public school they were at, however much they may have done so. Fewer do so if they were at Eton." But with his usual moral

courage he adds: "For several reasons I look back to my Eton days as the least happy of my boyhood." At that time a boy, if he were only tolerably well grounded in Latin and Greek grammar, could easily get through the work expected of him at Eton, and he was allowed to forget—supposing him ever to have had any such knowledge—what he might before have learned of modern languages, history, &c.; but although Lord Ronald had acquired a smattering of knowledge of various kinds, he was ill-grounded even in the rudiments of grammar, and ignorant of even the little Latin that much younger boys at Eton had acquired. Hence, after a short stay, a little over a year, he left Eton without any feeling of regret (vol. i. pp. 145-147). After another sojourn at Colovrex, and with a clergyman at Colchester, who undertook to prepare him for the University, in January, 1865, he went into residence as a Fellow Commoner at Trinity College, Cambridge.

"The only difference," he explains, "between Fellow Commoners and others was that the former had the privilege of retaining the hideous chimney-pot hat, and of not wearing the college cap; of wearing a long loose dressing-gown of blue serge trimmed with silver lace, that would have become a Jack-in-the-green, instead of a plain black one—N.B. The gown cost eleven guineas, so much the better for the tailor—and of dining in hall at the upper table."

We rejoice with Lord Ronald that these Gentlemen Commoners no longer exist at Trinity. Such a distinction, however much dons, tutors, and tailors might profit by it, could in no way be profitable to the undergraduates. "Poor blue and silver gowns," adds Lord Ronald, "you have all long since passed into that limbo where all the gorgeous dresses end, from those of a field-marshal to the pantomimic clown, and from the King's coronation robe to the harlequin's blue and silver spangles" (vol. i. pp. 200, 1).

The University career of Lord Ronald was not distinguished. He confesses: "I did little work, nor did I try to take a degree" (vol. i. p. 275.) Like his uncle, the late Earl of Carlisle, he had a taste for amateur acting, and he was more successful at the "A.D.C., the famous Academical Dramatic Club," than in the Senate House (vol. i. 204, 209, 221). The comparative estimate of our much-vaunted Public Schools with our Universities made by so independent a thinker is noteworthy:—

"Had I a son I should think thrice before sending him to an English public school, and he certainly should not go to Eton or Harrow; but I should feel, did he not go to one of the great English Universities, that he had missed the happiest days of his youth. Nothing in after-life, however successful or happy that after-life may be, can come up

to the happiness of being at Oxford or Cambridge. There, for the first time, a man finds himself his own master, able to choose amongst his fellow-collegians those whose characters and tastes agree with his own. School friendships are but myths, lightly made and lightly lost, but at college are made some of the friendships, even attachments, which endure for life. Although the greatest friendship I ever felt for another dated long after my college days were gone, it was there that commenced first the deep lasting friendships of early manhood, often stronger and more enduring than the vicious or virtuous alliances generally formed in later life" (vol. i. pp. 275, 76).

His last term in Cambridge had arrived. It became needful that he should choose his future career. He thus analyses the difficulties in the way of fixing his choice :—

"This choice of a profession is not an easy matter when, as a rule, the church, the army, the bar, or the diplomatic service are almost the only four professions open to a young fellow with a 'handle to his name.' It was not then the fashion for younger sons of peers to become City clerks, or for younger sons of dukes to be stockbrokers or bankers. The church did not attract me. Perhaps, had I been born a century earlier and in the pale of the Church of Rome, I might have aspired to become a cardinal with artistic tastes, with a palace in Rome full of art treasures; but even the possibility of being raised to the Bench of Bishops in the House of Lords never filled my mind with anything approaching enthusiasm. Besides, a bishop is expected to be the husband of one wife, and even then the idea of matrimony was far from my mind. The army, I often thought, I could have liked; but it was against my mother's wish that a third son of hers should enter into it. She had lost one in it, and that was enough, and too much. For the bar I had no more inclination than the church. Thus there remained but one profession open to me—the diplomatic service" (vol. i. pp. 272-73).

He, therefore, was drifting into the Foreign Office when an unexpected opening was made for him. From time whereof "the memory of man runneth not to the contrary," the Parliamentary representation of the county of Sutherland has been, and still is, an appanage of the House of Gower. The seat was, in 1867, filled by Sir David Dundas, a veteran Whig politician, who had been Solicitor-General and Judge-Advocate-General under the Russell Administration. Lord Ronald may have failed as a painter in oils, but there are many who will at once see that he is a powerful painter in ink from his description of Sir David :—

"Of a fine presence and with a somewhat pompous manner. . . . His features recalled the portraits of Lord Chancellor Thurlow, the wisest looking man of his generation. He had the same o'er-beetling eyebrows, that gave a look of severity as well as of profound wisdom

to his countenance. He dressed in the fashion of 1830, wearing a very high collar and gills, which mounted up to his cheekbones."

Sir David was well on in years, and tired of law and politics, preferred his books to either. He sent for Lord Ronald, told him he contemplated resigning his seat in the House of Commons, and that his wish was that Lord Ronald should succeed him (vol. i. pp. 273, 74). Lord Palmerston, in view of the General Election of 1865, had urged the Duchess to agree to Lord Ronald's elder brother standing for North Staffordshire in the Liberal interest.

"The duke,"* he said, "objected that his brother is young; but I told him that six months in the House of Commons would go further to form a young man than two ordinary years rolled over his head (vol. i. p. 214). Lord Palmerston agreed with Lord Monmouth—'A man should be in Parliament early. There is a sort of stiffness about every man, no matter what may be his talents, who enters Parliament late in life.'"[†]

Lord Ronald agrees with both noble lords. Writing at the close of his first Session he says:—"Short as my time there has been, it has made me feel more conscious of many defects, and gives me greater admiration for the qualities of others. I echo Lord Palmerston's remark: 'That six months passed in the House give more experience than two years passed out of it'" (vol. i. p. 285). Sir David's wish was fulfilled, and in his stead Lord Ronald, then in his twenty-second year, was returned member for Sutherlandshire. We cannot find any trace that the electors were seriously consulted about the change of the person, who in their name was to sit and vote in the House of Commons, but there was a mock canvass. Lord Ronald's account of it is amusing:—

"My canvassing, if such an expression can be applied in this case, was of the pleasantest and easiest description, and consisted in calling at the houses of my brothers neighbours and tenants, all of whom I knew more or less well, and by whom I was received with the kindness and warmth of manner which the Scotch show to those with whom they have any ties of blood or of local interest and connection. I could never have endured the usual mode of canvassing, when so often the candidate for the votes of a constituency has never seen his hoped-for electors before he seeks their suffrages, and has to humbug himself and them into the belief that he has always evinced the deepest interests in their welfare, to admire and caress squalling infants, and to wriggle himself, as far as possible, into the goodwill of strangers" (vol. i. p. 277).

* *i.e.*, the present Duke, brother of Lords Albert and Ronald.

† "Coningsby," book viii. c. iii.

Early in his second Session his nephew and school and college companion and close friend, Lord Lorne, followed him into the House of Commons as member for Argyllshire, the nephew's election being as easy and pleasant as that of the uncle.

"After the swearing in had been got through, the Speaker told Lorne that just before he entered the House a member, who had been making a speech about tramways, had quoted a passage from Lorne's book relating to his travels in America, and that the opinion quoted from that book had turned the scale against the bill which was then under discussion. This little episode seemed to me of good augury for his parliamentary career" (vol. i. p. 299).

Some of his Parliamentary experiences are interesting. This is his account of Mr. Disraeli's appearance in the House after his first elevation to the Premiership :—

"As to the warmth of his reception there have been various opinions, but it seemed to me all but enthusiastic. When he entered the House of Commons John Stuart Mill was on his legs; but he had to interrupt his speech for several minutes on account of the ringing cheers that Disraeli's appearance evoked. The hero of the hour looked as impassible as ever, and, with the exception of the low bow he made to the Speaker as he reached his seat, he appeared as he always does" (vol. i. p. 300).

This is Lord Ronald's impression of a deceased member of the House of Commons, the beginning of whose career excited hopes which its zenith and close did not realize—the late Ralph Bernal Osborne :—"He has, perhaps, too much of the buffoon to impress, but no one can deny his cleverness" (vol. i. p. 302). He heard "Dizzy's" "heated imagination" speech on the Irish Church. He commenced it at 10.30, and at one o'clock in the morning the long, rambling, and discursive oration finished, not without frequent signs of impatience throughout the House, cries of "'vide, 'vide," at times almost interrupting the speaker.* This was the speech of which Mr. Gladstone in replying to it observed, "he would not refer to the circumstances under which it was delivered." The speaker's heat of imagination was caused by his consumption during his speech of frequent supplies of brandy and water, which had been ordered to be made strong.†

In the Georgian Era the House of Commons had its "Single Speech Hamilton." In the reign of Victoria the House has had its "Single Speech Gower." The history of Lord Ronald's one speech is the most interesting of his Parliamentary reminiscences.

* Vol. i. p. 303. The speech was made April 3, 1868.

† On the authority of a letter to the writer from a then Member of the House of Commons who was present. The fact was well known at the time.

In the Scotch Reform Bill of 1868 it was proposed, for the purpose of future Parliamentary representation, to group Sutherlandshire with other counties or another county. It is too much to expect of ducal or, indeed, human nature, Whig or Tory, that it should quietly submit to the loss of so important an appanage as a family seat. In all discussions of and proposals for Reform, the house of Bedford has always carefully watched over Tavistock. The house of Sutherland could do no less for its own county. Sir David Dundas was as warmly interested in preserving its representation intact, as if he were still its member. Lord Ronald consulted not only his predecessor, but Mr. Gladstone. "Mr. Gladstone," he tells us, "advised me only to speak if the representation of Sutherland were attacked, and most kindly promised to stand by me in its defence." On May 20, 1868, the clause affecting Sutherlandshire was reached in Committee. The member for the northern boroughs

"opened the discussion by attacking, in the most acrimonious manner, the representation of Sutherland. He said that it was not only a job, 'but that it stank in the nostrils of the people of Scotland' (vol. i. p. 307, 8). I rose, continues Lord Ronald, but I will spare my reader the speech; if he wants to see it he can discover it in 'Hansard,' or in the papers of May 29, 1869.* "My peroration consisted of a couple of lines out of 'Macbeth,' that I had laid my hand on that morning; you have but to open your Shakespeare, like Virgil, to find something appropriate for the occasion, be it what it may. These lines are to the effect that it should never be said that one was willing to throw away the dearest thing he owned, as if it were a careless trifle."† My relief when I sat down after delivering this specimen of oratory, is not to be expressed, and the conviction that I had done my best was pleasant. People were most kind and cordial, and came round me full of pretty speeches and compliments. It would be impossible to express what I felt while speaking; my own voice sounded so strange then, and I felt a kind of reckless sensation on seeing Dizzy spying at me through his eyeglass. I believe I addressed the House principally as 'Gentlemen,' instead of 'Sir,' or 'Mr. Dobson' (the Deputy-Speaker then in the Chair) as I should by rights have done. But both sides of the House encouraged and cheered me. A Member of the Government, Sir W. Maxwell, was good enough to say that I had made a spirited and graceful defence of my country. Both Gladstone and Dizzy voted against grouping Sutherland with another county or counties in the division that ensued. Just as the division was being taken I espied Lowe walking into the lobby in order to vote against us, but I promptly collared him, and he

* This should be 1868. The Reform Bills were passed in 1868. The General Election of the re-reformed Parliament took place in November of that year.

† See "Macbeth," act i, scene 4.

was one of the noble majority of ninety-two who maintained the present representation of Sutherland—"I O triumphe."*

"In spite of a not entirely unnatural elation at the success of my maiden speech, I was fully aware that unless Government had not intended to spare Sutherland, the result of that night's division would have been a very different one. However, it was pleasant to read in the *Times* of the next day, that one had made a 'spirited and effective speech.' It flattered one's foolish vanity to see recorded in a leading article in that journal, that 'this spirited speech turned the scale of the division.' By far the greatest pleasure my success gave me was the pleasure it was to my dearest mother to hear me praised. She received many letters on the subject, and I, too, got several. Here is a short and pleasant note from Sir David Dundas:—

"MY DEAR RONALD GOWER,—You have done gloriously and saved your *country*.† God bless you. Yours heartily, D. D."

Lord Ronald adds an account of an interview with Mr. Disraeli in reference to this division, in which the Premier betrayed the bargaining element of the Jewish mind:—

"A few evenings after this debate, at a ball at Marlborough House, Disraeli came up to me and after saying something complimentary about 'my speech,' as he was good enough to call it, on Sutherland, introduced me to his wife. I naturally expressed my gratitude to him for the line he had taken regarding Sutherland; to which he replied: 'Yes, I helped you, but you never help me.' I have, I feel, dwelt far too long on this episode of my short parliamentary career, but doubtless had Single Speech Hamilton written his recollections, he would have consecrated at least as much space to that unique event in his life; and we are on an equal footing as regards the number of our orations."‡

It is not in our power to refer to Lord Ronald's speech, and therefore know not on what grounds he vindicated the electoral rights of his county, or whether he resembled the owner of one of the boroughs in Schedule A of the first Reform Act, who, after listening to an hour's declamation by his nominee on the independence of the borough, quietly observed that the choice which the burgesses had made was not theirs but his, and it was not their independence, but the absence of it, which ought to have been defended.§

* *i.e.*, "Bob Lowe," now Lord Sherbrooke, he had two years before (May 31, 1866) made a strong speech against the principle of "grouping" constituencies. *Vide* his "Letters and Speeches on Reform," pp. 179-184.

† Vol. i. p. 310. The word in italics is *country* in the text; ought not it and the same word in the remark of Sir William Maxwell to be *county*? Lord Ronald did serve his *county*. His country would have fared as well in either event of the division.

‡ P. 310. It will be remembered that Horace Walpole describes Single Speech Hamilton "as at once perfection."

§ "Memoir of Earl Spencer" (Viscount Althorp), p. 331, note.

At the general election of 1874 Lord Ronald retired from Parliament; his reason for so doing being, "Now that young Stafford is twenty-three, it is high time that he should represent Sutherland."* In 1874 the electors of Sutherlandshire possessed an extended suffrage, protected by the ballot, but they seem to have been no more consulted then as to the substitution of Lord Stafford for Lord Ronald than was the constituency of 1867 as to the substitution of Lord Ronald for Sir David Dundas. Lord Ronald was invited by Lord Granville to contest the representation of North Staffordshire, "but I told him I had no wish, inclination, or intention again to enter Parliament" (p. 85).

Had we space at command we would gladly transfer to our pages many of Lord Ronald's reminiscences of men and things, but we must bring this article to a close, and a few specimens must suffice.

Mr. Gladstone was one of the Duchess of Sutherland's most intimate friends. He wrote constantly and fully to her (vol. i. p. 171), and we share with Lord Ronald the hope that some day this correspondence may be published. Mr. Gladstone wrote to the Duchess on his first victory on the Irish Church Question. "This is a day of excitement, almost of exultation. We have made a step, nay, a stride, and this stride is on the pathway of justice, and of peace and of national honour and renown" (vol. i. p. 304). We are not surprised to read of "Gladstone working very hard at his budget; he got up soon after four in the morning to go on with it," or that "in a very warm discussion between Gladstone and the Bishop of Oxford (Wilberforce) about the Roman Catholic Oath's Bill,† Gladstone was "very fiery in contrast to the Bishop, who kept his temper perfectly;" but we read with surprise, in an account of a visit to Lady Taunton, in Somersetshire: "The Gladstones were there; he was quite delightful, pouring out such floods of agreeable knowledge all day long, *and singing beautifully in the evening.*"

It is interesting to know that "Garibaldi, on being presented to Gladstone, said, as he grasped his hand, 'Precursur,'"‡ and also to know Mr. Gladstone's feelings as to his rejection by Oxford. "Apropos of the elections (of 1865), Gladstone said to Panizzi, 'The British Museum is to you what Oxford is to me, only you can leave the Museum of your own free will, and I am driven from Oxford.'" On another occasion Gladstone remarked, "Canning had said that a dinner in order to be pleasant should consist of not less than the Graces, and of not more than the

* Vol. ii. p. 84. Lord Stafford has from that time uninterruptedly sat for Sutherlandshire.

† The Bill of 1865.

‡ Vol. i. pp. 170, 173, 206, 212.

Muses." "Surely," is Lord Ronald's comment, "this occurs in some classical author, either Horace, or mentioned in Cicero's 'De Amicitia'" (vol. i. pp. 214, 215). Whether the idea is of classic origin we know not, but is Mr. Gladstone right in attributing its English form to Canning? It would seem to belong to another literary statesman, Mr. Gladstone's great rival, Lord Beaconsfield. We read in "Coningsby :—" "A little dinner, not more than the muses, with all the guests clover and some pretty, offers human life and human nature, under very favourable circumstances."* But Lord Beaconsfield may, without acknowledgment, have taken the idea from Canning.

We have also Mr. Gladstone's opinion on the literary labour of another opponent :—"Speaking about Lord Derby's translation of Homer, he said he thought it too rapid ;" that upon an "average he had translated thirty lines per diem ; this while engaged on his parliamentary duties" (vol. i. p. 199). We have mentioned that Lord Ronald was one of the dearest friends of Lord Beaconsfield, of whom Carlyle spoke to Lord Donald "with intense bitterness 'as that melancholy harlequin'" (vol. ii. p. 175). It is interesting to know that at Christmas, 1876, when no one expected that a great European war could be staved off, Lord Beaconsfield wrote :—

"I don't know how things will end—everybody seems to despair of peace, but I never despair, and think, even at this last hour, some settlement will be arranged. Nobody wants to fight, least of all Russia, but she has played her cards so ill that she will find it hard to extricate herself from a false position without discredit, though I hope we may even gild for her a golden bridge" (vol. ii. p. 144).

It was by Lord Beaconsfield that Lord Ronald was made a trustee of the National Portrait Gallery. The offer of the trusteeship was made in this letter :—

"DEAR RONALD GOWER,—Alas ! I never see you, but I do not love you the less. There is a vacancy in the Trust of the National Portrait Gallery, over which Lord Stanhope presides. The duties of a trustee are light, but they are most interesting and agreeable, and adapted to your tastes. If you like, I will appoint you to the vacant post. You will find among your colleagues some of the most eminent men in England. Yours sincerely, DISRAELI" (vol. ii. p. 88).

Lord Ronald having sent Mr. Disraeli, as he yet was, a copy of his book on the *Le Noir* Collection, received this reply :—

"DEAREST RONALD GOWER,—You must think me the most ungrateful of men, instead of the reverse, for not before this acknowledging the

* Book i. c. 6, vol. i. p. 199.

receipt of your interesting and sumptuous offering; but I could not bear to thank you by the hands of another, and I have been so pressed with affairs that it is only recently that I have been able to examine the contents of the welcome volume. It is a great accession to the Hnghenden library. A new portrait, to me at least, of Mary, Queen of Scots, and not a disappointing one. What women were Cleopatra and Mary! Men are in love with them still. When shall I see you? Ever yours, D." (vol. ii. p. 92).

So little is generally known of the private life of Lord Beaconsfield, that every reader will turn with interest to the account of some visits paid by Lord Ronald to Hnghenden. We confess that in reading them we are sometimes reminded of the indiscretions of Mr. Reginald Wilberforce. Lord Ronald's first visit was paid in November, 1872, in company with Mr., now Sir William, Vernon Harcourt. It was towards the close of Lady Beaconsfield's life, "who," he says, "with many oddities of dress and manner, is certainly a most devoted wife and companion," and whom he describes "as talking ceaselessly about her pets, her horses and her peacocks. Of the latter the gardens are full" (vol. i. pp. 421-22). He thus describes the host's reception of his guests:—

"Passing through a small Gothic entrance hall and corridor, in which is a bust of Mr. Disraeli when apparently about twenty, we were shown into the library, where our host welcomed us. He was dressed in a double-breasted tailless jacket, that made him look quite boyish. He seemed anxious to hear any news or gossip from town, of which we had little or none, the last scandal of a certain runaway couple not being new to him. 'To think,' he said, 'to think of her running away with an elderly *roué*, who was one of the most notorious dandies even when I was a boy.' . . . Harcourt having mentioned Edmund Fitzmaurice's intention of publishing papers relating to his great-grandfather, the first Marquis of Lansdowne, Disraeli said, 'Lord Shelburne was a man who never spoke out, which does not answer in a public man.'

* * * * *

"The only other guests in the house besides W. H. and myself were Lord and Lady John Manners. Lord John I had a House of Commons acquaintance with. He has that curious Manners walk which all the family have—a trick of lifting up his legs at the knee, as if there were a crease in the carpet, or some other impediment in the way of their progress. At dinner I sat next to Lady Beaconsfield, death written on her face, but, as usual, gorgeously dressed. Mr. Disraeli was evidently very anxious about her, and although occasionally flashing out into conversation, with all his curious play of arms and shrugging of the shoulders, he was evidently much depressed at her state. His attention to her was quite touching, and 'Mary Ann,' as he sometimes called her, was constantly appealed to. We did not sit long over our

wine after the ladies had left. Mr. Disraeli was proud of his wine, which is above the average. The conversation turned upon my uncle Morpeth (Lord Carlisle), from some reference having been made respecting the fund now being raised for the late member for Cork's (Maguire's) widow. Mr. Disraeli made use of some rather strong expressions about Mr. Maguire, and said that he (Mr. Disraeli) had stood up for 'Morpeth' when the member for Cork stated that Ireland was ruled by a dancing lord lieutenant and a dancing under-secretary. Mr. Disraeli went on to say how fond he had been of my uncle, and how greatly he had appreciated his character and geniality" (vol. i. pp. 415-16).

The dancing habits of Lord Morpeth, when Irish Secretary, continued when in later life he became Lord Lieutenant:—

"'Neither,' says his nephew, 'shall I easily forget seeing him in St. Patrick's Hall, on the festival of that saint, dance an endless country dance, up the middle and down again. What *entre chats* and old-fashioned steps he executed; steps and *entre chuts* that are now as obsolete as the stately figure of the minuet itself. One of H. B.'s cleverest caricatures represents him dancing a quadrille with the Queen. It is taken at the moment when my uncle is executing that figure in the dance called, I think, *cavalier seul*, and every time one looks at it, it makes one laugh. I seem yet to see his good white head bobbing above the crowd, his jewelled star and diamond George and Garter glittering in the throng, and again to hear the old country dance music played with a gusto and spirit that only such a dancer and such a lord lieutenant could inspire'" (vol. i. p. 114).

We learn that Mr. Disraeli failed "to put down" Ritualism even in his own parish, though the clergyman was appointed by him:—

"He has a powerful voice and High Church tendencies, which are rather against his patron's taste, who told me when we left the church that, although he had begged him not to intone, still he would insist on doing so, with even greater energy than before, and especially upon celebrating a harvest home, when Mr. Disraeli said his rector would assemble half a dozen clergymen of fellow feelings, and then the intonation became something quite extraordinary, 'almost overwhelming.' The manner in which Mr. Disraeli related this was intensely droll; he half acted the manner of all these High Church clergy, and the triumph of his own parson at getting together so many intoners" (vol. i. p. 419).

"The visitors accompanied their host to his farm, in which he took great pride. 'I feel the satisfaction,' he said, 'of an English landlord coming out very strong on a Sunday afternoon, in showing his guests his territorial possessions, his pigs and his poultry, his farm improvements and machines, his stock and his stading'" (vol. i. p. 421).

"The dinner that evening was more lively than it had been on the previous night; Mr. Disraeli was in better spirits, and talked more.

His recollections of Cobbett formed part of his conversation. On one occasion, he told us, Cobbett insisted upon taking Sir Robert Peel's seat on the Treasury Bench. Sir Robert did all he could to show the intruder that he objected to this proceeding, but all was in vain; do what he would, Cobbett would not budge an inch. At last Sir Robert requested Cobbett to move, politely but firmly. 'I'll be d——d if I do,' was all the answer that he got, and Peel, continued Disraeli, had perforce to take a lower seat elsewhere" (vol. i. p. 421).

Readers of "Coningsby" will remember that in the description of "the crude and short-lived Parliament," the first elected under the Reform Act of 1832, it is mentioned—

"That old Cobbett insolently thrust Sir Robert from the prescriptive seat of the chief of Opposition."*

"The same evening," continues Lord Ronald, "Mr. Disraeli spoke to me very despondingly about his wife's state of health. 'She suffers,' he groaned, 'so dreadfully at times. We have been married thirty-three years, and she has never given me a dull moment.' It was quite touching to me to see his distress. His face, generally so emotionless, was filled with a look of suffering and woe that nothing but the sorrow of her he so truly loves could cause on that impassive countenance" (vol. i. p. 421).

Lord Ronald's "Reminiscences" conclude with his account of two visits to Hughenden after the death of its mistress, the elevation of its owner to the peerage, and his descent from power in 1880.

"Lord Beaconsfield he describes as little aged in appearance, but not strong, and feeble on his legs. He was, as I have ever found him, extremely pleasant, full of quaint humour, and never seemingly bored at being questioned on any subject that one ventures to put to him; however, once I felt that he had administered to me a well-deserved rebuke. We had been looking at some prints, one of which represented Whitehall, and I asked him if he had any doubt as to the side of the banqueting-house in which Charles I. was executed. Some time ago a Tory squire had brought his two sons to see him, and to receive words of advice as to their future conduct in political and social existence. Eagerly the fond parent waited to hear what his leader would deliver on so important a subject. 'Never,' said Lord Beaconsfield, in his most solemn tones, 'Never ask in society who wrote Junius's letter, or on any account inquire on which side of the banqueting-house Charles I. was beheaded, or if you do, you will be voted a bore, and that is—well, something dreadful!' (vol. ii. pp. 347, 348). He said he had seen the story in print, and, unlike most of the stories in print about him, this was perfectly true.

* Book ii. c. i Mr. Disraeli was probably not an eye-witness of the scene; he did not become a Member of the House of Commons until 1837.

"Talking of religion, he gave me almost the same answer as appears in one of his novels, 'I would indeed be very ungrateful to Christianity, which has caused half the civilized world to worship a man, and the other half a woman, both of my race.' Lord Beaconsfield appears to enjoy being here quite by himself; he has not left Ilghenden, except for an occasional visit to London since last May. He told me of his wish to see Warwickshire and Shakespeare's haunts, 'but I have,' he said, 'never been able to do anything in my life that I wished,' at least, he added, 'not during the last thirty years.' He spoke of his travels in early youth, in Spain and in the East, but he has kept no notes or journal about them. 'I have never kept a diary in my life,' said Lord Beaconsfield; the more's the pity thought I. (vol. ii. p. 349).

* * * * *

"He alludes constantly to 'my dear wife,' and speaks of her as if she had been his good angel (vol. ii. p. 350). He gave me a curious account of the time of the Fenian rising in Ireland. 'Only three men,' he said, 'succeeded in stopping it; those three men were Mayo, Hardy and I.' Of the history of how that movement was stopped, partly it seems by paying well some informers in Ireland, no one will ever, Lord Beaconsfield said, know the truth; for Mayo is dead, Lord Cranbrook never writes about anything, and I have not kept a single note or even memorandum of that most strange and curious time. Chuseret, he said (afterwards the Communist General), we had watched in his London lodgings, and as he was on the point of starting for Ireland to take the command of the rebellion he was neatly stopped (vol. ii. p. 351). . . . That evening Lord Beaconsfield was in great talk. 'I am,' he said,—'the unluckiest of mortals, six bad harvests in succession, one worse than the former, this has been the cause of my overthrow. Like Napoleon, I have been beaten by the elements! Bismarck and I were perfectly *d'accord*. Had the late Government lasted we would have kept the Democrats of Europe in check; but now all is over!' Bismarck he much admires and personally likes. 'He is one of the few men,' said Lord Beaconsfield, 'that at my age I have been able to feel real attachment for, but all that is now over, and were he to come to England I should not ask to see him; there is no such thing as sympathy or sentiment between statesmen. I have failed, and he would not now care to see me nor I him,' he added, rather bitterly. He blames Hartington for not accepting the Premiership when sent for by the Queen. 'He showed,' said Lord Beaconsfield, 'a want of courage; and he abandoned a woman (the Queen) in her hour of need.'"

Parentetically we may observe that we presume Lord Beaconsfield meant that the Queen's need was to be kept from Mr. Gladstone as Premier.

"He thinks both Granville and Hartington lost their heads when sent for to Windsor, although he said they had plenty of warning what

would happen. 'Hartington,' he continues, 'would have had a large following, and for six months at least would have had it all his own way.' He said he had written to resign his leadership of the Conservative party to Lord Salisbury, asking him to succeed him; but he fears Lord Salisbury's health will not allow of this. 'All becomes chaos,' he said, pacing up and down the room, and waving his arms. 'All becomes chaos when I am away.' He wants to go to the south, to winter at Cannes; but he says it would not be worth while to go so far, as he has to be back again in his place in the House of Lords in January. He said that during all last Session, even while at Hughenden, he was never free from worry from his former colleagues and ministers. Every train brought some ex-Cabinet Minister to Hughenden. Lord Cairns, or Mr. W. H., or is it Mr. H. W. Smith?—I never know which it is—or Mr. Secretary Cross whom I always forget to call 'Sir Richard.' I think Lord Beaconsfield is utterly and entirely sick, and worried to death by political life, and would gladly give up the burden of being leader to his party. 'But,' as he says ruefully, 'they will not let me give it up.' His mixture of humour, drollery, and pathos when talking of these things was quite indiscribable" (vol. ii. pp. 355, 56).

During the same visit :—

"'Look,' said Lord Beaconsfield, as he stopped suddenly over the writing-table, 'look at these five engravings; they are interesting. There have only been thirty Prime Ministers of England, and of those thirty, five were Buckinghamshire men. That man in powdered hair is Grenville (father of Lord Grenville) who lost us the colonies. That is the first Lord Shelburne; that the Duke of Portland. There is Lord Grenville, and there—pointing to the print of Grant's portrait of himself—is your most humble servant'" (vol. ii. p. 357).

With the exception of Lord Grenville, we do not think that Buckinghamshire is to be congratulated on her Premiers. It is rather by a stretch of imagination that Lord Beaconsfield made himself out a Buckinghamshire man. He was born in London, his earliest playing place was not Hughenden, but Bloomsbury Square, where one of his playmates was the future Cardinal Newman.*

Lord Beaconsfield did not at that time expect to live long; he gave himself but two more years, but to the Queen twenty. He, however, died in the following spring. Once again the friends met at Hughenden. It was the November preceding Lord Beaconsfield's death. "He then looked older, and was much weaker, and was in dread of bronchitis, which proved fatal to him." He was living in solitude, but he declared that he liked

* "Cardinal Newman: the Story of his Life," p. 4. Disraeli is then described as having "a head profuse with long black glossy ringlets, a child of rare Jewish type of beauty, and full of life and activity."

it, and that he did not know what it was to feel bored even for a moment.

"He reads a great deal, and I believe he is engaged in writing something; but this he did not tell me. When I alluded to the report that Lord Rowton had taken the proof sheets of his new novel, 'Eudymion,' to the Queen at Balmoral, he laughed, and turned the conversation. . . . He spoke of his early friendship with the three Sheridan sisters, all beautiful women—the present Duchess of Somerset, once 'Queen of Beauty,' of Lady Dufferin, and of Mrs. Norton. . . . Lady Dufferin was his chief admiration, more beautiful than her beautiful sisters. 'Dreams! 'Dreams! 'Dreams!' he murmured, gazing at the fire, and smoking a cigarette he had accepted. 'I have not smoked, dearest, since you were here last'" (vol. ii. pp. 358-360).

Of the three Sheridan sisters, Henry Greville relates that when presented to Louis Philippe, he exclaimed, "What a batch of them" ("Leaves," &c., p. 41).

"Life," adds Lord Ronald, "Lord Beaconsfield said to me that last time I was with him at Inghenden, 'Life' is an *ennui* or an 'anxiety,' and he enlarged on his text by saying that for the self-made, life is full of 'troubles and anxieties, for fear of losing the position or wealth they have obtained; and for those born with position and wealth there is nothing to strive for, and life then becomes a mere bore, an *ennui* and a burden. My idea,' he added, 'of a happy future state, is one of these long midsummer days when one dines at nine o'clock'" (vol. ii. p. 359).

Pope's Indian's conception of a future state was not more material than Lord Beaconsfield's; it is eminently characteristic of the man.

We must here part company with Lord Ronald. We hope what we have said may induce those of our readers who have not read the book to make themselves acquainted with it. May we also hope that Lord Ronald, who is only now in the prime of life, will at some future time oblige us by a continuation of his very interesting "Reminiscences."

ART. III.—GOLDFIELDS : ANCIENT AND MODERN.

1. *The New Golden Age*. By R. HOGARTH PATTERSON. London : Blackwood. 1882.
2. *To the Gold Coast for Gold*. By RICHARD F. BURTON and VERNEY LOVETT CAMERON. London : Chatto & Windus. 1883.
3. *Gold Mines of Midian*. By RICHARD F. BURTON. London : Kegan Paul & Co. 1878.
4. *The Gold Regions of South-eastern Africa*. By THOMAS BAINES. London : Stanford. 1877.

A PHILOSOPHER might well ask what potent attraction can exist inherently in little lumps or grains of yellow metal to enable them to turn the heads of the wise, and to cause multitudes to rush hither and thither, enduring many hardships, frequently risking life and health, and always subjecting themselves to much severe labour, in the endeavour to obtain these glittering particles. For in itself, this much sought and highly prized metal is but poor stuff. It cannot be used to do any of the hard work it entails upon those who seek it. A golden mattock would be rejected as an implement by a practical miner, a golden hammer would not serve to crush the rocks wherein the rich ore lies hidden, and a golden boat would be but a poor ark of safety for a storm-tossed mariner. Nevertheless, from the very earliest time of which we have any written record, even to the present day, the search for gold has been constant, and its discovery has been hailed with joy as a great gain, not alone to the fortunate discoverer, but to the world at large.

If we go farther back, and turn over the pages of unwritten history, as revealed in the graves of long-forgotten races, we still find gold valued as a precious possession, to be lavished on those beloved and honoured in death, and although we *may* trace man back to a time when gold, as well as all other metals was unknown, our researches will show us man at that time as a savage, unacquainted with all the arts of civilization, excepting, perhaps, those of weaving and making rude pottery, so that we may confidently affirm that the use of gold is coeval with that great advance in civilization which dates from the discovery of metals, even if it did not precede the knowledge of copper and of bronze, for the latter being a compound metal, could hardly

have been the first known, and it is reasonable to suppose that gold, which is more commonly found in a pure state than any other metal, and is also very widely distributed over the surface of the globe, should have been the first to attract the notice of mankind. But at that early epoch it was used only as ornament—the first discoverer must have been sorely puzzled when he found that the heavy glittering nodule yielded to the blows of his stone hammer, instead of breaking into fragments, and doubtless curiosity led him to repeat the experiment, until the wondrous ductility of the new-found metal was revealed, and its adaptability to the purposes of ornament was fully established. Nor is it necessary to suppose that the discovery of gold and its uses originated in one spot, and spread thence over the world, for the metal is found almost everywhere, and the love of ornament is still more universal ; nevertheless, it is a fact, that in many countries where in modern times gold has been found in the greatest abundance, the natives being savages,* as in Australia, were wholly ignorant of its existence, and there can be no doubt, that the knowledge of gold, and the mode of searching for it, and of working it, had become very widely disseminated by commerce, long before any records of that commerce could be transmitted to posterity in a form easy of perusal. And yet records, decipherable only by the learned do exist, here in graven rocks, there in old workings, here in a name of river or tree, metal, or rock, there in the form or contents of long-forgotten graves, and everywhere in folk-lore, and in the obvious admixture of races.

How and by what routes this commerce was conducted, it seems almost impossible to discover ; but some years ago we endeavoured to point out in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW† that a race of non-Aryan serpent worshippers had been the chief means of spreading the metallurgic arts over the world before iron was known. It would be impossible here to recapitulate our reasons for that belief ; and our object in the present article is rather to show the great part which *gold* has played both in ancient and modern times, in the spread of commerce and civilization, and in the peopling of the waste places of the earth ; and space compels us to confine our observations to that one metal. There is a certain identity of form in many of the gold ornaments discovered in widely separated lands, which suggests the probability that they were either the work of the same race, or that they had been passed from hand to hand in barter, until they reached the

* When Brazil was discovered the natives were found using fishhooks of gold, but were quite unconscious of the value of the precious metal.

† "The First Metallurgists," WESTMINSTER REVIEW, January, 1873.

[Vol. CXX. No. CCXL.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. LXIV. No. II.

B B

spots wherein they have been found ; and nowhere is this phenomenon more plainly observable than in the splendid collection of pre-historic gold ornaments in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin. There we see golden torques, bracelets, and ornaments of peculiar form and unknown use, which we feel disposed to look upon as of native invention and manufacture ; but if we visit the Museum of Corneto-Tarquiniæ, we find exhumed from the graves of the ancient Etruscans, gold ornaments of the same form and pattern, and probably of the same age, the forms of some of these articles being still reproduced in bronze and gold in Africa at the present day, and there used as money. We can hardly suppose that the Irish and the Etruscans in early pre-historic times would have hit upon exactly the same form for gold ornaments of no apparent use ; therefore the fact of finding these things in lands so remote, separated by wide seas, makes some commercial intercourse more than probable—an intercourse which is indicated also by the Irish legends relating to the Nemedians, Fomorians, and Tuatha de Danuans, who are said to have come from the eastern part of the Mediterranean, or Middle Greece. Regarding these legends, the writer of the article upon Ireland in the “*Encyclopædia Britannica*,” says:—“With all their drawbacks, Irish ethnic legends . . . express the broad facts of the peopling of Ireland.” “The Irish legends bring the Nemedians from the east of Europe, which of course only means that they came from a distance, perhaps from Armorica or some other part of Gaul.”

We believe that when archæology has become a science, it will be proved that these legends have a substratum of truth, and that Mediterranean races—Phœnician, Egyptian, Etruscan, and Greek—were constantly voyaging from Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, or Africa, to Spain, Britain, and Ireland, in search of gold, copper, and tin. It may, perhaps, be advisable to point out a little more clearly a few of the articles in gold which seem to indicate the connection of which we have spoken ; and first we may draw attention to that peculiar crescent-shaped ornament worn either as headdress or breastplate, of which so many have been found in Ireland, and of which two may be seen in Edinburgh from graves in Lanarkshire and Elgin, two or three, we believe, are known in England, from Cornwall, and one we have seen in the Museum at Tarquiniæ-Corneto, having been found in the necropolis of Ancient Tarquinii. In the same museum, from the same necropolis, may be seen a gold cup of a corrugated pattern, almost identical with one found at Rillaton, Cornwall, and with another exhumed by Dr. Schliemann, at Mycenæ, and many curious little gold ornaments (or money) in form somewhat resembling the caterpillar, known as

the *looper*, which abound in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, and which, as we have already indicated, is the form still employed for bronze money in North Africa.

Instances such as these, of the identity of objects found in graves in various parts of the civilized world, might be greatly multiplied; but wishing in this article to treat of gold only, and to point out how widely the use of this metal—always of necessity an article of luxury—had spread in pre-historic times, and the indications afforded by its abundance, and the elaborate forms it had been made to assume, of the widespread knowledge of mining, and of the wonderful progress made in the arts by the unknown goldsmiths of those primitive times, we must pass them by.

In turning over the pages of Dr. Schliemann's books on Ilium and Mycenæ, we feel inclined to look upon the accounts given of the vast treasures discovered in those two cities by that enterprising traveller as exaggerated; and even although the articles are faithfully depicted, and some of them have been exhibited at South Kensington, we feel incredulous as to such workmanship having been possible at the remote epoch assigned to these wonderful relics.

But the discoveries of Dr. Schliemann do not stand alone; and the jewellery of Hisarlik and Mycenæ is rivalled, if not eclipsed, by the marvels of the goldsmith's art discovered some years since at Palestrina, and in the Regulini-Galassi tomb at Cervetri, the ancient Cæri, which Mr. Dennis describes as follows:—

“On the bare ground lay a corpse? No—for it had ages since returned to dust—but a number of gold ornaments, whose position showed most clearly that, when placed in the tomb, they were upon a human body. The richness, beauty, and abundance of these articles, all of pure gold, were amazing; such a collection, it has been said, would not be found in the shop of a well-furnished goldsmith. There were a head-dress of singular character, a large breastplate beautifully embossed, such as was worn by Egyptian priests, a finely-twisted chain and a necklace of very long joints, earrings of great length, a pair of massive bracelets of exquisite filagree work, no less than eighteen *fibulæ*, or brooches, one of remarkable size and beauty, sundry rings and fragments of gold fringes and laminæ, in such quantities that there seemed to have been an entire garment of pure gold. It is said that the fragments of this metal, crushed and bruised, were alone sufficient to fill more than one basket. Against the inner wall were two vessels of silver, with figures in relief.”*

The age assigned to this tomb is, according to the lowest

* “Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria,” vol. i. p. 268.

estimate, prior to the foundation of Rome ; indeed, Castellani looks upon much of the most beautiful of the gold work found in Etruscan tombs as having been made by a race inhabiting the country before the Etruscans.

Nor is it in Italy, Greece, Cyprus, and Asia Minor only, where the pioneers of European civilization so long held sway, that these treasures of prehistoric art have been found ; but Egypt, Assyria, India, China and Peru can each show golden treasures, dating from the dawn of a civilization, the remoteness of which can be only dimly guessed ; and that which strikes one as far more strange, is the fact that uncivilized Tartary, the ancient Scythia, hides in tombs of great antiquity rich stores of golden ornaments. It will thus be readily seen how widespread and of what extreme antiquity is the art of working in gold, and we shall not fail to be astonished at the abundance of the material, and the great skill displayed in its manipulation, in an age so remote.

When we advance to the early historic period the abundance of the precious metals as recorded by ancient writers appears fabulous. Let us, for example, quote the description given by Diodorus of the treasures of Ninus and Semiramis. The latter erected a temple to Jupiter, and, probably from the hoard collected by Ninus, placed therein statues of Jupiter, Juno, and Rhea, all of beaten gold :

“That of Jupiter was forty feet high, and weighed a thousand Babylonian talents ; that of Rhea was of the same height, sitting on a throne of gold, having a lion on each side of her and one at her knees, and near them two vastly large serpents of silver, weighing thirty talents. The statue of Juno was in an erect posture, and weighed eight hundred talents. An altar was erected for these deities of beaten gold, forty feet long and fifteen broad, weighing five hundred talents, upon which were two cups, each weighing thirty talents, and near them as many censers, weighing three hundred talents ; also three drinking vases of gold, the largest, dedicated to Jupiter, weighing twelve hundred talents, and the other two six hundred talents each.”*

The value of this gold is estimated by Abbé Bartholemy at eleven millions of our money. The accounts given by Herodotus of the treasures of Darius and Cræsus are probably familiar to most readers of the “father of history,” nevertheless they will bear repetition :

“Darius Hystaspes drew from the various provinces of his empire nine thousand eight hundred and eighty talents of silver, and four

* “An Historical Inquiry into Production of Precious Metals,” by Wm. Jacob, F.R.S., p. 11.

thousand six hundred and eighty talents of gold, which are estimated by Gibbon at three millions and a quarter sterling; and this treasure was preserved by being melted and poured into earthen vessels, which were afterwards broken, and the solid mass of gold or silver was cut or broken as required. Cræsus made presents to the temple of Delphi of four thousand talents of silver and two hundred and seventy talents of gold, equal to nearly three millions sterling; whilst Pytheus, King of Cilæna, gave to Xerxes the value of three millions six hundred thousand pounds of gold and silver, drawn from mines in his small territory.”*

Pericles stated the amount of gold in the treasury of Athens, B.C. 431, to be one million one hundred and sixty-two thousand two hundred and fifty pounds, and the gold in the statue of Minerva one hundred and twenty-four thousand eight hundred pounds. Alexander acquired by the conquest of Ecbatana one hundred and eighty thousand talents, the palace having been covered with plates of gold, and the pillars encased in the same precious metal; whilst Ptolemy Philadelphus is stated by Appian to have possessed treasures to the amount of seven hundred and forty thousand talents, the value of which depends upon the talent meant; if Roman, it would amount to one hundred and seventy-eight millions sterling, but if Ptolemaic, to only a quarter of that sum.

We are apt to suppose the early period of Rome to have been one of simplicity, in which wealth was not greatly accumulated nor highly esteemed, and are therefore somewhat startled to find *millionaires* among the citizens of the Republic, and the beginning of the Empire; for we read that Crassus possessed *his millies*, Seneca *ter millies*, Lentulus the augur *quater millies*; whilst Augustus had bestowed upon him by testamentary bequests *quater decies millies*, equal to nearly thirty-three millions; and Tiberius left at his death nearly twenty-two millions, which Caligula squandered in a single year. Of course, these vast sums were not in gold and silver only, but represented land, houses, and slaves as well; nevertheless, a fair proportion was doubtless in specie, and we thus obtain a good idea of the wealth of the great men of the mistress of the world, and find that the vaunted riches of Great Britain are, after all, small in comparison with those of Rome; whilst our State expenditure, which appears to us so great, also sinks into insignificance compared with the sum, nearly three hundred and twenty-three millions sterling, which Vespasian estimated as necessary for carrying on the Government of the Roman Empire. Neither were the more than princely fortunes we have named

* See Herodotus, book iii. cap. 26-27.

above, confined to men of rank and power in the State ; for we learn that Pallas, the freedman of Claudius, possessed nearly two millions ; and we may be certain that such tombs as those of Eurysaces, the baker on the Via Appia, denote a vast accumulation of wealth by private individuals.*

We have not hitherto referred to the wealth in gold so often set forth in the Bible. "The land of Havilah where there is gold," appears in the second chapter of Genesis. Exodus tells us of the jewels of silver and gold borrowed by the Israelites from the Egyptians, to be offered afterwards for the service of the Tabernacle. "And they came both men and women, as many as were willing-hearted, and brought bracelets, and earrings, and rings, and tablets, all jewels of gold ; and every man that offered, offered an offering of gold unto the Lord."† These jewels were converted into the golden cherubs covering the mercy-seat of the ark, the whole of which was overlaid with gold, and all the necessary vessels and ornaments were also to be of gold, for the manufacture of which special workmen were appointed. The dress of the High Priest was also very highly ornamented with gold, from the breastplate to the fringe of the garment, reminding us of the vestures of gold found in those old sepulchres, of which we have given a few instances. At the dedication of the Tabernacle we read of silver bowls and chargers and golden spoons. Yet this was after the people had broken off their golden earrings, and made them into the golden calf, the likeness of that bull Apis, so well known to them in Egypt, which Moses in his wrath had burnt with fire and ground to powder. This history is instructive as showing not only the wealth collected by the Israelites in Egypt, but also their knowledge at that early period of the art of the goldsmith, an art which seems to have been cultivated among the Jews in all ages. David left to his son Solomon a "hundred thousand talents of gold, and a thousand thousand talents of silver, and of brass and iron without weight, for it is in abundance ;"‡ and Solomon supplemented this treasure with gold from Ophir, using it for the ornamentation of the great temple, and for his own palace, throne, shields, drinking vessels and other purposes ; for we are told that "the weight of gold that came to Solomon in one year was six hundred and threescore and six talents of gold ; besides that which chapmen and merchants brought. And all the kings of Arabia, and governors of the country brought gold and silver to Solomon."§ Then we are told of the journey of the Queen

* For further interesting statistics see Adams' "Roman Antiquities."

† Exodus xxxv. 22.

‡ 1 Chron. xxii. 14.

§ 2 Chron. ix. 13, 14.

of Sheba, and her offering of a hundred and twenty talents of gold, all of which relations give us an insight into the magnificence which surrounded monarchs in those times, and also into the extensive commerce which existed as early as a thousand years B.C., and was evidently even then not in its infancy. The road to Tarshish was well-known, and to Ophir a regular service of ocean vessels was established ; which brings us to the second point to be considered—namely, the sources whence all this gold was derived.

Scattered among ancient writers are many records of the mines worked in different parts of the old world. Diodorus, in particular, describes very fully the mining operations carried on by the Egyptians in Ethiopia and Nubia, which latter was more especially the land of gold for Egypt, and the mines worked by them have recently been rediscovered by Linant Bey and Bonomi, in the district known as Attaki or Allaki, on the Red Sea, a description of which, and a map of the route to them, from the Nile, were discovered in a temple near, and are now in the Museum at Turin. In the reign of Seti I., of the nineteenth dynasty, wells were opened along this route, that the mines, which were then of very great antiquity, might be re-opened.* Diodorus says the miners were chiefly captives of war, and men condemned to hard labour for various crimes, and whole families were frequently thus condemned. When the earth is hard they soften it by fire, and when it has been reduced to such a state that it yields to moderate labour, myriads of these unfortunates break it up with iron picks. Over the whole presides an engineer, who selects the stone and points it out to the labourers. The strongest of them cleave the marble (quartz) and in excavating below ground, follow the shining stratum without keeping a straight line. In order to see, lamps are fastened to their foreheads, they go naked, but paint their bodies to resemble the rocks. They are followed down the shaft by little boys to pick up the pieces detached by them. Those above thirty are employed to pound the stone with iron pestles in stone mortars, to the size of a lentil. It is then transferred to the women and old men, who put it in mills arranged in a long row, two or three being employed to each mill, and it is thus ground to powder. No rest is allowed, no intermission of toil ; men and women, old and young, are driven to work with the lash till they die in the midst of their toil. The powder is taken away and washed on broad tables a little inclined, and water is poured upon it often, till the lighter parts are all washed away ; they then take up the useless and earthy particles with fine

* "Encyclopædia Britannica," Art. "Gold."

sponges, until the gold comes out quite pure; this is then put into sealed crucibles, with lead, salt, tin, and barley bran, and kept in a furnace for five days and nights.*

This account, condensed from the translation given by Wilkinson, is highly interesting, as illustrating the mode of reducing the metal from the ore, and of refining it, which probably prevailed everywhere in prehistoric times, for in all the old mines rediscovered are found stones and hand-mills for crushing the ore, slightly inclined slabs for washing the dust, and furnaces for the process of refining the metal. Captain Burton, in his very discursive book entitled "Gold Mines of Midian," mentions several of the old mining establishments discovered by him in the Wadys of that country, the oldest of which he describes as resembling the quarters in the Sinaitic peninsula, Wady Mukattab, once occupied by the captive miners and by their military guardians. He says, "A low hill of argillaceous calcaire, fine and compact, runs from north-east to south-west, a regular incline can be traced up it. The crest which fronts the Wady has all been worked, and in two places the squared stones—tooled with a small pick resembling that used in the underground quarry, called at Jerusalem 'Tombs of the Kings'—lie upon the ground."

Fifteen pits are spoken of, varying in depth from a few inches to half a yard, which were evidently mortars for stone crushing. "To the north are the ovens, double rows of some eight receptacles, the four to the north being almost unbroken; they are parallelograms of burnt tile measuring a yard and a half by a yard. Evidently by their shape they were intended to smelt all the metals together, but whether the miners could afterwards separate the gold and silver from the tin and lead can be determined only by a careful examination of the scorixæ."†

After mentioning several old workings in various parts of Midian, Captain Burton adds: "I may say that every Hydreuna, as Strabo calls the Wadies supplying water, was provided with its several settlements of metal-workers." "Upon a coast line shown by the chart to be only eighteen geographical miles in length, the Expedition found three large mining establishments, the Wadies Taryam, Sharmá, and Aynúnah, where I have reason to think the precious metals were worked till the seventh century of our era, and perhaps much later."‡

Here, then, we get another of the ancient sources of gold,

* Wilkinson's "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians," vol. i. p. 239 *et seq.*

† "Gold Mines of Midian," by Capt. Rich. F. Burton, pp. 140-142.

‡ *Ibid.*

and others are reported as having been found in the Troad, Thrace, Crete, Cyprus, rediscovered A.D. 1690, and also in India, but the latter has never been so prolific in gold and silver as we are apt to suppose, and the mines appear to have been so carefully worked in ancient times, that very little can now be extracted from the débris, yet we are told that the portion subject to Persia yielded to Darius a revenue equal to £600,000. Mr. Patterson says, "Speaking apparently of India Proper, but using names unknown to us of the present day, Pliny says the Dardauncans inhabit a country the richest of all India in gold mines, and the Selians have the most abundant mines of silver." "In the country of the Naræans, on the other side of the mountain Capitalia (the Vindhya Mountains?), there are a very great number of mines, both of gold and silver, in which the Indians work very extensively."* The shafts, tunnels, &c., of old workings have also been found in the Wynaad Hills. The legends of the ants of Pliny, "not so large as a dog, but bigger than a fox," who were robbed of the golden sand with which they formed their dwellings, by men mounted upon swift camels, and the one-eyed Arimaspi of Herodotus, probably refer either to India or Bactria. The satrapies, whence Darius drew so much wealth, included the whole of Asia east of the Tigris, extending along the Caspian, and comprehending Persia, Siberia, Tartary, and portions of Thibet, China, and India beyond the Ganges; and perhaps of all the discoveries of recent times, those of Gmelin, Lepechin, and Pallas, on the southern and eastern borders of the Ural Mountains, are the most interesting; we may therefore be pardoned if we give a somewhat lengthy description of these ancient workings, from Mr. Jacob's book, entitled "An Historical Inquiry into the Production and Consumption of the Precious Metals," published in 1831:—

"That they were the work of a nomadic people, probably Scythians, is conjectured from there being no traces of buildings of masonry near them. The extent of the works show that the workmen must have been numerous, whilst an inspection of them proves that only the first rudiments of the science of mining could have been known to them. Besides some implements, the use of which is unknown, there were wedges and hammers, all of copper, that had been smelted, but without any particle of gold in them. Instead of sledges, they seem to have used large stones of a long shape, on which are to be seen marks which show that handles had been fastened to them. They seem to have scraped out the gold with the fangs of boars, and collected it in leather bags or pockets, some of which have been found. In one instance, after having proceeded to some depth and reached a bed of hard stones,

* "The New Golden Age," by R. H. Patterson, pp. 277, 278.

the work, after penetrating a little way, had been abandoned. Some of the pits are twenty fathoms deep, shaped like a well,* and are about seven feet in diameter, the passages and props are well executed, but the former are so narrow and low that it must have been difficult to have worked in them. The natural pillars left to support the roofs are, in some instances, still effectual for that purpose, and in these are still found small particles of gold; in other instances the supports have given way, and in them are found some human bones, probably of those who had been buried in the ruins. That a great number of people had been employed, is inferred from the numerous fragments of earthenware which are found scattered to a great distance around. It appears that only the richest ores were worked, and some of them must have been smelted in the mines; for in the rubbish of one of the supports which had fallen in, there has been found melted copper and the implement for smelting it; some of these implements also have been found on the surface near the pits. The operation of crushing as well as washing the ores was performed in the rivulets, and, as is supposed, the latter was omitted in the rich ores, which were found on elevated spots. The smelting, whether in the mines or on the surface, was performed in small furnaces of which Gmelin observed near a thousand in the eastern part of Siberia. They were made of red bricks, and in them pieces of melted copper, from two to five pounds in weight have been found. The height and breadth of these furnaces were about two feet, and length three feet. There were holes on both front and back sides, but which was appropriated for bellows could not be ascertained. In the neighbourhood of these furnaces there are large heaps of scorix, but no one has had the curiosity to find out what metals, if any, they contain."†

The great interest attaching to these mines lies in the fact that they appear to have been worked before the discovery of iron, for Mr. Jacob says that iron ore abounds in the district, but none had been worked, consequently the working must have been abandoned prior to the Tartar conquest, B.C. about 150. It seems also that the miners knew nothing of bronze, but used *copper* tools supplemented with stone. There is also another point of no little antiquarian importance attaching to these mines, which is, that their position corresponds fairly well with that assigned by Herodotus to the fabled Arimaspi. Lenormant says, "Greek merchants from Panticapæum visited their territory (that of the Argippæi, in the southern part of the Ural moun-

* Captain Burton says of the Gold Coast: "It requires a sharp eye to detect the deserted pits, two feet in diameter and sunk straight, as if they had been bored with huge augurs. The workman descends by foot holes, and works with a hoe four to six inches long by two broad; when his calabash is filled it is drawn up by his companions."—*To the Gold Coast for Gold*, p. 348.

† "An Historical Inquiry into the Production and Consumption of the Precious Metals," by W. Jacob, F.R.S., p. 34 *et seq.*

tains) to purchase the gold found farther to the north, in the province of Perm, by the Arimaspi or one-eyed men; the merchants did not visit the land of these latter people, and a host of fabulous stories were told of them.* The gold produced by the Arimaspi and by the miners in the Altai mountains was the object of the voyage undertaken by Jason and his companions, according to Lenormant; as also by the Sidonians, who coasted along the northern shores of Asia Minor, collecting, during their passage, the principal productions of the different countries, and finally arrived at Colchis, where their vessels were laden with the most various merchandize, and the precious metals, brought by caravans from the Ural mountains.

That the Golden Fleece was not altogether the myth it has been supposed, may be inferred from a curious fact recorded lately in some of the papers. The natives of some part (we believe) of South America, use the skin of the sheep or llama to collect the gold sand in the rivers. By sinking the fleece wool downwards in the river and leaving it for some time, the gold becomes entangled in the wool, from which it is afterwards carefully collected.

The accounts given of the various ancient workings which have been discovered in many countries are not generally so full as those which we have quoted relating to the mines in the Ural mountains; nevertheless, the mines worked by the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, and later by the Romans in Spain, are well known, and have been described by various writers. Mr. Jacob says:—

“The first mines excavated by the Phœnicians were probably confined to Andalusia. The chief of them were at the foot of the Sierra Morena near the frontier of Jaca, and not far from the river Guadalquivir, by which the produce could be conveyed by water to Hispalio, now Seville, one of the chief garrisons and marts; where even at the present day stands the magazine called the Torre del Oro, said to have been built before the Christian era.”†

The same writer remarks upon the curious fact that the mines worked by Hannibal not only still exist, but are known by the same names to the present day, one of these—that of Bebulo—now filled with water, furnished Hannibal with three hundred pounds weight of silver daily. The mines worked by the Moors in Spain are also well known, and the number of shafts is surprising. Bowles estimates those at Linares as upwards of five

* “Ancient History of the East,” by F. Lenormant, p. 134.

† “An Historical Inquiry into the Production and Consumption of the Precious Metals,” by W. Jacob, F.R.S., p. 95.

thousand, and writing of these, as also of those at Ronda, remarks that both on the French and Spanish sides of the Pyrenees, the shafts dug by the Romans are distinguished from those of the Moors by being round, whilst the latter are square in form.

In France it seems difficult to determine whether the mines were worked by the Romans or are of later date. Crossing over to Britain we learn that gold was found in Cornwall, and was probably the object of the Phœnician and Roman expeditions, although undoubtedly tin was the chief treasure found. Whether the immense number of ancient workings still to be traced there were originally constructed in the search for gold we do not know, they are surface workings, although frequently of considerable depth, and the cliffs are often rendered dangerous by these old galleries—generally overgrown with shrubs. In Wales there are traces of old gold mines near Dolgelly, which are probably either British or Roman, but possibly also Phœnician. Ireland must have yielded gold in considerable quantities anciently, but the old workings are not described. Even now the gold found in Wicklow is exceptionally pure, although the quantity is small. We do not read of old workings in Scotland, but gold has been found there in modern times in considerable quantities. The old workings in Hungary have been described by Baron Born, who says ; “the passages which are three hundred fathoms in length, and six feet in height and breadth, are carried through a bed of hornstein by the help of pickaxe, chisel, and mallet alone.” These mines were re-opened by King Sigismund, who extracted from them, it is said, treasures of gold to an incredible amount.

It is, however, in Africa, from time immemorial the land of gold, that we find the most numerous traces of ancient workings. We have already spoken of the very interesting remains of old Egyptian mining discovered by MM. Linant and Bonomi, but throughout the length and breadth of the continent traces of gold mining operations of different ages, and probably by various peoples, have been found. The natives have always been expert metal workers, and have carried on a trade in the precious metals for many centuries, perhaps we might say with truth, for thousands of years. Almost every ancient writer speaks of the gold of Africa, and every modern traveller confirms stories long looked upon as fabulous, and tells of ruins, and traces of commerce, pushed far into the heart of the continent by unknown races. Many of the old workings have been ascribed to the Portuguese, who undoubtedly made very extensive explorations into the interior of the continent ; but many of the ruins are described by the early Portuguese writers as of unknown date and origin at the time of the voyage of Vasco de Gama.

The Arabs carried on a trade with the natives of the East Coast for centuries, receiving from them gold in considerable quantities, and it is recorded that when the Portuguese, in A.D. 1500, first reached Sofala by the Cape, two Arabian vessels laden with gold were actually off the coast at the time.*

Many learned disputes have arisen as to whether this was the land of Ophir. The discoveries made by Mauch of the gigantic ruins of Zimbabwe seemed to confirm the belief of many that it was to this rich land that Solomon sent every three years for his supplies of gold, ivory, apes, and peacocks, the latter being construed to mean ostriches. We have, however, no intention of entering into this well-worn controversy, but will content ourselves with saying a few words about these most interesting and remarkable ruins, which are certainly not so well known as their importance deserves. It was of these that John Pory, the translator of Leo's "History of Africa," in the year 1600, writes:

"Throughout all this emperor's (of Monomotapa) dominions is found infinite quantities of gold, in the earth, in the rocks, and in the rivers. . . . So that from hence, or from Sofala, or from some other part of Monomotapa, some are of opinion that Solomon's gold for the adorning of the temple at Jerusalem was brought by sea. A thing, in truth, not very unlikely; for here, in Toroa, and in divers places of Monomotapa, are till this day remaining many huge and ancient buildings of timber, lime, and stone, being of singular workmanship, the like whereof are not to be found in all the provinces thereabouts. Heere is also a mightie wall of five and twentie spannes thicke, which the people ascribe to the workmanship of the divell, being accounted from Sofala five hundred and ten miles the nearest way. All other houses throughout this empire (as is aforesaid) consist of timber, claie, and thatch. And heere I may boldly affirme that the ancient buildings of this part of Africa, and along the coast of the East Indies, may not onely be compared but even preferred before the buildings of Europe; the authors of which ancient monuments are unknowen, but the later African buildings have beene erected by the Arabians."†

In this part of South Africa there would appear to be several separate groups of ruins, differing considerably in style. The late Thomas Baines, the well-known traveller, in his last book, "The Gold Regions of South-eastern Africa," published in 1877, thus describes those of Zimbabwe, of which he gives a sketch:—

"The ruins are eleven miles east of the kraal; they are extensive, and one collection covers a considerable portion of a gentle rise, while another, apparently a fort, stands upon a bold granite hill. The walls

* Smith's Biblical Dictionary.

† Pory's translation of Leo, p. 33.

are still thirty feet in height, and are built of granite hewn into small blocks about the size of our bricks, and put together without mortar. The most remarkable of these walls is situated on the very edge of a precipitous cliff, and is in perfect preservation, to a height of thirty feet; the walls are about ten feet thick at the base, and seven or eight at top. In many places there remain beams of stone eight or nine feet in length projecting from the walls, in which they must be inserted to a depth of several feet, for they can scarcely be stirred. At the most they are eight inches broad by three in thickness, and consist of a very compact stone with a metallic ring and greenish-black colour. On one stone, ellipsoid in section and eight feet in length, ornaments are engraved, consisting of lozenge-shaped figures one within another, separated by horizontal bands of diagonal lines."

Here beneath a great mass of rock Mauch found a broken vessel of talcose schist, very soft, shaped like the wooden basins of the Kaffirs. "The Hon. G. C. Dawnay saw and sketched a mass of similar masonry about eighty miles N.N.E. of Tati, and others are reported in the Transvaal, several days' journey east from Nylstrom."* Baines also gives a sketch of another ancient ruin strongly resembling an Irish round tower, but incomplete; and of both he relates that they are regarded by the natives with superstitious reverence, being entered once a year after sacrifices and various incantations.

The origin of these ruins has yet to be determined. One thing, however, is clear, that at the earliest period of the Portuguese discoveries they were known, and then esteemed very ancient, no clue to their builders being discoverable. The old Portuguese writers seem to have been much better acquainted with the geography of Africa than their successors, and their maps show plainly that the sources of the Nile had been well ascertained by them, and the gold-fields were also known, although they do not appear to have been much worked by the Portuguese, who preferred receiving the gold from the natives in barter, to working the mines themselves, and soon found that to steal men and sell them was more profitable than working gold mining, respecting which John Pory, in his supplement to Leo, remarks:—

"They have divers rich commodities from this kingdom (of Congo), but the most important is every yeere about 5,000 slaves, which they transport from thence, and sell them at good round prizes in all the isles and mainé lands of the West Indies; and for the head of everie slave so taken up, there is a good tax paid to the Crowne of Portugall. . . . Upon the kingdome of Congo confineth Angola, with whose

* *Gold Regions of South-eastern Africa*, by T. Baines, p. 121.

prince, of late yeeres, Paulo Dias, a Portugall captaine, made war; and the principall occasion of this warre are certaine mines of silver in the mountaines of Camambe, no whit inferior to those of Potossi; but by so much are they better, as fine silver goeth beyond that which is base and coarse. And out of doubt, if the Portugals had esteemed so well of things neere at hand as they did of those farther off and remote, and had thither bent their forces wherewith they passed Cape de Buena Esperança, and went to India, Malaca, and the Malucoes, they had more easily, and with lesse charge found greater wealth; for there are no countries in the world richer in gold and silver than the kingdoms of Mandinga, Ethiopia, Congo, Angola, Butua, Toroa, Maticuo, Boto, Quiticui, Monomotapa, Cafati, and Mohenemugi. But humane avarice esteemeth more of another man's than his owne, and things remote appeere greater than those neere at hand.*

It would be somewhat tedious to identify all the places above mentioned, but they seem to embrace Eastern, Western, and Central Africa, and possibly included the latest discovery of old workings, those of the Transvaal. Here, on the farm Lisbon, lately taken up by an English company, are found well-constructed shafts, with heaps of ore piled up ready for crushing or for export, one shaft having been walled up with masonry, whilst a road has been constructed for the removal of the produce of the mine.† Whether these are Portuguese works or of earlier date has not yet been determined, but doubtless those who are now exploiting the property will soon be able to ascertain. As we have shown above, there is nothing in the fact of shafts having been sunk, with properly constructed levels, to militate against the high antiquity of these workings, for the mines of Nubia and those of Siberia were thus worked, even when iron was unknown; but this mode of mining was evidently of foreign origin, for the workings of the natives are mostly shallow pits or deep chimney-like shafts, the former, according to Captain Burton, being called women's workings. Dr. Livingstone gives a reason for these shallow workings. He writes:—

“When the rivers in the district of Manica and other gold-washing places have been flooded, they leave a coating of mud on the banks. The natives observe the spots which dry soonest, and commence digging there, in firm belief that gold is beneath. They are said not to dig deeper than their chins, fearing lest, if they did so, the ground should fall in and bury them. When they find a piece or flake of gold they bury it again, from the superstitious idea that this is the seed of the

* Pory's translation of Leo, p. 375.

† The late Dr. Grey, of Cradock, maintained that he had discovered traces of an ancient road leading over the Tarka mountains, but he was supposed to have been mistaken. Perhaps some future explorer may verify this, and discover ancient mines in that district.

gold, and though they know the value of it well, they prefer losing it rather than the whole future crop.”*

These curious superstitions are noticed by Captain Burton as prevalent also on the Gold Coast, and the presence of certain ferns and a vapour are held in many parts to be indications of gold.†

But neither on the Gold Coast nor in the Transvaal do we find great buildings like those of Tati and Zimbabye, denoting a settled gold-seeking population of foreigners; nevertheless, all over the Transvaal are scattered habitations of masonry differing from those of the present inhabitants, and near the old workings on the farm Lisbon, already referred to, are many enclosures containing gravestones, which will probably afford a clue to the miners. Gravestones apparently similar are mentioned by Captain Burton in his “Gold Mines of Midian,” and also by Wilkinson, who, speaking of the largest group of ruins at Eshuranib, the great mining station discovered by M. Linant, where there are “two large buildings, with towers at the angles, built of the hard blackish granitic yet lustrous rock that prevails in the district,” adds, “The valley has many trees, and in a high part of the torrent bed is a sort of island, or isolated bank, on which we found many tombstones, some written in the ancient Cufic character, very similar to those of E’Souán.”‡

Baines mentions buildings near Sofala, as described by old Ogilby in his ponderous folio on African geography, who says: “Yet divers make Opher the same with Sofala, . . . partly because of the houses there to be found near the gold mines, not built after the manner of the country, but which seem the work of foreigners, and partly because of the *inscriptions* being strange and unknown.”

We should hardly expect the Arabs to have been the builders of the ruins of which we have spoken, for they would seem to have been simply traders, bartering useful wares with the natives of Sofala for gold; the question therefore to be determined, is to which of the ancient gold-seeking peoples they are to be attributed, and that can only be ascertained by further and more minute investigations, which we trust may ere long be undertaken, for the subject is one of great interest and importance, as

* “Missionary Travels in South Africa,” by David Livingstone, M.D., p. 412.

† Captain Burton says:—“The Fantis have many curious usages and superstitions which limit production. As a rule, nuggets are the royalty of kings and chiefs; but in many places these ‘mothers of gold’ are re-buried, in order that gold may grow from them. I have noted that a smoke, or thin vapour, guides to the unknown placer, and that white gold causes a mine to be abandoned.”—*To the Gold Coast for Gold*, p. 351.

‡ Wilkinson’s “Ancient Egyptians,” vol. i. p. 239.

elucidating some of the commercial problems which have often puzzled the learned.

We regret that space will not allow us to say much of the ancient American gold fields. We know that they must have been very extensive, and worked at a very early period, for both Mexicans and Peruvians were skilled in the use of gold for ornamental purposes, and possessed vast accumulations of the precious metals, when conquered by the Spaniards, and history has told us how much the lust of gold had to do with that conquest, but the gold used by the Mexicans and Peruvians was probably derived in great part from the rivers. Of the Peruvians Prescott says:—

“They extracted the ore also in considerable quantities from the valley of Curimayo, north-east of Caxamarca, as well as from other places. Yet they did not attempt to penetrate into the bowels of the earth by sinking a shaft, but simply excavated a cavern in the steep sides of the mountain, or, at most, opened a horizontal vein of moderate depth. They were equally deficient in the knowledge of the best means of detaching the precious metal from the dross with which it was united, and had no idea of the virtues of quicksilver, a mineral not rare in Peru. Their method of smelting the ore was by means of furnaces built in elevated and exposed situations, where they might be fanned by the strong breezes of the mountains.”*

Of the Mexicans the same writer says that “they understood mining and the traces of their labours furnished the best indications for the early Spanish miners.”† It is also worthy of remark that they collected gold dust in quills, and used it in barter as is still the practice in Eastern Africa, whilst the method of mining still in use in South America among the aborigines is similar to that practised on the Gold Coast, and formerly among the Egyptians, a shaft being dug so narrow that the miner can ascend and descend only with great difficulty, by means of steps cut in the rock, and there is barely room to use the small pick he carries.

When, however, we come to modern times, the gold fields of America hold a foremost place. From the first voyage of Columbus to the present day, the new world has furnished a very large, and prior to the discovery of the gold fields of Australia, the *largest*, portion of the gold and silver of the world. This was at first derived from the stores of the plundered Peruvians and Mexicans, and inestimable works of art thus found their way to the melting-pot, to reappear as coin for the benefit

* Prescott's "Conquest of Peru," p. 73.

† Prescott's "Mexico," p. 66.

of the conquering Spaniards; but no sooner did this source of wealth begin to fail than the vast silver mines of Potosi were discovered, and "the aggregate amount of gold and silver obtained from the new world, between 1492 and 1600 A.D. is reckoned at £130,000,000,"* the chief yield being silver; and this continued down to the beginning of the present century, the yield of both precious metals rising constantly, until it averaged nearly ten millions sterling per annum, whereas the European supply at the first period named, amounted to only £100,000 per annum, and at the latter period the gold and silver from Europe and Africa together, yielded less than one million.

In 1848 the grand discovery was made of the gold fields of California, just a fortnight before the treaty was signed which made over the country to the United States, as an indemnity for the costs of the Mexican war; but it would appear that neither of the signatories was aware of the riches thus signed away, and, singularly enough, as Mr. Patterson points out, possession was taken of the territory by the Americans only twenty-four hours before Admiral Sir George Seymour arrived to accept the sovereignty of the country for Great Britain, by the invitation of Spain, the then nominal sovereign power; whilst the same territory had, it is said, been formally tendered to Drake by the reigning Indian chieftain of that day. Drake, as we all know, made golden discoveries in this region, and no wonder, if, as it is said, "the land is so rich in gold and silver that, upon the slightest turning it up with a spade or pickaxe, these rich [metals] plainly appear mixed with the mould;"† but the country was difficult of access, and was not then explored. In like manner, the unfortunate Sir Walter Raleigh sought an El Dorado on the American continent, which he was not destined to attain, although it lay beneath his feet; and so the rich gold mines of the American continent remained unknown until they became American, when, as Mr. Patterson says:—

"Hardly had California become American ground, than the newcomers discovered the golden treasure which the sleepy Spaniard had trod over for centuries without observing it. 'General Shutter' (a German), as the Americans styled him, was erecting a mill to grind his grain, and when the mill-race was being dug, the spade turned up grains of gold. Soon the whole locality was found to teem with the precious ore—flakes and nuggets in the water-courses, and with auriferous gravel widespread over the plains."‡

* "The New Golden Age," by R. Hogarth Patterson, vol. i. p. 428.

† "Pinkerton's Travels." Voyage of Drake.

‡ "The New Golden Age," by R. Hogarth Patterson, vol. i. p. 114.

The history of this man, as given by Patterson, is quite a romance. He had purchased the estate from the Spanish Government, and lived upon it for ten years before the gold was found, but the rush of miners ruined him ; he was driven from his quiet home, his property was seized and appropriated by unscrupulous adventurers, and he, the legal owner of the richest estate known, died in poverty. It was probably the fear of this inevitable rush which had so long delayed the knowledge of these rich gold fields, for the dwellers in the country could not have been wholly ignorant of them, and we have been told that the Jesuits were in possession of candlesticks and other articles of native gold, although they had concealed their knowledge of its production.

This Californian gold field was the bed of an ancient river which had run from north to south, but which, although originally in a valley, is now a thousand feet above any of the present rivers ; this old river-bed could be traced for fifty miles, and was in parts a mile and a-half broad, and 400 feet deep, so that it may be said to be practically inexhaustible, and although this is the largest of the gold-bearing deposits, it is not the only one. Happily the difficulties connected with the mining are considerable, or the market might become glutted with gold ; but the output depends largely upon the quantity of water available for "hydraulicking," and so gold mining has become a sober industry carried on by companies with large capitals and all the modern appliances of engineering skill.

This is the stage commonly attained in this nineteenth century, after the first rush of hungry adventurers has passed away, but it is only attained after the early gold seekers have roughly turned over the surface deposits, picked out the nuggets and washed the sand as far as they can, with the rough implements at their disposal, and not till many of these wealth-seekers have perished miserably of want and fever ; for the alluvial gold lies generally in low, unhealthy situations, and the miners have often to spend the greater part of their finds in procuring common necessaries, the purveyors of which are in reality the greatest gainers.

The story of the Australian goldfields is in many respects similar to that of the Californian. The gold discoveries were at first suppressed by Government, "fearing lest a gold mania and gambling spirit would without any adequate return divert the population from its course of steady industry ;"* a fear which was justified by events, for, as Mr. Patterson tells us, "in the course of a few months half the male population of Victoria had left their legitimate occupations and had gone hot-footed in search of the precious metal. Workshops stood idle, business places

* "The New Golden Age," p. 184.

were closed, ships lay empty at the wharves, trade was at a standstill, business was allowed to drift where it would; there was but one thing thought of, and that was gold,"* until the number engaged in this new industry in Victoria amounted to 100,000. This great rush lasted, however, only a few years, the surface diggings soon became exhausted, individual labour was rendered unprofitable, and capital and machinery became necessary; meanwhile the prices of food and other necessaries rose enormously, flour was sold as high as £44 a ton in 1855, and a cabbage cost 5s. Bricks rose from 30s. the thousand to £18, and all other commodities in proportion; but these wants were soon supplied by importation, these famine prices declined, and eventually the supply became greater than the demand, and many merchants and shopkeepers were ruined, one firm losing £90,000 in a twelvemonth. A vivid description is given by Mr. Patterson of the hardships undergone by the prospectors, who "loved to penetrate into the interior seeking for new gold beds."

"In Australia they wandered far and wide over the vast plains, risking death from famine as well as at the hands of the jealous aborigines. In California the adventures of these prospectors were still more full of peril and hardship. They might perish at the hands of the Indians, or be overtaken by death from famine or fever, or when caught by the rigours of winter in the mountain solitudes. Plunging into every gulch or wooded ravine, they ransacked the mountain slopes up to the very crest of the Sierra. . . . Accoutred with shovel and wash-pan, far too careless of food supply, and utterly regardless of the vicissitudes of the weather, the burning thirst for gold, combined with a not ignoble love of adventure, led the professional miner recklessly into the most lonely places of the mountains. . . . Sometimes, although rarely, they were surprised and killed by the still lingering Indians of the Sierra; oftener they perished from sheer starvation by cold and hunger, when caught in the lonely gulches by the winter snowstorms. Oftenest of all they fell fever-stricken by the malaria of the dells; dying all alone miles and miles away from human fellows, by the solitary camp-fire, which failing strength could not keep alight. . . . And by-and-by, some other 'prospecting' miner came that way, espied the dead form, or the bleaching bones, and the rusty pan and shovel, and the traces of work in the bed of the stream. And the new-comer rejoiced at these signs that gold was there, sometimes finding and appropriating the gold-dust in the mouldering clothes of his dead predecessor. In Australia these prospecting adventures were not so perilous, because the country was less wild, but . . . in the spring of 1854 there was discovered one of the richest 'placers' or gold-beds. The spot was a deep ravine formed by the Buckland river, enclosed by steep mountain-sides, which rose like a wall around the narrow

* "The New Golden Age," p. 185.

winding river-flat. . . . The air in the ravine was stagnant, and the scorching sun made it intensely hot during the day, whilst at night the temperature fell to a piercing cold, so that the sojourners in the ravine were alternately in an oven and an ice-house. Moreover, as the gold-beds lay in the channel of the river, the miners worked up to their waists in water. To this gold-field of surpassing richness hundreds of adventurers flocked in feverish haste ; but disease, like the fabled dragons and griffins of old, kept sentry over the buried treasures. A peculiar fever, of the typhoid character, was the natural denizen of the spot ; besides which, the gold-seekers suffered severely from eye-blight, owing to the concentrated blaze of the sunshine reflected from the steep sides of the ravine, and they were at all times grievously tormented by clouds of flies. Bad diet and want of vegetables aggravated the diseases natural to the place and to the kind of work. . . . Constitutions that had borne the hardships of other fields broke down here, wrote an eye-witness of the scene, and hundreds have perished, dying unattended and unknown. The little levels between the stream and the base of the mountain-pass, for ten miles along the valley, are so thickly studded with graves that the river appears to run through a churchyard. One new-comer, wiser than the rest, having counted eleven corpses carried past his tent during the dinner-hour of his first working-day, and thinking that even gold may be purchased too dearly, left the place instantly. Many abandoned it after a somewhat longer trial. But the greater number, fascinated by the unusual richness of these gold-beds, remained in defiance of disease, and took their chance—with what result the numerous graves in the valley may testify to this day.”*

The prizes, however, in the Australian gold fields were tremendous ; one nugget found at Ballarat weighed 2,195ozs., and was sold at Melbourne for £9,325, many others were but little inferior to it, and every adventurer worked hoping that he might be the lucky finder of some such great prize.†

And now that the fever has ceased, what are the results there and wherever these great rushes for gold have taken place ?

An enormous increase in the population, wealth, industry, and commercial prosperity of every land wherein gold is found in paying quantities, is certain to follow the discovery, but only after many have suffered untold hardships, privations, sickness and death. It would seem as though Nature had spread out her goldfields as tempting baits to the human race, in the same manner as carni-

* “The New Golden Age,” by R. H. Patterson, p. 241 *et seq.*

† New Zealand has, in a minor degree, undergone the same experiences as California and Australia. There also gold has been found, and the inevitable rush has followed, but the country being smaller and more thoroughly settled, gold mining has more rapidly developed into a steady industry, adding to the wealth and commercial prosperity of the island.

vorous plants display their deadly leaves covered with luscious fluid to tempt the unwary insect to destruction ; and in both cases the end attained is the same, death to the tempted, but an increase of strength, beauty, and power to the tempter. Whatever may be the effect of a large increase in the amount of gold in the market, whether it be beneficial or prejudicial to the world at large, there can be no doubt as to its civilizing effect upon the land from which it is derived. Let us glance for a moment upon the results which have followed the Californian and Australian discoveries.

“ While San Francisco grew and flourished, towns grew up all over the territory. Orchards, with many-coloured blossoms and fruit, made gay and profitable the valleys ; while vineyards, from the select growths of Europe, climbed the sunny slopes ; and on the broad plains of the Sacramento River, wheat and maize yield their gold-coloured crops, over an unbroken expanse, where the plough travels from sunrise to sunset without finding a bourne, or turning to enter upon the backward furrow.”*

Railways, canals, steamboats and vessels innumerable, of all kinds, to convey passengers and produce to and fro, are in striking contrast to the solitude which reigned there,

“ when, in 1834, Johan Sutter set out from New Mexico on his memorable journey to the unknown land. At that time no good pass had been found across the Rocky Mountains, and beyond them the country was wholly devoid of routes or means of conveyance ; while the native Indian tribes, although few in numbers, were not friendly to the white man.”†

In 1856 the population of California had become half a million. In Australia the development has been even more striking :—

“ At the time of the gold discoveries there was hardly a place worthy of being called a town ; there were no piers or harbours other than of Nature’s making ; and rude jetties or temporary planking, were all that were needed or thought necessary, for the few ships which arrived bringing immigrants, and taking away the surplus agricultural produce of the country. But gold, the most potent of magicians, speedily transformed Australia as it transformed California. It built Melbourne, the London of the Antipodes, and changed Victoria and New South Wales from a townless and sparsely-peopled agricultural territory into a State containing nearly all the commingled industries and resources which build up the power and prosperity of the greatest nations.”‡

* “ The New Golden Age,” p. 143.
‡ *Ibid.* p. 184.

† *Ibid.* pp. 113-125.

Can we doubt that this prosperity, this increase of wealth and population, this growth of civilization, followed in the track of gold in past ages as in our own times, although necessarily in a less degree, because the means of communication were so much slower and less numerous. We have endeavoured to show what an impetus was given to commerce in far-away pre-historic times by the search for gold, whether among the Ural mountains, the remote British Isles, the Spanish peninsula, or the burning deserts of Africa; and whether Herodotus was right or wrong in his assertion that the Phœnicians had circumnavigated the African continent, there can be no question that the constructors of the gigantic ruins of Zimbabwé and Tati carried with them, into the little-known interior of that which has been aptly termed "the lost continent," a knowledge of various arts, and especially that of agriculture, which is found so widely spread among African tribes, whilst to the intercourse demonstrated by these ruins may reasonably be attributed the various customs, so puzzling to anthropologists, which prevail among the Kaffir tribes, who undoubtedly came from a more northerly latitude than that which they at present occupy. The ethnologist may also find in this evidently long-continued intercourse some solution of the various race enigmas which present themselves so continually in Africa. In fact, we feel assured that the more the subject of early commerce is investigated, the greater will be our astonishment at its extent, whilst the motive power then, as now, will be found to have been in the first instance *gold*. The legends of almost all nations point to this, the early gods of civilization were all in some way connected with metallurgy, and chiefly with gold. Cadmus, the Idæi Daetyli, Hermes, or Mercury, may be cited as instances, and the Argonauts, the earliest of historical voyagers, will suggest themselves to every one; but the list might be indefinitely extended, and made to embrace almost every country upon which the rays of early civilization have ever shone.

And that which has always been so great a factor in human progress, will certainly continue to bring new lands under the influence of civilization; and at the present time the old-new continent of Africa seems destined to be the first to reap the benefits sure to accrue from the exploitation of her vast mineral wealth. When we read the accounts of travellers, from Herodotus downwards, it seems strange that the gold-fields of Africa have remained so long *undeveloped*—it can scarcely be said *unworked*, for a certain amount of gold has always been drawn from the Gold Coast, and also as we have seen from Nubia, Abyssinia, and South Eastern Africa (Monomotapa), in ancient times, whilst the Portuguese drew a considerable amount from the

same part of the country ;* and it is certain that of late a goodly portion of the precious metal has found its way into the market from the same source. Nevertheless, gold mining in Africa, as an industry, has been entirely neglected by Europeans, although an abortive attempt was made in 1868 to work the mines in Matabililand, but the machinery sent out could not be got farther than Natal, and "the working parties being unprovided with funds sufficient for the long and laborious process of mining till they reached the gold, and then requiring to provide machinery, sold out or abandoned their claims."† Yet these were the mines of which Mauch had said, "the extent and beauty of the gold fields are such that I stood as it were transfixed, and for a few minutes was unable to use the hammer. Thousands of persons might work on this extensive gold field without interfering with one another." They are described as being eighty miles in length by two or three in breadth.

Many causes have combined to prevent that rush for gold to the African continent which has followed the discovery of the precious metal in other parts of the world. In the first place, the great numerical strength and vitality of the black races on that continent in preventing that process of extermination which has usually followed the appropriation of soil by the white man has gone far to stop emigration. Secondly, the unhealthiness of those parts wherein gold was formerly known to exist had been so fatal to the great majority of explorers, that people hesitated to expose themselves to the deadly malaria, which would be still more certainly fatal to miners, who must of necessity be so much exposed to it. Thirdly, the difficulty of taking machinery into the interior, partly on account of the absence of roads, and partly because of the hostility of the natives and the ravages of the tsetse fly, which would destroy all beasts of burthen. And lastly, because the natives have always been fully aware of the value of gold, and have therefore been anxious to guard it for themselves, and willing to collect and barter it for its full value to foreigners.

Now, however, that gold has been discovered in the Transvaal,‡

* Baines says : "In an ancient book (accessible in Natal), it is stated that the quantity of gold sent from their possessions (Portuguese) amounted to 2,000,000 metigals, estimated at £1,001,354. In later times we know that 130lbs. per annum have been sent home; but in the palmy days of the slave trade, the annual expeditions to the Luenya and other rivers in quest of alluvial gold were discontinued."—*Gold Regions of S.E. Africa* (T. Baines), chapter i.

† "Gold Regions of S.E. Africa," section ii. pp. 2-12.

‡ It is worthy of remark that in the Transvaal, as everywhere, the dragon seems destined to bear its part in connection with gold, for it is on the slopes of the Drakensberg that the mines are found.

some of these difficulties may be considered as removed, for the country is healthy, and not so devoid of roads as to render the transport of machinery impossible. The tsetse fly has followed the game farther into the interior, and the country being under European control is not so entirely subject to the savagery of native hordes. There can be no doubt that it was the knowledge of the vast mineral wealth of the country which was one cause of the stubborn resistance of the Boers to British rule, for the discovery of the gold mines dates from 1872 ; but in regaining possession of this rich land they have learnt their own inability to develop its wealth, and have therefore hastened to grant concessions to English mining companies, and to discourage the digging of private individuals ; and in thus inviting British enterprise and British capital, they hope to secure for their bankrupt exchequer a source of revenue more sure than that to be derived from obnoxious taxes, which they know full well their stiff-necked compatriots will never pay. Herein they have shown themselves far wiser than their forefathers, of whom Baines writes:—

“ In 1850 I myself visited the then little village of Potchefstroom, and heard of gold among the *Staanman* (Muslims or Mahometans), Kaffirs beyond Zoutspansberg. In those days, however, my friend Joseph Maccabe, was fined 400 rix dollars for having written an itinerary of one of his journeys, and I had the honour of being made ‘vogel vrie,’ i.e., free as a bird (*for any one to shoot at*), for the crime of being able to use a sextant.” “But,” he adds, “I need not say now—except for the information of friends at home—that they are finding the presence of the diggers, who buy their produce and pay them for their labour, an advantage instead of a detriment.”*

The development of the Transvaal goldfields by means of machinery, the influx of Europeans which is sure to follow, and the consequent settlement of the country, as well as an increase of the means of transit, and of trade and agriculture, must eventually open up the interior. When the Transvaal has reached the same stage of progress as Australia and California—that is, when the alluvial gold has become exhausted, and quartz-mining remains as a permanent industry, to be pursued only by means of expensive machinery—whilst the great hydraulic engines are hastening the work of Nature, in degrading and pulverizing the rocks, and spreading out vast alluvial plains ready for the agriculturist—then the diggers will push on into the interior, and the goldfields of Matabilland and the Congo will be *rushed*, to be in their turn subjected to quartz-crushing and hydraulicking, and the miner will again be followed by the trader and agriculturist ;

* “The Gold Regions of S.E. Africa,” pp. 71-73.

and thus the great continent will slowly but surely become subdued and civilized by the energy of those white races whose life-mission is to be fulfilled in forcing civilization upon the dark races, who must either bend beneath the undesired yoke, or, according to Nature's law, perish in the struggle, the great motive-power to work all these changes being now, as it ever has been—gold.

Africa is already attacked by the miner on the west coast, which from time immemorial has been famed for its golden treasures and also for its unhealthiness; but Captain Burton has revived its ancient fame, and has endeavoured to whitewash its reputation in regard to climate, although in the course of his exploring expedition he was himself prostrated by fever. Doubtless should gold be discovered in the *hills*, and some speedy and safe means of transit be found across the unhealthy swamp-belt on the coast, West Africa would become a rich and prosperous country; but we doubt whether its riches could ever be properly developed by Europeans, although the golden bait might allure a certain number to risk fever and death.

And should the African goldfields become exhausted, Nature has still a store in reserve—in Borneo, New Guinea, and other little-known and savage countries, requiring the hand of the miner and agriculturist to make them fit to play their destined part in the world; and when gold has thus fulfilled its task, and become exhausted everywhere, the philosopher, perhaps, will succeed in convincing mankind that it is valueless.

We may, indeed, even now doubt whether its abundance is the great blessing which Mr. Patterson so enthusiastically proclaims it to be. We are rather inclined to agree with Mr. Jacob when he says:—

“The world is very little really richer or poorer from the proportion of metallic wealth. . . . The only benefit to the world in general is that it acts as a stimulus to industry. It matters little to him who raises a bushel of wheat, whether it is exchanged for a pennyweight or an ounce of silver, provided it will procure for him the same quantity of cloth, shoes, liquor, furniture, or other necessaries.”

But we must leave the financial aspect of gold to be settled by financiers, contenting ourselves with facts as they exist, and of these the most obvious is that as long as gold remains the standard of value, we may be sure that it will be eagerly sought, and that the nation which possesses the most will be the most successful, both in the arts of peace and in the struggles of war; and although wealth may exist, as in Great Britain, without the possession of gold mines, yet the country wherein gold is found

will of necessity rise in wealth and power, because of that possession, which brings to it an increase of population and commerce, necessitating the formation of roads, railroads, harbours, and other adjuncts of modern civilization. This, however, can only be the case in a free country—the goldfields of the past, worked for the State by the forced labour of felons or of slaves, did not enrich the country, but only the rulers, as is at present the case in Russia, whose mines in the Ural mountains and Siberia still yield an abundance of the precious metal, although as we have seen they had been partially worked in pre-historic times.

In China and Japan, as in Russia, although gold is known to exist in abundance, the mines being entirely under State control, do not add to the wealth of the people. In fact, in China the mines are jealously guarded and concealed, lest the people should rush to them and defy their rulers,* a consequence not unlikely to happen when we consider how the Chinese have flocked to every newly discovered gold region, their great industry and frugality enabling them to make a profit out of that which has been rejected by others, so that they are described in California as “working over again, gravel which the white man considers exhausted.”† In Japan, also, the mines are strictly under Government control, many of the richest having been shut up by the Emperor’s order, lest they should be exhausted too soon, and it is a singular fact, that in both these extensive empires, although gold has probably been known and valued for thousands of years, it is still used only for purposes of ornament, no gold coinage being in existence. Yet Asia would appear to have been the part of the world wherein money was first coined, in the reign of Darius, although it is probable that lumps of gold of a certain weight were used much earlier as a means of exchange, and gold, weighed in the balance, whether in dust or in rings, as represented on Egyptian monuments, was certainly the standard

* The Romans would appear to have adopted the tactics of the Chinese, and to have spared their own mines, for none were worked in Italy before the Punic wars, after which those of Spain fell into their hands. As in Egypt, slaves were employed in the mines, but the emperors allowed private enterprise. The Carthaginians traded in slaves with Central Africa to work their Spanish mines. “In Greece the manner of mining was different, as the mines appear to have been the property of the community, although not always worked by the State. Before the Persian war, the profits were divided annually among the citizens; the mines were afterwards worked by private individuals or companies; the State had ancient mines which they farmed, whilst others had been originally opened by private individuals (with the consent of the community), who had farmed them, and who, instead of a fixed rent, received the twenty-fourth part of the proceeds.”—See “Historical Enquiry,” by Jacob, pp. 74–94, 133.

† “An Engineer’s Holiday,” by D. Pidgeon, F.G.S., p. 133.

of value in the most remote times of which we have any record.

"Gold dust," says Captain Burton, writing of the Gold Coast, "is still the only coin of the realm. . . . It is handier than one would suppose; even a farthing can be paid in it by putting one or two grains upon a knife tip, and there is a name, *pescha*, for a pennyworth. Larger values go by weight; the *aki*, or sixteenth of an ounce, being the unit of value." "The weighing apparatus is complicated and curious, and complete sets of implements are rare; they consist of blowers, sifters, spoons, native scales, weights of many kinds, and fetish 'gong-gongs,' or dwarf double bells."*

Here probably we see a survival of the most ancient form of money, the weighing of gold and silver in the balance being recorded in the most ancient of writings; but another curious fact is recorded by Captain Burton, which is that the oldest money in this country consists of round and perforated quartz-stones, suggesting the ring coinage of ancient Egypt. We cannot, however, enter into the question of coinage, which, in itself, would suffice for many articles, but must hasten to bring our survey of goldfields, ancient and modern, to a conclusion, pointing out, by way of moral, the desirability of looking well into the probable wealth of a country offered to us as a national appanage before rejecting it as worthless.

Great Britain would seem to have cast away from her over and over again unbounded wealth which was fairly within her grasp, either from fear of responsibility or from a spirit of parsimony. Drake, as we have seen, took possession of California in the name of the sovereign; but although it was known by the early explorers to be teeming with gold, the rich gift was rejected because of the expenditure it would have entailed. Raleigh's adventures had the same result; and in our own day the same spirit of parsimony, but dignified with the sanctimonious name of *bloodguiltiness*, has caused the retrocession of a land equally rich, but which the people of England were assured was *worthless*, yet at the time it was taken over those who knew the country best, wrote thus of it:—

"Will the immense wealth of the prize dropped into the mouth of Old England be appreciated? By a judicious investment of capital in opening up the country with roads, and by settling it with immigrants, it will soon be found out that the acquisition of the Transvaal is the richest prize that has ever yet fallen to the lot of our mother country. The mineral wealth is inexhaustible. For an extent of 100 miles coal crops up on the road-side, on the banks of

* "To the Gold Coast for Gold," vol. ii. p. 154.

rivers—everywhere, in fact; . . . and iron ore, of a singularly rich quality, lies side by side with this great coalfield, as though to invite the capitalist to come and utilize both. Lead, gold, cobalt, and sundry other minerals exist in prolific abundance. The soil is inferior to none in the world, not even the vast western plains of America, the fertility of which is beyond all description.”*

The late Dr. Moffat, looking from a purely missionary standpoint, rejoiced that the ægis of Great Britain should be thrown over the natives of South Africa; but he lived to see pledges disregarded, and the natives given back to the encroachments of the Boers and to tribal feuds and wars of extermination, because Great Britain begrudged a few thousands from her well-filled coffers in order to hold with a firm hand that which, with proper management, would have repaid the outlay a thousandfold, and have resulted in peace to South Africa and prosperity to the British Empire. And now another rich land is offered to the British Crown, but parsimony and fear of responsibility again thrust back the proffered gift, and by-and-by New Guinea may fall into other hands, and another gem will be lost or cast aside as worthless.

How long will this “penny wise and pound foolish” policy be allowed to prevail? It is evident from the history of California, New Zealand and Australia, as contrasted with that of Russia, China, and Japan, that the prosperity arising from an abundance of the precious metals depends mainly upon the freedom of the country, and of the labourers in the mines; therefore it behoves those who profess so much love for liberty in every form, to see that, as far as may be, the natives of countries abounding in mineral wealth may be protected when engaged in developing the resources of their country under the superintendence of white men. This of course can only be when the country is under the control of some free civilized power, and what power is so fitted for the task as Great Britain, whose mission it has been for centuries past to open up the dark places of the earth, and by a mild and enlightened rule, fully appreciated by native races, to civilize rather than to exterminate? and, if hitherto she has not been as successful in this mission as she might have been, it is largely owing to this spirit of parsimony.

Nature in spreading everywhere her golden lure, has attracted primarily the wild and the lawless, who work their will unchecked, because the power which ought to restrain them hesitates and falters while she counts the cost, and thus suffers the helpless to be oppressed, until at last she is forced to intervene, and by a large expenditure of blood and money to restore

* Silver's "Handbook of the Transvaal," p. 93.

that order which, had she put out her hand firmly and at once, would never have been broken. Meanwhile the natives perish, their land becomes British by force of circumstances; the capital which ought to have arrested the ruin, flows in to repair the mischief done, and a flourishing colony is the result, but one which might have been still more flourishing had it been taken in time. But should any call be made upon the Home Treasury, again a cry of *worthlessness* is raised, and the colonists are warned that they must shift for themselves. This was the cry of old Rome when she was near her end; but in her prime her colonies were regarded as valuable possessions, worth fighting for and spending money upon without stint, especially when they possessed mineral wealth.

It has become a fashion among a certain section of politicians to decry our colonial possessions, to begrudge the money they cost, and to ignore the wealth they bring in return. To these India and the Cape, Cyprus, and Egypt, are abominations; they would willingly let all perish, and Australia would long ago have been cast off had not the gold fields proved too great an attraction for the multitude to allow such an idea to be entertained. Will not our rulers be wise in time, and recognize the fact that *all* our colonies are valuable possessions, yielded up to us for the increase of commerce; full of mineral wealth to attract our surplus population, as the flower attracts the bee for its own good and that of the hive? Thus regarded, the goldfields of the future may be as the goldfields of the past have been, a means of spreading civilization and knowledge, and of opening up to agriculture and commerce, lands now lying untilled and unvisited in native barbarism.

ART. IV.—THE BELIEF IN THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL.

1. *Three Essays on Religion.* By JOHN STUART MILL.
London : Longmans, Green, Reader & Dyer. 1874.
2. *Essais de Critique religieuse.* Par ALBERT RÉVILLE.
Paris : Joel Cherbuliez. 1860.
3. *Is Life worth Living?* By WILLIAM HURRELL MALLOCK.
London : Chatto & Windus. 1879.

IT is a characteristic of those great beliefs which have so endeared themselves to humanity as to seem almost inseparable from religious life and indispensable to social government, that they remain unchanged, or nearly so, from century to century, while the grounds on which they are supposed to rest are incessantly shifting and changing. To look back over their history is to evoke the illusion of a long-drawn strategical campaign. Position after position is chosen and abandoned; entrenchments, seemingly impregnable, are relinquished after short contests; changes of front are effected to elude defeat; each army seems to be "feeling" its opponent, and gradually manœuvring towards the ground where it means to put forth its full strength. But again and again decisive action is deferred, and one line of defence is no sooner broken through than another is thrown up behind.

The belief in immortality is a most remarkable instance of this kind. It originated, of course, in the stage designated by Comte as the *theological*, and was accepted, in the first place, on the authority of a religious creed. It then entered the so-called *metaphysical* stage (without relinquishing on that account its earlier connections), and gained at least some collateral support from the current notions concerning immaterial principles or essences. When these began to lose their credit, auxiliaries were looked for in the field of *positive* research, and the belief in immortality assumed a semi-scientific aspect. The metamorphoses of insects furnished an interesting, if not a very conclusive, parallel; the conservation of energy, the indestructibility of matter, were thought to present a strong analogy with the indestructibility of mind. History was invoked to show that the belief in a future life was a necessity of the human intellect, an instinct which could not be without a justification in reality; and finally, the phenomena elicited by modern Spiritualism, such as table-turning, spirit-rapping, thought-reading, together with the kindred manifestations of mesmerism and so-called clairvoyance,

must be regarded, in a great measure, as an endeavour to establish the desired demonstration by actual experiment.

Alongside of these defences must be placed the plea that the belief in immortality is indispensable, inasmuch as morality would be baseless, and life not worth living without it. This can hardly be considered as evidence for the truth of the belief, but it certainly indicates one of the *causes* of the belief, and as such deserves a special mention. We propose to review rapidly the above arguments, so far as they can be comprised within the limits of this paper, and then to dwell at somewhat greater length on the *rationale* of the belief—we mean its explanation as a feature of man's intellectual and moral evolution; why and how did it originate, what has been its function in the education of our race, and what is its value now. The interest attaching to the subject is so great that we hope to be pardoned for deficiencies of treatment.

There is no occasion to dilate on the theological aspect of the belief in immortality. To the many who still hold that belief on the ground of Divine revelation we have at present nothing to say. We mean no disparagement to their general intelligence, but their position is too remote from ours to allow us to join issue. A criticism of revelations in general would be far too lengthy for our purpose; and even were the discussion narrowed down to Christianity alone, as interpreted by a single Christian sect, the readers of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW would not thank us for a repetition of what is already so well known to them. Suffice it, therefore, to observe that the belief in a future life was quite unknown to the ancient Hebrews;* and that, even among the early Christians, it did not generally extend beyond the limits of a millennium. The belief in immortality is an up-growth of comparatively recent date, and, as far as any direct testimony of the Scriptures is concerned, it cannot possibly be ranked on a par with many other beliefs (such as for instance, witchcraft, sorcery, the possession of animals by devils) which many Christians have relinquished.

As regards the metaphysical order of argument, we will simply observe that it would be idle to discuss inferences from the supposed nature of the human soul, so long as the very existence of such an entity is questionable. The word "soul" has a legitimate application in denoting a certain complex group of intellectual, emotional, volitional activities, but the fact that such

* It has often been pointed out, for instance, that the Ten Commandments contain no reference to reward or punishment hereafter; the inducement they hold out is that of long life in *this* world.

activities are currently, conveniently comprised under one name, affords no sort of evidence that the unity thus created has any objective existence. We shall examine, further on, the claims of modern Spiritualism: for the present we need only state that, even were those claims substantiated, and were it proved that agents similar to man exist without a body visible to us, the ancient notion of a soul would still be inadmissible. The fact that, at a certain point of its existence, a grub becomes a butterfly, is certainly no warrant for assuming that the butterfly is pre-existent in the grub, or that both grub and butterfly, in their visible forms, are simply the successive material envelopes of one and the same "spirit." The metamorphosis, such as we observe it—*i.e.*, the transformation of a visible organism, is quite sufficient of itself to explain the butterfly, without resorting to any such hypothetical adjuncts. And similarly, admitting, for the sake of argument, that we could obtain evidence of a future life for man—a continuance of the conscious individual—it would be more rational to explain this by a metamorphosis of the respective organs (even though the change should be from the visible to the invisible), than to assume that the new individual had existed all along within the old, like a squirrel in its cage.

The truth is, that the metaphysical conception of a soul belongs to a class which was extremely numerous some centuries ago, but which the progress of science has well nigh rendered extinct. The characteristic tendency of explanation, in the infancy of knowledge, is to represent all physical or physiological action as akin to human action, all occurrences as resulting from volition. As the first agency with which man becomes acquainted is *his own*, he necessarily carries this conception into the external world, and resorts to it as often as the real mechanism of the universe escapes his understanding. The first result of this tendency is to people the earth with gods and demons, whose appetites and passions are on a par with man's; but presently, when the regularities of Nature are perceived to be incompatible with the existence of so many independent Powers, the gods begin to recede into the background, losing by degrees their personality, their distinctness, and their freedom, until at last they become mere shadows of their former selves, virtues and essences reduced to servitude, and imprisoned within the matter which they animate. It may seem paradoxical, at first sight, to trace a relationship between the Olympic feasters on ambrosia, and the "*virtus dormitiva*" ridiculed by Molière, but when once you come to analyze the occult agencies which were formerly supposed to reside in every herb, and search for the conception from which they must have proceeded, the origin is unmistakable. A virtue (in the metaphysical acceptance of the term) is really

nothing but a god in disguise; a little being hidden in the substance, and producing *directly*, by his very personality, the effect which needs to be accounted for. Opium induces sleepiness, but how? To explain this physiologically, by the complicated mechanism of nerve centres and fibres, the contractile coats of blood-vessels, &c., was manifestly beyond the powers of an incipient philosopher; he took, therefore, a "short cut" and said: "*the spirit does it.*" The explanation is worthless, scientifically, since it only substitutes one difficulty for another, but it is satisfactory to its author, inasmuch as it resolves the problem into a case of volition, with which he is perfectly familiar.*

So strong is this tendency, and so ingrained has it become through centuries of prevalence that it is constantly cropping forth, even in the speech of those who have discerned its error. Nothing is more common, even amongst persons of scientific education, than to hear the "laws of Nature" spoken of as a kind of impersonal *government*, a kind of strait-waistcoat thrust upon Nature to maintain discipline and prevent the freaks and pranks to which she would otherwise be addicted. A physical law is thus made to afford a final refuge to the little spirits that have been ejected from their former domiciles. As G. H. Lewes has well said: "Men having baptized observed facts with a comprehensive name, forget the process of baptism, and suppose the name to represent a mysterious agency. The fact that gases combine is expressed in the word 'affinity,' and this affinity is understood to be the cause of the combination. The fact that bodies tend toward each other is called their gravitation, and gravitation is then said to cause the tendency." The habit of thus personifying the regularities observed in Nature is so inveterate that the very necessities of language lead back to it, so that we are compelled to use the old expressions metaphorically, when we have long ceased to use them otherwise.

The human "soul" is manifestly of the same family as the metaphysical "essences" and "virtues" aforesaid. If the conception of the former has outlived that of its brethren, it is not because of its scientific superiority as an hypothesis, but because the conception of a soul, by opening a vista on a future life, minis-

* An anecdote, illustrative of the same point, is told by LANGE, in his "History of Materialism." A country parson, in the days when railroads were beginning to be built, had been endeavouring to explain to some of his parishioners the principle of steam-engines. The peasants listened, but with heavy scepticism. "Your Reverence," said one of them at last, . . . *there's a horse inside it after all.*" The horse plays here the same part as the soul in man, the doritive principle in opium. With "a horse inside," as LANGE adds, the whole mystery was solved; the horse itself being too familiar to require any explanation.

ters to certain social utilities of a high order, concerning which we shall have much to say. In all other respects, the whole metaphysical family may be dismissed together. There is no more need of assuming a psychical entity in man, to explain the psychical functions, than there is of assuming the existence of some huge female within our earth (as was actually assumed in the Middle Ages), in order to explain the motion of the tides by the heaving of her bosom. The soul is nothing but a *homunculus* within the *homo*, a concentrated intensified agent inside the bigger, just as the "dormitive virtue" is an essence of opium inside the opium. It being difficult to explain how opium induces sleep, we tide over the difficulty by saying there is an *essence* in the opium, and the essence acts. It being still more difficult to explain how the human organism moves and feels and thinks, we answer in the same way, there is an *essence of man* inside the body; it is the essence which thinks and feels and moves. But it is evident that such an expedient can only make matters worse. If the function is to be explained at all, it is surely better to refer it to the body, which is cognizable, than to refer it to a soul which is, by definition, uncognizable. The soul, in any case, is an unnecessary, and therefore mischievous, adjunct. It does not belong to the domain of *fact*, since by its nature it must escape detection, and it is inadmissible as an hypothesis, since it does not facilitate explanation.

We pass now to the positive order of evidence, and an argument from analogy may serve as a transition. It has been urged that, since Matter is imperishable, surely Mind can be no less so.

"You cannot destroy a single particle of charcoal: you can pulverize it, burn it, dissolve it, watch its passage through the endless variety of organic combinations, but you cannot alter its weight or put an end to its individuality; it is *there*, whatever be its form, and at any time an appropriate process will disengage it from its association and restore it, entire, to its original properties and aspect. It is not likely that the permanence thus conferred upon the merest particle of dust should have been denied to the noblest, most precious product of creation."

We must observe, in the first place, that even if the analogy were true, which it is not, it would prove nothing in favour of the only kind of immortality with which we are concerned. The belief in a future life is worthless except as a belief in the preservation of the *ego*; the continuance of life without a continuance of consciousness would be, as far as the individual is concerned, equivalent to death. Now, the atom of carbon can certainly not be considered to retain its individuality when it

enters into combination with another element. No vestige, either of its aspect or its properties, remains; the connection with its former self is absolutely obliterated; a new substance has gone forth out of the old. The graphite in your pencil is not recognizable even in so near a relation as the diamond; still less is it recognizable in organic compounds such as albumen, gum, oil, sugar. It is true that the carbon may be *recovered* from these substances, but this need not ever occur; and if it should, what else would it be but one more radical change added to the others?

Even, therefore, if the human mind could be likened to an elementary substance, such as carbon, the believers in the continuance of individual consciousness would be no nearer their demonstration than before. But the assimilation is as absurd as it is sterile. If individual consciousness is to be considered as an entity at all, its analogies would evidently be with *LIVING*, organized matter, rather than with inorganic, simple substances. Now organisms are, without exception, essentially destructible, and the higher they stand in the scale the more perishable they are. The pre-eminent characteristic of things living is precisely that they die. We find ourselves, therefore, in presence of the following dilemma:—Either the human soul must be classed with chemical elements, and in that case its indestructibility will imply no continuance of its individuality, or it must be classed with living organisms, and in that case it cannot claim immunity from death. The whole plea is too weak to deserve mention, were it not that it has been urged by many superior minds.

The next argument which we have to encounter may be designated as the "historical." It consists mainly in representing the prevalence of the belief as an attestation of its truth.

"History testifies that at all times, and amongst all races, the tendency of humanity has been to look forward to something beyond the grave. The conception of what this may be varies greatly in different stages of civilization, but the fundamental trust remains the same. The Red Indians believe in their happy hunting-grounds, the Esquimaux in their fisheries, the Buddhists in the transmigration of souls.* Even where the idea of a future state has not yet emerged into distinctness, it may be recognized in germ. Humanity, says M. Réville,† has never believed in its annihilation: the gate opening on

* The following anecdote has been told by Mr. Herbert Spencer of the New Zealanders, as illustrating their strong faith in a future life. An aged chieftain having taken a young wife, discovered her to be unfaithful to him. The outraged husband slew his rival. The woman thereupon committed suicide, in order to rejoin her lover. She had no sooner done so than the old chief killed himself likewise, so that he might pursue the fugitives, and prevent their happiness together.

† "Essais de Critique Religieuse," p. 35.

the possibilities of another life has always been ajar. Primitive man conceived the hereafter vaguely as a state of sleep; it may be said that as the consciousness of his superior destiny dawned in upon him, he caused the slumbering forefathers to awake. The belief in a future life may therefore be considered as inherent in our race, a necessity of our mental constitution, an intellectual and moral INSTINCT. Now, there exists in Nature no instinct without a corresponding *object*, no *tendency* without *attraction*, no deep-seated *want* that does not point to a *provision*. Nature commits no dupey; she makes no promises that are not destined to fulfilment. Just as the rudimentary formation of lungs in a fœtus may be taken as an indication that the animal is intended to live in the air, just as the palæontologist is justified in inferring the general formation, nay, even the habits, of creatures long since extinct, by a single fragment of their skeleton, just so the natural tendency of man towards the infinite, as revealed by history, points to the reality of a future life reserved for him."

A reply to the above has already been furnished by J. S. Mill.*

"It is unnecessary," he says, "to go into any recondite considerations concerning instincts, or to discuss whether the desire in question is an instinct or not. Granting that, wherever there is an instinct, there exists something such as that instinct demands, can it be affirmed that this something exists in boundless quantity, or sufficient to satisfy the infinite craving of human desire? What is called the desire of eternal life is simply the desire of life, and does there not exist that which this desire calls for? Is there not life? And is not the instinct, if it be an instinct, gratified by the possession and preservation of life? To suppose that the desire of life guarantees to us personally the reality of life through all eternity is like supposing that the desire of food assures us that we shall always have as much as we can eat through our whole lives, and as much longer as we can conceive our lives to be protracted to."

It would be easy to amplify those considerations. We know that lovers, when thoroughly in earnest, are usually convinced of the imperishability of their attachment—nay, that they cannot conceive themselves without the desire which pervades them. And yet, in the majority of cases, is there anything more transient? We know that gamblers believe with the most indomitable faith in the luck which is to retrieve their fortunes, that they will cling to their trust in spite of the accumulated experiences of centuries, that they will pursue it until their last shilling has been staked and lost. The same may be said of inventors. Are we to infer, by an application of M. Réville's principles, that the *tendency* of the gambler implies the *attraction* of a real run of luck awaiting him in another world, if not in this; or

* "Three Essays on Religion," p. 205.

that the unwearied researches of the alchemist must be referred to the existence of a real philosopher's stone?

The truth is, as we take it, that the existence of an instinct, however powerful and constant it may be, points to nothing beyond a general utility, which by that instinct is subserved. Such utility may refer to the individual himself, but frequently also it refers only to the *race*. A single illustration will suffice to make our meaning clear. There are species of insects (similar to solitary bees) which provide beforehand for a progeniture which they are destined never to see. At a certain moment, when ready to lay her eggs, the female insect digs a hole in the ground, lines it with leaves, carries into it certain provisions that she has collected, finally deposits her egg alongside of the provisions, retires out of the hole, covers up its orifice lightly but with great care, rendering all traces of it indiscernible—and departs. In due course the egg matures, the grub appears, feeds on the provisions ready for its use, becomes a chrysalid, and finally, its last transformation having been effected, sallies forth from its refuge as a complete insect.

Now, on whatever hypothesis we account for the above series of acts on the mother's part—whether we suppose them to be prompted by a true maternal instinct (handed down, perhaps, from ancestors who knew their young and tended them), or whether we explain them by a simple desire of the female to hoard up provisions for herself—we must admit in any case that the instinct is justified by an utility as regards the *species*, not by any utility as regards the *individual*. It is evident, moreover, that the *end* attained need have no sort of correspondence with the idea, or the desire, which attends the accomplishment of the instinctive act. M. Réville, together with all the thinkers of his class, is quite right in stating that “all things stand in mutual relation,” and are thus indicative of one another; but he will find no warrant in natural history for assuming that relationship to be such as would subserve his argument. In our opinion, the belief in immortality cannot properly be classed as an instinct at all, although, in the course of further centuries, it might possibly become one; but even were the belief conceded to be an instinct, in the fullest, strictest sense, the only legitimate inference would be that this instinct, like every other, must have a justification in utility. That such an utility exists, and is adequate to account for the belief, we hope to show fully in the sequel, but this, at any rate, is the furthest extent of our obligation.

Of all the attempts made hitherto to secure a basis for the belief in a future life, the best, in our opinion, is that of modern Spiritists. Unsuccessful as we deem it to have been, it deserves

at least the credit of a failure in the right direction, a consistent and a necessary experiment. We cannot in the least assent to Mill's opinion, that the absence of any positive traces of human spirits on this earth affords only "a very faint, if any, presumption" that they do not exist elsewhere. We hold, on the contrary, that the presumption in this case is quite as strong as in the case of witchcraft. More than a presumption it cannot be. It is possible, of course, that disembodied men and women may exist alongside of us on earth without ever giving us an opportunity of detecting their existence, just as it is possible that witches may really ride through the air upon their broomsticks, provided only that they become invisible when doing so. Such delences as these can never be excluded. But of one thing we may be tolerably sure—namely, that if disembodied human beings exist at all, they exist *here*. The chances in favour of such an assumption are immeasurably preponderant. To suppose that the invisible organism constituted, or liberated, at death, is instantly whisked away into celestial spaces (the distance to the nearest fixed star being such as even light can only traverse in three years), is to remove the whole speculation from the domain of natural history to that of an Arabian Nights' Entertainment. It reminds one of the magic piece of carpet, on which the favoured prince had merely to sit down, to find himself transported instantly a thousand miles away. That Mill, of all men, should not have perceived the additional disadvantage at which the belief in disembodied human beings is placed by this assumption of their sudden disappearance from our planet; that he should have considered it a mere toss-up, an even chance, whether such beings remain on earth or not, is surely a most striking instance of the potency which metaphysical conceptions still retain. A metaphysical soul is, from the outset, divested of all natural impediments; by the simple fiat of the imagination it is placed beyond the sphere of analogies and possibilities; space and time have no relevance for it; it is at one moment in a human body, and the next moment in Sirius! What reasoning is possible in presence of such phantasies as these?

The Spiritistic school deserve the credit of having proceeded on a more rational conception. By representing the disembodied human being in the light of an organism still belonging to this world, and susceptible, at any rate in its first stages, of occupying a place in our natural histories; by claiming that this organism, although usually invisible to us, is capable, under certain conditions, of communicating with man, and revealing its presence by intelligent physical acts, the Spiritists have at least taken their stand upon positive ground, and opened the door to scientific inquiry. The next question, however, is whether they have

succeeded in adducing any evidence as to the existence of spirits, and to this the reply, in our opinion, must be an unmitigated negative. It is unnecessary for our present purpose to go far into the examination of spiritistic phenomena, or to make more than a passing allusion to the gross unreliability of the general record. That a vast portion of the performances may be interpreted either by fraud or by honest self-delusion, is, we think, beyond a doubt. Whether *all* the phenomena admit of such interpretation is perhaps a difficult question, but it is certainly one which we need not discuss now. Even if all the performances were genuine, they would not prove what has been claimed for them. Let it be remembered that the first condition of scientific explanation is to abstain from introducing any unknown factor, as long as the known factors will suffice. Now, there is no spiritistic manifestation attributed to spirits, which may not just as plausibly be attributed to man, providing only that we suppose him gifted with certain faculties hitherto unrecognized. The production of raps in places beyond the reach of any person present, the moving of furniture which nobody is seen to touch, may be taken as instances in point. Granting, for the sake of argument, that such occurrences cannot be explained on the basis of any previous experience, and that they point to the existence of a force unknown, it will still remain an open question whence that force proceeds. It is, at any rate, no more difficult to suppose that a table may be lifted by a visible human being in an invisible way, than to suppose that it is lifted by an invisible human being in an invisible way; and as the visible individual is a datum in experience, whereas the spirit is a mere hypothesis, it is more rational to attribute the action to the former than to the latter.

The same may be said of the alleged phenomenon of thought-reading, of reading through an obstacle, and so forth. The instances related do not in general transcend the powers of a common conjurer, and are inferior to what has often been performed by highly sensitive and gifted organizations. But, setting this aside, and supposing these spiritistic doings to indicate a special faculty, it is obviously more simple to locate such faculty in the so-called "medium" than to locate it in an invisible agent corresponding with the medium. The case is analogous to that of the opium and its "virtue." Why not ascribe to the opium itself the action which is ascribed to the "virtue" within?

It is evident, we think, even from the above hurried suggestions, that the first elementary precaution, in attempting to demonstrate experimentally the existence of spirits, would be to exclude the hypothesis of a conscious or unconscious human intervention. Now, we think it can safely be affirmed, that not

only has this exclusion never been effected, but that it has never even been seriously *attempted*. The proceedings are of such a character that, even if spirits had any participation in the results, it would be impossible to measure its extent. Crucial tests are declined on the score of their supposed incompatibility with the conditions under which spirits will manifest themselves. Volumes of correspondence have been written by means of the "planchette," but just as soon as you propose to remove the medium's hand, or to suspend it in such a manner as to secure its neutrality, or to blindfold the medium so that he shall not know to what letters of the alphabet the instrument is pointing, you are arrested by the spirit's *non possumus*. The only guarantee offered is that the medium BELIEVES himself to be passive, and this guarantee, in the face of the predominant part which unconscious cerebration is known to play in human action, is absolutely worthless.

On the other hand, the communications (supposed to proceed from beings who, when in the flesh, were certainly possessed of knowledge quite different and distinguishable from that of the questioners) are void of any character which would confirm their origin. They are coloured with no personality save that of the medium; they have led to no discovery; they impart no original and verifiable information, either as to the present or the past. And yet, how easy it would be, if such communications were not simply reflected back from the questioners themselves, to obtain statements which should not only be immediately verifiable, but beyond the knowledge of any person present. A throw of dice under the dice-box would suffice. The fact that, amid so many futile exhibitions, no conclusive experiment is tried, is a sure proof that no conclusive experiment is thought likely to succeed.

Under these circumstances, the result of modern spiritism must be considered as wholly negative. Not only is the evidence deficient as regards human spirits, but as regards the existence of any invisible, intelligent agents whatsoever. The experiment, however, is a valuable one, inasmuch as it has brought into prominence certain phenomena which have doubtless contributed for centuries to the belief in an invisible world, and which are probably not yet fully accounted for.

We cannot leave this part of our subject without adverting to a very singular opinion expressed by J. S. Mill.* His argument, which we venture to abridge slightly on account of want of space, is that no inference can be drawn from the general perishability of things in Nature to the perishability of consciousness,

* "Three Essays on Religion," pp. 202, 203.

because feeling and thought are not merely different from inanimate matter, but at the opposite pole of existence, so that analogical inference has little or no validity from one to the other.

“Feeling and thought are much more real than anything else ; they are the only things which we directly know to be real, matter being in reality a mere name for our expectation of sensations, or for our belief that we can have certain sensations when certain other sensations give indication of them. Because these contingent possibilities of sensation sooner or later come to an end and give place to others, is it implied in this that the series of our feelings must itself be broken off? This would not be to reason from one kind of substantive reality to another, but to draw from something which has no reality, except in reference to something else, conclusions applicable to that which is the only substantive reality. . . . Mind (or whatever name we give to what is implied in consciousness of a continued series of feelings) is in a philosophical point of view the only reality of which we have any evidence, and no analogy can be recognized, or comparison made, between it and other realities, because there are no other known realities to compare it with. That is quite consistent with its being perishable, but the question whether it is so or not is *res integra*, untouched by any of the results of human knowledge and experience.”

We have reproduced this passage from a feeling of deep respect to him who wrote it, and because we should not feel justified in passing by, unnoticed, any argument presented by so great a thinker, but we regret that it should have been published without that final reconsideration which he would probably have given it if he had lived. We know of no other case, in all Mill's works, in which his philosophy brings him up into flat contradiction with the common sense of mankind. To assert that we cannot reason from the perishability of things external, to the perishability of Self, because things external have no reality except in our thoughts and feelings, is tantamount to asserting that no external evidence could possibly be produced to us of future life, supposing future life to be a reality. Such a proposition would be the condemnation of any philosophy of which it were shown to be the legitimate necessary outcome. We do not, however, for a moment believe this proposition to be the necessary outcome of Mill's teaching. To say that the rose before me is merely a bundle of contingent sensations is not to detract one whit from the reality of the rose. To be a bundle of contingent sensations *is to be real*; reality has no other meaning, and I myself am not real in any other sense. What is the *Ego* but a bundle of contingent sensations? Mill says that “matter *apart from the feelings of sentient beings* has but an hypothetical and unsubstantial existence.” We

should prefer to say that *matter apart from the contingent possibilities of sensation is a nonsensical abstraction*, to which no meaning can be affixed. But waiving this, and taking Mill's words as they are, what follows? Is it with "matter, apart from the feelings of sentient beings," that experience deals? Is it from such "matter" that any inference has ever been drawn respecting the continuance or non-continuance of life? Evidently no. But in that case what does the distinction between the two poles of existence amount to? The analogies admitted by general consent as pointing to the perishability of man are exclusively derived from REAL THINGS—*i.e.*, bundles of contingent sensations; and these analogies have their weight, since the realities which furnish them belong, by Mill's admission, to the same pole of existence as the Ego.

We think that the foregoing survey, rapid as it has necessarily been, embraces nevertheless the principal rational grounds on which the belief in immortality has been supposed to rest. We need hardly add that we consider these grounds, not merely as insufficient, but as valueless. The presumption is therefore wholly on the negative side, and we cannot but regard it as overwhelmingly strong. The admission can hardly be made without regret, for the belief in immortality embodies so many noble aspirations, and ministers to so many delicate needs, that sympathy will always contend with reason on its behalf. For the present, however, we are looking to the evidence alone. Be it observed, furthermore, that we have refrained throughout from comparing the extent of the evidence for the claimants with the extent of their claim. We have never questioned the evidence brought forward for a future life, on the ground that it had no bearing on the endless continuance of future life. This distinction, however, has its importance, as showing how little the belief in immortality is dependent upon proof. The immortality of the soul, like the omnipotence of God, is a tenet absolutely beyond the reach of evidence. Not only is it unproved, but it is unprovable. We cannot even conceive that any evidence should ever be obtainable. Follow the existence of a soul for ages upon ages, and you will be no nearer the demonstration than at first. The utmost you could say, at any point, is that you see no appearance of decline. We may now turn to the causes of this wonderful belief, and examine what are its effects for good and ill.

The belief in a future life is of the same order as the belief in a governing Deity, and derives its explanation mainly from the same social utility. Social life is impossible without a certain subordination of egotistic to altruistic impulses; now, in the

earlier stages of civilization, before the claims of the community have become organized in the individual, so as to constitute a powerful conscience, the selfish impulses are very greatly stronger than the social, and need therefore to be kept down by artificial aid. Among the means available for such a purpose, the idea of vesting the permanent interests of society in a Being more permanent, more sagacious, and especially more powerful than man; of threatening offenders with a wrath which they could hope neither to elude nor to resist; of enlisting superstition on the side of discipline, and strengthening the hands of government with the prestige of Divine authority; this idea, we say, was evidently destined to unparalleled success. Nor can such success be fairly represented as the result of trickery and imposition. The beliefs which have determined the course of human development have never been otherwise than genuine at bottom, and we think it may be laid down as an axiom that no representative man has duped his fellow creatures to a considerable extent without duping himself too. In an age when all the startling phenomena of Nature were currently attributed to supernatural causes, the display of exceptional qualities in any individual could not fail to receive an analogous interpretation, and the chieftain who felt his own dignity to be enhanced, his influence extended and confirmed, by the superstitions springing up around him, would be among the first to credit himself with supernatural assistance. Indeed, there is a characteristic tendency in men possessed of powerful individuality, and of urgent, unreasoned perceptions, to conceive their impulses, their judgments, as impressed upon them from without, instead of having been gradually ripening within; and it is precisely because they believe themselves to be acting under a will foreign to themselves that their volitions are more unhesitating, confident, and confidence-inspiring. The processes of conscious cerebration are excellent for purposes of criticism and analysis, they are generally detrimental to the power of command.

The theocratic conception was, then, eminently natural and necessary; we will add that it was eminently beneficent. The one thing needful at the time of which we are speaking was to establish government of some kind; the dangers of despotism were infinitely preferable to those of anarchy. Civilization could proceed only out of social organization; whatever tended to promote the latter, amidst the early difficulties by which it was beset, must be regarded as an unmixed good for the time. We believe for our part that mankind could not have been educated without its gods. There has been a tendency, among modern thinkers, to dwell upon the greed, the craft, the obscurantism of so-called "spiritual" rule, and to represent the priesthood as the

hereditary enemy of progress. It may be asserted, with at least equal truth, that priests have been its chief promoters. The question will be decided in one sense or the other, according to the period which is selected as a test. But no sound philosophy of history can pass a sweeping condemnation over factors which for centuries have played a prominent part in the evolution of humanity. "The proof of the pudding is in the eating," as the proverb says; even so the proof of the value of social institutions is in the vitality they have displayed. Whatever has been, must have been good in its day—*i.e.*, adapted to existing needs. And from this point of view the utility underlying the conception of a governing Deity—the author and the guardian of the moral code—must evidently be reckoned among the most general and fundamental.

The foregoing considerations will be seen to apply, with nearly equal force, to the explanation of the belief in a future life. For this belief is a natural sequent to the belief in a governing Deity—a sequent, be it noted, which adds immensely to the adaptability and perfectibility of its antecedent. The prospect of reward or punishment in *this* life, as a consequence of God's favour or displeasure, was appropriate only in the earlier stages of human development (just as children take no thought except of the *immediate* future); an extension of this prospect became necessary in proportion as humanity advanced in culture. The conception that this life is but a preparation to another, was the logical development of the conception that this life stands in relation to an external Providence. A God confined to this world is shorn of his greatest power: the worst he can inflict is death, and death must be incurred in any case. Moreover, the threat of retribution in this world is one which the experience of life tends constantly to sap. Wrong-doing is not regularly followed by punishment; there are exceptions within everybody's knowledge, and the example of one successful criminal is sufficient to disprove the theory. It is therefore a necessity of logic to seek for an extension of delay—to assume a hereafter in which the balance may be struck. The weak point in the armour of public morals is plated over, as soon as it can be said that punishment will be all the more severe for having been deferred.

The same remarks hold of the reward of well-doing. The righteous are not always the most favoured in this life, and misfortune may befall those very men who are worthiest of good things. It was to illustrate and enforce this view that the Book of Job was written. The moral of this remarkable story is that misfortune may be wholly undeserved; that the ways of God are inscrutable to man, and that the latter has no right to infer some flaw in the moral record of his fellow-being because calamity is

falling heavily upon him. This is doubtless judicious teaching, but the contrary view was the logical outcome of the ancient Hebrew premisses. The opponents of the author of the Book of Job, reasoning from the twofold assumption that our world is governed by a moral Providence, and that there is no life for man beyond the present, were justified in their conclusion that suffering (at least in an exceptional degree) must be viewed as punishment. The author himself is compelled to admit as much, since he winds up his story by re-establishing the balance. The designs of the Almighty may render it possible that the righteous man should suffer for a while, but the injustice can be but temporary, and ample amends (*in this life!*) will certainly be made. In fact, the Book of Job can only be taken to prove that misfortune is no evidence of guilt, *as long as life is not yet terminated*. When Death closes the account, the debit and the credit must be duly balanced.

Whichever way we look at it we find, then, that the belief in a Divine rule, a moral Providence, entails as its necessary complement the belief in a future life. The utility of the former is, by the latter, intensified, potentialized, assured, and—we will now add—*refined*. The conception of the Deity as the head of the national legislature and executive was essentially a gross one—admirably adapted to primitive times—but implying a constant interference with the natural course of events, and hence incompatible with a more advanced state of knowledge. The belief in a future life, which by its very nature could only have appeared later on the scenes, was a product of comparative culture, and exercised a salutary refining influence over the creeds into which it was incorporated. By admitting a postponement of the retributive action expected of the Deity, by opening a new and boundless field for the accomplishment of justice, the belief in a future life not only obviated the necessity of much Divine interposition in this world, but also rendered it possible to spiritualize the conception of what reward and punishment would be. As long as Job had to be compensated in his corporeal existence, the bestowal of sheep and oxen was appropriate; but when once you open for him the prospect of a life beyond the grave, the number of heads of cattle which may be allotted to him here is a matter of small moment, and may be neglected for other considerations. Nevertheless, these capabilities of progress attaching to the belief in a future life were not taken advantage of at first, and many centuries elapsed after the Christian Heaven had been thrown open before it became anything else than a place for very ordinary sensuous enjoyments.

We think that we have shown sufficiently why the belief in a future life has attained such extension and such depth of root as

it now undoubtedly possesses. To show the utility of such a faith is to account for it; in the same way that particularities of bodily structure (the existence of a web-foot in the duck, for instance) are accounted for by their utility. But we would not be misunderstood to mean that the utility of the belief in a future life was the cause of its origin—*i.e.*, that some individual invented the belief in a future because he foresaw how useful it would become. That would be indeed a grotesque application of the utilitarian view. The germs of belief, like the germs of life, are numberless, but only such develop as fall upon congenial soil. The Darwinian theory—the struggle for life and the survival of the fittest—applies to ideas as well as to physical organization. Tentative variations are constantly occurring; the immense majority of them are abortive, or serve only to mark an individual particularity; a few are preserved, and constitute a variety; one may become the starting point of a species. The interest of the question lies, not in ascertaining how the initial impulse was given, but how it was afterwards propagated and developed. The belief in a future life may have originated, as Mill suggests, in the belief in ghosts; but the belief in ghosts is now generally pool-pooled as a nursery superstition, whereas the other is regarded as an indispensable condition in a witness for the acceptance of his testimony in the courts of law!

If any one should be inclined to question the sufficiency of social utility as an explanation of ethical and religious creed, let him turn to the moral codes of various races, or of the same race at different times, and mark how closely the recognition of moral obligation follows the ins and outs of social needs. Take, as an instance, if you please, the belief so prevalent in certain countries, that the victim of a murder can find no rest until the soul-deed has been avenged. How shall such a conception be accounted for? Evidently, by the same general causes to which we have referred the belief in a governing Deity. As in the primitive stages of a social organization no permanent police force has yet been established, the detection, pursuit and arrestation of offenders is necessarily entrusted to volunteers. Now, as long as the injured party himself is able to act, his own interest, sharpened by natural vindictiveness, is generally sufficient warrant that *one* volunteer at least will not be wanting. The interests of society are sufficiently protected by the instinct of revenge to dispense with any artificial aid. But when, as in the case of murder, the victim is debarred from the prosecution of redress, the chances that the assassin will not be vigorously pursued, constitute a serious danger to the community. Volunteers may neither be ready nor efficient; it requires public spirit to encounter danger in another's cause, and public spirit can only

be developed by the long experience that any wrong committed on a neighbour is an attack upon our own security. Here, therefore, the idea of duty intervenes. It is made a sacred obligation on the nearest relatives of the deceased to lay all ordinary avocations aside, and to allow themselves neither respite nor indulgence until justice has been obtained. Whatever superstitions are afloat are taken advantage of to enforce the social claim; the soul of the murdered man is represented as blown about in windy caverns, a houseless outcast among the dead, and the living are threatened with his ghostly visits if they be remiss in laying him to rest. Hundreds of other instances could be quoted to the same effect; they would all go to prove the correlation existing between social utilities and moral or religious beliefs. What the mechanism of that correlation is, by what precise means the existence of a social utility brings about the development of conceptions fitted to subserve it, is a question of the highest interest, but one which we cannot discuss here. It suffices for our present purpose that the correlation exists, and that the same logical canon which warrants our assumption that the tidal motion of the ocean is caused by the attraction of the sun and moon, justifies us also in inferring that the moral code, with its attendant beliefs, is generated by the perception of social utilities. The principle of "Concomitant Variations" is applicable in either case.

There remains for us now to examine the ethical value of the belief in a future life, as connected with a system of reward and punishment. It is commonly asserted that the moral law must have a "sanction," and that such sanction must be looked for in a "hereafter." There would be no object in being good if nothing were to come of it in another existence. M. Renan, for instance, has frequently expressed the opinion that virtue is a dupery, if virtue be its own reward. Prince Bismark is reported to have said that he would never have given himself such trouble, either for his king or for his country, but for his reliance on a future life. Mr. Mallock has written a big book to prove that this life, taken in itself, is not worth living, and that we are threatened with the universal darkness prophesied in the "Dunciad," unless we take refuge in infallible Catholicism. Is there any foundation for such utterances, and, if so, what is it?

Now it seems to us quite impossible to deny that the system of placing a "premium" upon virtue was fully justified in other times. The whole course of our previous argumentation implies as much. We started from the proposition that in the early stages of collective life the selfish impulses so outweigh the social that a balance can only be established by artificial means. It is quite evident, for instance, that volunteers cannot be depended

on for the defence of the country until patriotism has had time and opportunity to develop into a motive of the most powerful kind. Until then, bounties must be offered on the one hand, and punishment must be threatened on the other. The only question is, whether such a state of things shall be regarded as transitional or final; whether the social impulse be susceptible of ever acquiring sufficient strength to stand alone; or whether it be destined, from the very nature and constitution of things, to use crutches to the end.

This question has been answered decisively by History, and the evidence is sufficiently present to everybody's mind to need no urging on our part. In thousands of cases men have joyfully encountered death from love of country. If it be objected that such men have always been exceptional, even in their own time, and that the mass of a nation is incapable of such heroism, we reply that the experiment has at least been conclusive as to the potentialities of patriotism, and that this is all which our present argument requires. What social influences have achieved in a small number of men may be achieved by further education in a greater number, may be achieved ultimately in all. We do not say that artificial incentives may be dispensed with yet. We say that there is no reason in the nature of things why they should not be dispensed with ultimately. It is a question of breeding—the deepening of tendencies through hereditary transmission.

The reverse would be an anomaly in Nature. Have we not the spectacle of animal communities, in which the social instincts have already attained a far higher degree of development than in man, and quite predominate over the egotistic—*i.e.*, the *separatist*—impulses? And do not these examples indicate the general direction in which human society must be tending? Is there any theory of happiness according to which the gratification of social impulses must remain inferior to the gratification of anti-social impulses? And if (as can hardly be denied) the fact of individuals living together, in constantly increasing interaction and mutual dependence, tends to repress one set of activities and promote another, are we not justified by all physiological analogy in assuming that the latter set will gradually be developed at the expense of the former?

That such a process is actually going on may be clearly inferred from the change that has already taken place in the nature of the reward held out for virtue. Originally, as Emerson has excellently pointed out, it was deemed necessary to neutralize the existing inducements to wrong-doing by prospective inducements of the same kind. "We are to have *such* a good time as the sinners have now; or, to push it to its extreme import: You sin now, we shall sin by-and-by; we would sin now if we could;

not being successful, we expect our revenge to-morrow." We are told to give unto the poor, because by so doing we lay up tenfold riches for ourselves; we are to humble ourselves here, in order to get the seat of honour hereafter; we are to forego the pleasure of immediate vengeance for the prospect of being revenged far more cruelly by the Almighty. These precepts are now interpreted metaphorically, but they were certainly understood literally when first given, and the fact that we have come to be ashamed of them in their original acceptation shows that the anti-social claims are losing somewhat of their force. When a man expresses himself willing to forego a brutish pleasure for a gratification of quite another order, he is already half-way towards admitting that the higher life is its own reward. The question is henceforth one of *quantity* only. He is constrained to admit that there is a reward for well-doing, even in this life; all he can claim, therefore, is that there is not enough of it. He grants that the recompense of conscience is of the right kind, and the only kind he is entitled to; but he wants *a great deal of it* to make up for what he has renounced. The brutish gratification is still so dear to him that he cannot quite make up his mind to part with it for a mere temporary benefit.

Surely this idea of compensation, when viewed apart from its educational uses (an expedient to *gain time*, and wait for the altruistic impulses to develop), is one of the most exquisitely ludicrous that mankind has ever had. *Compensation? for what?* For an act of self-denial? But what self is it that you deny? Not the good self, certainly, for that is precisely what you *indulge*. The "self," denied, can be nothing but the BRUTE—the greedy, selfish, cruel beast—and this it is which wants to recover damages! The more you have within you of this brute the more damages you claim! But the fact that you are not satisfied, shows you to be undeserving. The greater you feel your sacrifice to be, the lower you stand in the scale. Moreover, what *kind* of compensation do you claim? Do you want to be better, or to be worse? If better, you are claiming a repetition of the very acts by which you represent yourself as damaged! Logically, the compensation can only be awarded to the brute. But in that case your petition bears a wrong address; it should be directed, not to God, but to the Devil!

Our conclusion, therefore, is that the claim for compensation, far from being the necessary basis of morality, is, on the contrary, quite inconsistent with it. Doubtless the moral law must have a sanction, but that sanction is of a nature entirely different from what is generally supposed by the believers in a future life. The penalty attached to wrong-doing is to preclude ourselves from the higher life, the contentment arising from the harmony of self

with the essential conditions of all social life ; the reward of well-doing is to perfect that harmony, and in consequence to taste that peace which "the world" (*i.e.*, the pursuit of selfish, and hence clashing, interests) cannot give. If it be objected that such harmony may be attained in utter egotism by an individual perfectly callous to the claims of others, we reply that such an individual is impossible. We cannot undo the work of centuries, we cannot rid ourselves of that monitor within, which represents the permanent interests of society. And we believe that those persons deceive themselves who declare in their retrospects that they would have pursued a more selfish line of conduct had they not looked forward to the rewards of a hereafter. Admitting that they were conscious of no other motive, it does not follow that they had none. The *real* reward of well-doing may be so associated with the *prospective* reward as to escape notice, but not the less does the former give colour and sweetness to the latter. The happiness to be derived from the idea of the love of God is essentially of the same kind as that derived from the love and commendation of the best and noblest among our fellow-creatures. We admit, however, that we touch here upon the immoral and injurious side of the belief in a future life. The evil effect, in education, of re-enforcing the natural legitimate incentive by an artificial one, is to render the latter indispensable. The moral backbone, like the physical, may have to suffer from the use of stays. At any rate, if Prince Bismark was really incapable of serving king and country without the prospect of eternal reward, he must be considered, morally, as greatly inferior to the thousands of heroes who devoted themselves before ever the belief in a future life had sprung into existence.

We have heard it argued that a future life for humanity is a necessity on God's account, if not on man's. Granting, it is said, that well-doing be preferable for its own sake, is it conceivable that the Divine Ruler shall not have reserved for Himself the possibility of preserving those whom He most loves? A man may bring instant destruction on himself by the very act which proves him worthiest to live ; he may die, even before a flash of consciousness has rewarded him for his self-sacrifice. Is nothing to be done for such a one?

We reply, that he has tasted his reward beforehand. The man whose soul is accessible to noble and generous impulses is, on that very account, most enviable ; his sympathies, his anticipations, the potentialities of sacrifice within him have been a source of happiness to him long before the final opportunity for action presents itself. The more certain his sacrifice was, the greater his capabilities of enjoyment must have been. No, even in this case the law of Nature may be allowed its course.

We have hitherto discussed the belief in a future life only from the point of view of reward and punishment, as a sanction to the moral law. We must add, however, that it commends itself on other grounds. The simple desire of more life, the dread of annihilation, the anguish of parting from those we love, the thirst for more knowledge, for the expansion and progression of our mental being—all these are powerful causes of belief. Buckle has said that the certainty, the necessity of a future life is not felt until we stand by the death-bed of one in whom all our affections have been wrapped, and Addison, in a beautiful image which can hardly be forgotten by those who have ever read the *Spectator*, compares the progress of the human soul to those geometrical curves which tend, throughout all space, to approach a given line, without ever becoming wholly merged in it.

To this we conceive that there is little to be said. The belief in a future life has undoubtedly strengthened many hearts, ennobled many lives, comforted many thousands of the afflicted. It is a beautiful creed: the most beautiful, *in its purified form*, that humanity has yet created. Those who are content to hold it on the basis of pure sentiment may continue to so hold it, and need fear no disturbance from science. But we do not think that such beliefs are calculated to last. To the present writer (for in such matters every one must speak for himself) there seems to be something excessive, abnormal, morbid, in this clinging to existence throughout eternity. Are you *never* to have enough of it? We can admit that a man should rise hungry from a feast, especially if he has been interrupted in it—well then, let the courses be brought on again, and if a second dinner is still insufficient, let there be a third, a fourth. . . . But is there never to be an end? Is this Self so precious that it can never be resigned? May it not be that *others* will want their turn? We can but put the question, and let each reader answer it as best befits his taste.

At any rate, we do not share the common notion that the belief in a future life, apart from a belief in definite conditions of that life, would be consolatory. The tacit assumption of believers is that their eternity is going to be pleasant, is going to bring them everything that they desire. And, in truth, as long as it is a matter of mere wishing, there is no reason to stop midway. But suppose that the case should be the reverse, and that, on the yonder side, we should find ourselves in untoward circumstances, without the possibility of shaking off the horrible incubus of eterna: life in store? The greatest blessing conferred upon terrestrial humanity is that life may be resigned when it becomes too burdensome.

ART. V.—AUSTRALASIAN FEDERATION.

WHENEVER the question of Federation is referred to by the leading politicians or public journals in Australia and New Zealand, it rarely happens that a single argument is advanced against the proposal to create a United Australasia. Colonists, who hold opposite opinions on many political questions, generally agree on the desirability of Federation as a broad principle. They assert, "it is merely a matter of time," and there the subject is now allowed to rest.

Going further afield we find English statesmen, irrespective of party, apparently unanimous in urging these colonies to federate; and, not perceiving how the object they have in view is to be gained, generously conceding that the colonists should be left to make the necessary arrangements without Imperial interference.

The arguments in favour of Federation are usually based on the following considerations. Federation, we are told, will enable us—

1. To provide a more powerful defence against the enemies of the British Empire.

2. To secure a better and more economical form of Government.

3. To obtain a quicker and healthier advancement of the various industries; and

4. As a check to the tendency to further subdivision, as well as for the creating of more friendly feelings than at present exist between the residents of different localities, Federation, we are assured, offers the best, if not the only means.

With one army and navy we should naturally expect and provide a defence force far superior in power to what we can now boast of. The expense of maintaining this united force might not be less than the present annual outlay on colonial defences, but it requires no elaborate argument to prove that any extra cost would be fully compensated for by increased efficiency.

In other directions a greater economy in administration, and especially in the construction of public works of an intercolonial character, would more easily be secured, both by the amalgamation of Government offices, and by the higher ability we could afford to jointly pay for. Eleven hundred and fifty pounds per annum is considered to be a high salary for an Engineer in Chief in South Australia. It is more than any Minister of the Crown in that colony receives; but it certainly will not arouse envious feelings in the minds of first-class professional men in England.

That the industrial enterprise of these colonies would be ultimately greatly benefited by the removal of vexatious tariffs on each other's products free-traders and protectionists must alike admit. It is here, however, that we touch on one of the chief obstacles in the path of Federation, for it is held by many that intercolonial free-trade would give Victoria, whose industries have been established under protection, an undue advantage in manufacturing over the other colonies. Leaving this and other objections for the moment, we may certainly claim that Federation would put a stop to any further subdivision of these colonies.

Victoria and Queensland have split away from New South Wales, and it is within the realms of the possible that the residents of the northern territory may some day seek to legislate for themselves, and that the large area known as Western Australia may be divided under two or more independent Governments. There is also a feeling of what some describe as jealousy, but which certainly cannot be called excessive friendliness, existing between the inhabitants of, let us instance, New South Wales and Victoria. It may be due to "a spirit of healthy rivalry," but among people of the same race and language all animosity, in however mild a form it may show itself, ought to give place to honest goodwill. There is always a danger while the colonies are disunited of those little differences arising which tend to create antagonistic feelings. Sweep away all chance of such matters cropping up, and there will be no longer any cause for squabbling.

Having mentioned the principal benefits to be derived from Federation, let us consider what are the chief difficulties which stand in the way.

At present each colony has its own debt and system of taxation, and no two have the same method of dealing with waste or Crown lands. Are the debts to be consolidated? Will the taxpayers in New South Wales or Victoria quietly consent to assist in paying the interest on borrowed money squandered in New Zealand, or *vice versa*? Would New South Wales adopt the South Australian plan of dealing with unalienated land? Unless we answer Yes to these questions, we are forced to admit each colony must be permitted to provide the interest on its debt in such manner as the contributors, or taxpayers, may deem most expedient. If we do not object to the consolidation of our loans, to uniformity in our customs tariffs, land systems, railway charges, and in obtaining other sources of revenue, then Federation might be easily achieved. But the merest tyro in colonial politics will acknowledge that so great a change is bound, under the most favourable conditions, to be the work of many years. The Government of each colony has, in undertaking the execution of

important works of development, stifled individual enterprise ; and it would certainly act prejudicially to the interests of the poorer colonies if the present system were abandoned, and the future construction of public works, such as railways, jetties, &c., were left to private individuals to carry out. Nor could we, with any advantage to ourselves, trust to the tender mercies of a central Parliament to sanction the necessary expenditure for the construction of such public works as we require.

If an intercolonial Parliament attempted to decide where railways, &c., should be constructed out of borrowed monies, it is pretty certain the less influential countries would fare badly, even if the difficulty did not result in a deadlock caused by the pressure of work, and the obstruction raised by powerful minorities. There is already too much jealousy between the northern and southern districts in several of these colonies. In an intercolonial Parliament this feeling would be intensified when the question of expenditure on the construction of proposed public works was brought forward.

While, therefore, it is evident that the initiation and execution of public works of a local character must necessarily be remitted to local Parliaments, it is also clear that any proposed consolidation of the several public debts must be abandoned as impracticable, and each colony left to provide for the payment of its own indebtedness—left, in short, to manage its financial affairs and public works as the cities are allowed to do.

Compelled to meet the liabilities it incurred, each colony would naturally desire to raise a revenue as it deemed most expedient. Nor is there any reason why such powers should not be granted, with this restriction—viz., that no taxes should be raised which were opposed to commercial intercourse. "There's the rub." Each colony might retain its revenues derived from Crown lands, water-works, wharves, railways, and by any tax on the property or income of private persons, and even from its jointly authorized customs duties ; but the majority of the advocates of Federation would certainly insist on inter-colonial freetrade. There must be no vexatious imposts on each other's produce, either at the borders or at the ports.

It is very difficult to discuss questions affecting the policy of Freetrade or Protection without arousing an extraordinary amount of bitterness. In Australia, where Protectionists are, comparatively speaking, numerically stronger than in England, the subject is apt to arouse the passions of the disputants more quickly than a theological argument. In England the majority often calmly dismiss all discussion by briefly telling the minority that no one in his proper senses can be a Protectionist. It is, therefore, more difficult to persuade persons in England that many of

the men known as Protectionists in Australia are looked upon as leaders by the people, and that an allowance must be made in discussing the question of Federation for the prejudices of Protectionists as well as for the fancies of the freetrader.

It has been already stated it is frequently asserted that inter-colonial freetrade would give Victoria, whose industries have been established under protection, an undue advantage over the other colonies in manufacturing.

"Why," it is occasionally asked by our Protectionists, "should Victoria manufacture for South Australia? What natural advantages does she possess as a manufacturing country which we do not? And, further, what should we gain if our struggling manufactories were to be closed from exposure to Victorian competition? To meet our financial engagements with the English bondholder, to maintain the price of property, to ensure further progress, we require population. Close our manufactories and we not only restrict the increase of population, but we induce our factory hands to emigrate to Victoria."

The freetrader naturally regards these statements as exaggerated, and laughs at the fears of the manufacturers who advance them. He also claims that "the great impetus intercolonial freetrade would give to business would fully compensate for any loss we might sustain by the change."

We have assumed, and not without reason, that Victorians would not object to intercolonial freetrade, and we might safely go to the length of taking it for granted that if the whole of the electors in the Australasian colonies were polled, there would be a majority in its favour. But whether we are justified in assuming this or not, we must admit that directly we couple with intercolonial freetrade a uniform customs tariff on all foreign goods, the matter assumes another aspect. Although it is not essential to Federation, it is at least desirable that these colonies should adopt a uniform tariff, and the question arises whether the opposition of the Protectionist party in Victoria and elsewhere should be courted by insisting on low duties. Prudence dictates that in the early stages of the introduction of a new system of government it is well not to insist on too much. Give the Central Parliament or Federal Council power to arrange a tariff, and it will not be long before the customs duties are fixed to suit the wishes of the majority of colonists.

It may be found advisable in the interests of Federation not to insist even on the amount of customs charges to be levied on foreign products being relegated to the decision of any central authority, but to wait until after that central authority has been created, and then to agitate for this addition to its powers.

Having shown that Federation is desirable, and dealt with the alleged disadvantages or objections raised against it, we may proceed to discuss the following questions:—

1. How is Federation to be secured?
2. What powers should be entrusted to the Federal Government?

Federation cannot be forced on the people of these colonies. It is necessarily a matter of slow growth, and those who are in favour of it will the more quickly attain the object they have in view, if prepared to be thankful for small mercies. As the colonies have separate Parliaments, the first step is to induce some of the leading members of Parliament to adopt Federation as a plank in their political platforms. Australian politicians are in need of a subject of this sort, and a word from Government House would be sufficient to persuade the leaders to promise on the hustings to vote for the appointment of delegates to a general conference. No elector would refuse to support a candidate on such grounds, though many might think the conference would end in smoke. As the result of the conference might be unsatisfactory, another way of attaining our object deserves consideration. We could appeal to that central authority which already exists. Our Parliaments can forward a petition to the Crown, and there is not the least doubt that such a petition, if supported by all of these colonies, would be most favourably entertained by Her Majesty's advisers. The Imperial Government, even without the receipt of a petition, can facilitate the Federation of Australasia by forming in these colonies a central authority composed of the several governors, and entrusting to that authority power to decide all cases of appeal against legal decisions, which are, under the present system, referred to the House of Lords from these colonies. This council of Governors might also be entrusted with still more important powers, and authorized to sanction such bills as are reserved for Her Majesty's assent.

This central council would, in fact, represent the Colonial Office, and as the Governors are better acquainted with these colonies than some of the officials in that office, the colonists would be perfectly satisfied, and the officials in England spared a certain amount of trouble. The chief advantage, however, which would be derived by the adoption of this suggestion consists in accustoming the colonists to the existence in Australasia of a central Government, which, in course of time, must become more representative of these countries, and be entrusted with more power by the various colonial Parliaments.

Should, however, the former scheme prove successful, and the delegates appointed by our Parliaments adopt some plan for electing a chamber composed of representatives elected by each

colony, it would be necessary to pass constitution bills. These bills would not only provide for the election in each province of the representatives in the central council, but also confer certain powers on this new chamber. The greater the powers conferred on this central authority the more representative should it be; and to secure a thoroughly representative and popular body we are compelled to leave the selection of its members to the taxpayers. By this it is not meant that the taxpayers in each colony should be called upon *en masse* to make the selection, but that the selection should be left to members of Parliament who are appointed by the taxpayers, and are better able than the great body of electors to judge of a man's fitness for such a high position.

One of the first questions which would have to be settled prior to the formation of this central Parliament, is the number of members each colony should have the right to elect. To take population as a basis is by many considered as injudicious, and there are, doubtless, several weighty objections to it. Victorians, however, would be inclined to grumble if either Western Australia or Tasmania returned as many representatives as they did; yet the advancement of the interests of Western Australia is of as much importance to us as the advancement of those of Victoria. The question of representation has been so frequently discussed by the ablest minds of the age, and is of so far too great a magnitude to be dealt with in a brief essay, that, without pronouncing any opinion as to what is the best system, we here leave it, merely surmising that electors in these colonies will mostly prefer some arrangement which is based on population.

Concerning the powers which should be entrusted to a central authority, we may place in a prominent position, (1) those which concern naval and military matters; (2) the right to charge each colony its due proportion of the cost of maintaining these forces; and (3) authority to recommend the construction of works of intercolonial importance; as well as (4) uniformity in our laws; together with (5) power to veto all bills in which the interests of these colonies, as a whole, or the rest of the British Empire, may chance to be injuriously affected.

It would be folly to expect much from a newly constituted body, but as we became accustomed to its existence, and learned to regard it with feelings of respect and affection, we should gradually become content to surrender some of our selfish notions for the benefit of the common good. Though there are no dangers threatening us which would force us to unite, yet the abilities Australians have shown in organization and self-government, and their natural generosity of disposition, render the task of bringing about Federation more easy than strangers may fancy.

That there is an unmistakable desire to increase our own importance in the eyes of the world which we must lack as separate colonies, will be generally admitted ; but we have waited for our politicians to lead the way, and our politicians will not make a start. Not only, however, are we aware that an United Australasia would rank as one of the powers of the world, but we feel that we shall deserve the gratitude of the next generation, if we seize the present opportunity to secure an Untied Australasia as a heritage for our descendants.

ART. VI.—ERNEST RENAN.

1. *Souvenirs d'Enfance et de Jeunesse.* Par ERNEST RENAN. Neuvieme Edition. Paris : Calmann Lévy. 1883.
2. *Recollections of my Youth.* By ERNEST RENAN. Translated from the original French by C. B. PITMAN, and revised by Madame RENAN. London : Chapman & Hall. 1883.

WE have here another history of religious experiences of the same class as the "Apologia" of Cardinal Newman, the "Phases of Faith" of his brother, the "Autobiography" of Count Campello, and the pamphlets of Mr. Suffield.*

The position of M. Renan differs from that of each of the writers we have named. Cardinal Newman was reared as a Protestant. From early youth he mistrusted the reality of material phenomena, and has rested "in the thought of two and two only, supreme and luminously self-evident beings, himself and his Creator." Not without doubt and mistrust he has built as a superstructure on that foundation the whole creed of the Roman Church, including its latest development, the dogma of Papal Infallibility. His brother, also reared as a Protestant, became in his youth an ultra-Evangelical. At the close of his life he holds as strongly as his brother the primary truth of natural theology, but

"Innumerable associations, to the music of which the Christian heart beats in unison, have lost their charm to him ; he pauses to criticise where others are content to admire, and turns away in dissatisfaction from a shrine where countless worshippers kneel in wondering awe. He has lost much ; what has he retained ? He is still able to come into the very presence of God,† never before, if his

* *Vide* WESTMINSTER REVIEW, N.S. No. CXXII., April, 1882, p. 427, Art. "Ecclesiastical Migrations."

† *Vide* F. W. Newman's "Phases of Faith," and his "Prayers in the Household of a Believer in God," *passim*.

own tale be true, with so free and so large a heart, and, in preserving the pass word to that communion, has kept the essential strength and light of all religion. He stands alone with God upon the open levels of humanity; no Church interposing, no priest, no sacrament; and, as friend with friend, he knows and is known of Him. His Church is as wide as the human race, and wherever a thought approves to his mind as true, a deed is owned by his conscience as noble, he is able, without conditions or drawback, to acknowledge and to love.*

The Vatican decree defining the Pope's infallibility, the anticipation of which saddened Cardinal Newman's heart, and which, when published, he only accepted in submission to God's "adorable inscrutable providence," led Mr. Suffield, a Romanist by descent and education, to renounce alike the infallibility of Pope, Church, and Scripture, and to adopt Theism, but a Theism unlike that of Francis Newman, "a Theism of the Christian type, moulded by the Christian traditions, and edified by the sacred Scriptures."†

The same decree led Count Campello, equally with Mr. Suffield, a Romanist by descent and education, and like him a priest holding high ecclesiastical office, to become an Evangelical Protestant, and to enter into connection with the Wesleyan Mission in Rome. We ventured in a former Number to express a doubt if his connection with the Wesleyans would long continue,‡ and we have seen it stated, we believe correctly, that he has so far retraced his steps as to "wish to maintain Catholic order apart from what are considered the accretions of Rome; that he does not wish to be separated from the Churches in communion with Rome;" and therefore he turns from the Wesleyans, and seeks alliance with the Anglo-Catholic section of the English establishment. It requires no great sagacity to foresee his speedy return to the Church of his fathers.

M. Renan resembles Mr. Suffield and Count Campello, in that he was a Romanist by descent and training; but his Romanism was of a different kind from the Romanism of the "ancient Catholic families of England," which was that of Mr. Suffield, and from the purely Italian kind of Count Campello.§ It was the Romanism of Brittany, which differs from the Romanism of old England and of Italy in so far that M. Renan tells us "It

* *Theological Review*, No. III. July, 1864, Art. "Authority and Free-Thought: Dr. Newman's 'Apology,'" p. 334. On the internal evidence of the style we attribute this article to Dr. Martineau, though we do not know that it has been acknowledged by, or by others attributed to, him.

† "Why I became a Unitarian." By R. Rodolph Suffield, p. 15.

‡ WESTMINSTER REVIEW, *ubi supra*, p. 456.

§ Conf. WES. MINSTER REVIEW, *ubi supra passim*.

would have taken very little for the Bretons of France to have become Protestant like their brethren the Welsh in England.*

Trained, like Mr. Suffield and Count Campello, for the priesthood, the sceptical spirit awoke in Renan in his youth, and before he took orders he heard, though coming from a different quarter, what, at a maturer age, Cardinal Newman heard, the call "obliviscere populum tuum et domum patris tui;" and in leaving all his early friends and associations, he felt like going on the "open sea;" though the still waters of Church authority on which the Englishman launched are not to be compared with the stormy ocean of freethought on which the Frenchman embarked.

M. Renan's reasons for his secession from the Roman Church and the conclusions to which they have led him, we will hereafter describe in his own words. The four men of whom we speak agree in holding "That there is no ultimate test of truth besides the testimony borne to truth by the mind itself.† But the manner in which they severally tell how the mind of each has testified to what is truth is characteristic of the nations to which they respectively belong. The Englishmen narrate the subject of their changes of belief with the seriousness and regard for truth generally characteristic of their race; the Frenchman tells his tale with the levity common on such subjects to his race, and labouring under the defect attributed to them by the author of "The Comparative View of Social Life in France and England"—who was well qualified by natural ability and abundant experience to form the opinion, which she expressed,

"the one great desideratum in French character, and insuperable defect which prevades all their enormous advantages is an ignorance of the value, and indifference to the existence, and a neglect of the practice, of truth, collectively and individually. This is so perfectly known to themselves, that a tacit agreement seems always to have taken place, mutually to receive and to make assertions without inquiry into proof, but at the same time without confidence, in fact, on either part."‡

This is illustrated by M. Renan in his preface. He plainly tells us that—

"What in history is a recommendation would here have been a drawback; the whole of this small volume is true, but not true in the sense required for a 'biographical dictionary.' I have said several

* "Recollections," p. 70. Conf. "Souvenirs," p. 78. The translation does not exactly represent the original.

† Cardinal Newman's "Grammar of Assent," p. 343.

‡ "Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry," vol. iii. p. 193.

things with the intent to raise a smile, and if such a thing had been compatible with custom, I might have used the expression *cum grano salis* in many cases.*

We are, therefore, left in doubt, in reading any one of his "Recollections," how far it may be accurate and according to fact.

Ernest Renan is by birth a Breton—a province rich in heretical and heterodox natives, for, beside Renan, of that province also were natives—Pelagius, whose "vain teaching" on the doctrine of original sin is condemned by the Ninth Article of the Established Church; Des Cartes, Lamennais, a contemporary of Renan, and, like him, a rebel against Rome, but with whom Renan has little in common.

"Lamennais," he says, "merely exchanged one creed for another, and it was not until the close of his life that he acquired the cool temper necessary to the critic; whereas the same process which weaned me from Christianity made me impervious to any other practical enthusiasm."†

But a greater Breton than any of these was Abelard, who is truly called—

"the unconscious precursor of the great spiritual conflict of this age—the conflict wherein M. Renan takes so distinguished a part, the conflict between unreasoning faith and reverent reason, between absolutism and liberty, between ecclesiasticism and humanity—uniting the mysticism of Plato, the grace of Cicero, the poetic audacity of Lucretius, the varied learning of Origen. Abelard taught that 'men can be saved by natural religion' and 'that the heart is the test of goodness,'"‡

which latter doctrine is also that of Renan.

Those who are given to studying the many points of resemblance between Brittany and Cornwall will be interested in learning that—

"One of the most popular legends in Brittany is that relating to an imaginary town called 'Is,' which is supposed to have been swallowed up by the sea at some unknown time. There are several places along the coast which are pointed out as the site of this imaginary city, and the fishermen have many strange tales to tell of it. According to them, the tips of the spires of the churches may be seen in the hollow of the waves when the sea is rough, while during a calm the music of their bells, ringing out the hymn appropriate to the day, rises above the waters. I often fancy," adds M. Renan, "that I have at the

* "Recollections," preface, p. ix.; Conf. "Souvenirs," preface, p. iii.

† *Ibid.* p. 136.

‡ Mr. Suffield in the *Modern Review*, for July, 1883, Art. "Ernest Renan's Recollections," p. 495.

bottom of my heart a city of Is, with its bells calling to prayer a recalcitrant congregation."*

This is the Breton equivalent to the Cornish tradition of the *Lyonnesse*, a supposed territory which extended from the present Land's End to the "Seven Stones," if not to the Scilly Isles, and which the neighbours and mariners of Camden's time assured him had been at some time unknown, "drowned by incursions of the sea," of which fact the mariners were positive from "the rubbish, windows, and such other stuff," which they or their forefathers, when fishing, had drawn up. The name of Renan is derived from St. Renan, in its original form, Ronan. It is still, M. Renan says, to be found in the names of places—e.g., "Loc Ronan, the well of St. Ronan (Wales)." We know not whether Scott's tale of "St. Ronan's Well" was named after some existing Scotch place, or whether he transplanted the name from Wales to Scotland. Than St. Renan "there is not a more original figure among all the saints of Brittany. . . . He lived in Cornwall, near the little town which bears his name" (St. Renan).

We have some acquaintance with the ancient history of Cornwall, and a rather intimate knowledge of its present topography, but we cannot identify the former dwelling-place of St. Renan. "He was more a spirit of the earth than a saint, and his power over the elements was illimitable. He was of a violent and rather erratic temperament, and there was no telling beforehand as to what he would do." When, in after years, M. Renan came to know India, he saw that the Breton saints were true *Richis*, and that through them he had become "familiarized with the most primitive features of our Aryan world, with the idea of solitary masters of nature, asserting their power over it by asceticism and the force of will."†

Tréguier, M. Renan's native place, grew into a town out of an ancient monastery founded at the close of the fifth century by St. Tudwal or Tual, one of the religious leaders of those great migratory movements which "introduced into the Armorican peninsula the name, the race, and the religious institutions of the Island of Britain."‡

The predominating characteristic of early Breton Christianity was not episcopacy but monasticism, and the first action of these British emigrants was the erection of large monasteries, the abbots of which had the cure of souls. In Brittany "up to 1830,

* "Recollections," Preface, p. i. Conf. "Souvenirs," &c., p. ii. The French version of the last part of the extract is "des cloches obstinées à convoquer aux offices sacrés des fideles qui n'entendent plus," not "recalcitrant," but "who no longer hear." "Souvenirs," &c., preface, p. xi.

† "Recollections," p. 73, and note.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 1.

according to M. Renan, paganism was still to be detected beneath a layer, often so thin as to be transparent, of Christianity.*

He adds, "that a circle of from three to four miles in circumference, called the *minihé*, was drawn around each monastery, and the territory within it was invested with special privileges."† Is not this an instance of a still older *cult* penetrating through the Christian disguise which had been imposed upon it? *Minhir* stones are, or were, within the memory of some now living, the object, to the Breton peasantry, of a superstitious reverence derived from their British forefathers. Within a short distance of the spot where these pages are written is a farm named "Tremenheere,"‡ *i.e.*, "the place of the Minhir belonging to a branch of the ancient Cornish family of Tremeneere, whose arms are a shield bearing three Minhir stones.

In the ninth century Tréguier became a bishop's see, and in course of time a small town grew up around the bishop's palace: "But the lay town, dependent entirely on the Church, grew very slowly. The port failed to acquire any importance, and no wealthy trading class came into existence. A very fine cathedral was built towards the close of the thirteenth century, and from the beginning of the seventeenth the monasteries became so numerous that they formed whole streets to themselves. The bishop's palace, a handsome building of the seventeenth century, and a few curious residences, were the *only houses inhabited by people of civilized habits.*"§

The revolution of 1789 dispersed this gathering together of priests and monks. The last of the bishops of Tréguier escaped to England by a back door leading into a wood behind his palace. The whole institutions of the land, ecclesiastical and otherwise, were crased; but, as Lord Beaconsfield once said, "When the turbulence was over—when the shout of triumph and the wail of agony were alike stilled—when, as it were, the waters had subsided—the sacred heights of Sinai and Calvary were again revealed."||

As if by magic, parish churches appeared in the 30,000 districts of France; but Tréguier did not regain its bishop. The "Concordat abolished the bishopric, and the unfortunate town was not even given a subprefect, Lannion and Guingamp, which are larger and busier, being selected in preference." M. Renan then propounds as a general truth, which we doubt if he could prove by

* "Recollections," p. 77.

† *Ibid.* p. 2.

‡ In the parish of Ludgvan, Cornwall.

§ *Ibid.* p. 4. Conf. "Souvenirs," p. 5, the words in italics are in French, "*les seules maisons civilement habitables.*" We should render this as habited by civilians, *i.e.*, citizens as opposed to monastics, or, in older phraseology, the seculars as opposed to the regulars, *i.e.*, those who lived (*in seculo*) in the world as distinguished from those who lived under the rules of some order.

|| Speech at a meeting at Oxford, Nov. 25, 1864.

induction from particulars, "That large buildings, fitted up so as to fulfil only one object, nearly always lead to the reconstitution of the object to which they were destined." His general rule may, or may not, be true; but as a concrete fact, after the restoration—

"The vast monastic edifices of Tréguier were once more peopled, and the former seminary served for the establishment of an ecclesiastical college, very highly esteemed throughout the province. Tréguier again became, in a few years' time, what St. Tudwal had made it thirteen centuries before, a town of priests, cut off from all trade and industry, a vast monastery, within whose walls no sounds from the outer world ever penetrated, where ordinary human pursuits were looked upon as vanity and vexation of spirit, while those things which laymen treated as chimerical were regarded as the only realities."*

"It was," continues M. Renan, "amid associations like these that I passed my childhood, and it gave a bent to my character which has never been removed."†

It has been well said that the subject of this volume "may be almost summed up in a sentence: 'How to account for the 'Vie de Jesus'?"

M. Renan's early associations, which we shall more fully lay before our readers, make this question not one of interest only, but at first sight also one of perplexity.

M. Renan's forefathers, he says, "were well-to-do sailors, independent of every one;" but it is difficult to reconcile this statement with the account of the family given him by his mother; they were, she said, "All poor as Job. How could it be otherwise? They were none of them born rich, and never pillaged their neighbours." Of M. Renan's father we learn little, save that he was "inclined to be sentimental and melancholy," and his wife described him as "like all other sailors; and the proof that he was born to be a sailor, and to fight, was that he had no head for business." Like his own father, he shewed himself, at the time of the revolution, "a sincere and honourable patriot."‡

To the general poverty of the Renan family there was one exception, a relation indiscriminately referred to as A and Z, who became a millionaire. "He, said Renan's mother, is a very respectable person, very nearly a deputy, and quite likely to become one." This exceptional instance of prosperity amongst so much poverty, excited M. Renan's curiosity, and he

* "Recollections," pp. 5, 6.

† In an article in *Macmillan* for July, 1883, p. 213 *et seq.*, with the title "M. Renan's Autobiography," and the signature M. A. W.

‡ "Recollections," pp. 82, 4, 5, 8.

pressed his mother closely as to the source of their relative's wealth.

"'How obstinate you are, Ernest!' she replied, 'I have often told you not to ask me that. Z is the only person in our circle who has any pretensions to polish; he is in a good position; he is rich and respected; there is no need to ask him how he made his money.' 'Tell me all the same.' 'Well, if you must know, and as people cannot get rich without soiling their fingers more or less, he was in the slave trade.'"*

M. Renan had two paternal uncles, one "Uncle Pierre," to whom a chapter of these recollections is devoted, was the "Oracle of the Taverns," and there spent "the modest little fortune which he possessed, and became a regular vagabond."† Another uncle "was of a Voltairian turn of mind." He was a watchmaker, and counted on his nephew Ernest taking to his business. The nephew's successes at college were as gall and wormwood to the uncle, "he quite saw that all this store of Latin was dead against him, and that it would convert his nephew into a pillar of the Church which he disliked. He never lost an opportunity of airing before him his favourite phrase—'a donkey loaded with Latin.'": ‡
 The writings of M. Renan were in after-days a cause of triumph to this uncle. M. Renan, on his maternal grandmother's side, was related to a much more prim class of people. "My grandmother," he tells us, "was a very good specimen of the middle class of former days,"§ and his recollections of her lead him to indulge in an outburst of Conservative feeling—such outbursts are not infrequent in this book:—

"The piety of my grandmother, her urbanity, her regard for the established order of things, are graven in my heart as the best 'pictures of that old fashioned society based upon God and the King,' two props for which it may not be easy to find substitutes."||

The intelligence of the women of a Breton family of that time, governed by their priests, may be judged from this fact:—

"My aunt's sole amusement on Sundays after Mass was to send a feather up into the air, each blowing it in turn to prevent it from falling to the ground. This afforded them amusement enough to last until the following Sunday.": ¶

When the revolution broke out, M. Renan's grandmother was horror-struck. She took a lead in hiding the priests who refused to take the oath of fidelity to the Constitution. Mass was celebrated in her drawing-room, and she narrowly escaped the guillotine. His mother, who seems to have had more even than the

* "Recollections," pp. 85, 111. † *Ibid.* pp. 86, 7. ‡ *Ibid.* pp. 140-1.
§ *Ibid.* p. 91. || *Ibid.* p. 92. ¶ *Ibid.* p. 92.

usual great influence of mothers on the character and training of her son, was in all respects a marked contrast to her own mother. Madame Renan was a Gascon on one side—her father being a native of Bordeaux. M. Renan refers to his ethnical position as being possibly that of—

“a Celt crossed with Gascon, with a slight infusion of Laplander blood. Such a condition of things,” he adds, “ought, if I am not mistaken, according to the theories of the anthropologists, to represent the maximum of idiocy and imbecility; but the decrees of anthropology are only relative: what it treats as stupidity among the ancient races of men is often neither more nor less than an extraordinary force of enthusiasm and intuition.”*

The Gascon element in M. Renan accounts for the self-complacent—if, indeed, it be not more correct to say, the boasting—tone which prevails throughout this book. His mother,

“with her frank, cheerful, and inquisitive ways, was rather partial to the Revolution than the reverse;” and her son adds, “I learned from her to be so proud of the Revolution, that I have liked it since, in spite of my reason and all that I have said against it. I do not withdraw anything that I have already said; but when I see the inveterate persistency of foreign writers to try and prove that the French Revolution was one long story of folly and shame, and that it is but an unimportant factor in all the world’s history, I begin to think that it is, perhaps, the greatest of all our achievements, inasmuch as other people are so jealous of it.”†

In M. Renan’s youth, the maxim “That people cannot get rich without soiling their fingers,” was one of the fundamental beliefs of the Bretons. By them material gain was deemed unworthy of a man of spirit, the noblest occupations being those which bring no profit, as of the soldier, the sailor, the priest, the true gentleman (who derives from his land no more than the amount sanctioned by long tradition), the magistrate, the thinker. “The most remote past was still in Brittany, up to 1830.” “M. Renan lived in actual contact with the primitive ages, for then the world of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries passed daily before the eyes of those who lived in the towns of Brittany;”‡ but this ancient state of society has disappeared, and on behalf of the few survivors of the former things which have passed away, M. Renan indulges in another outburst of Conservatism:—

“Do not improve their worldly lot; they would be none the happier; do not add to their wealth, for they would be less unselfish; do not drive them into the primary schools, for they would, perhaps, lose

* “Recollections,” pp. 76, 77.

† *Ibid.* pp. 95, 96.

‡ *Ibid.* pp. 68, 76.

some of their good qualities without acquiring those which culture bestows."*

M. Renan describes the effect on him of his surroundings :—

"My race, my family, my native place, and the peculiar circle in which I was brought up, by diverting me from all material pursuits, and by rendering me unfit for anything except the treatment of things of the mind, had made of me an idealist, shut out from everything else. The application of my intellect might have been a different one, but the principle would have remained the same. . . . I should have succeeded in any variety of intellectual application. I should have failed miserably in any calling which involved the pursuit of material interests."†

From his mother he heard the legends of the Breton saints, to which she clung as a Breton, though as a Gascon she was inclined to laugh at them; but she deftly told these tales, "so as to leave the impression that they were only true from an ideal point of view." These tales inspired him with a love of mythology.‡ To his mother's conversation he attributes—we use his own words—

"what little talent I may have for historical studies I have derived from it a kind of habit of looking below the surface, and hearing sounds which other ears do not catch. The essence of criticism is to be able to realize conditions different from those under which we are now living."§

Constitutional peculiarities also affected him :—

"From an early age I preferred the society of girls to boys, and the latter did not like me, as I was too effeminate for them. We could not play together, as they called me 'Mademoiselle,' and teased me in a variety of ways. On the other hand, I got on very well with girls of my own age, and they found me very sensible and steady."||

To one of these girl companions—"Little Noemi"—he devotes a chapter of his "Recollections." The feminine element in his character is noticed in the description of him given by M. Challemeil-Lacour. "Renan thinks like a man, feels like a woman, and acts like a child." On which M. Renan, with characteristic self-complacency, makes this comment, "I have no reason to complain of such being the case, as this moral condition has procured for me the keenest intellectual joys which man can taste."¶

But while the influences which led him towards "romanticism of the mind and imagination, towards the pure ideal," were manifold and strong, there were other influences at work around

* "Recollections," pp. 110, 68. † *Ibid.* pp. 66. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 76.
§ *Ibid.* p. 76. || *Ibid.* p. 105. ¶ *Ibid.* pp. 65, 66.

him whose tendencies were to "make him more a son of the Revolution than of the Crusaders." Not only was his mother partial to the Revolution, and one uncle of a Voltairian turn of mind, but most of his other uncles were "ardent patriots," who, on occasion of any danger to the Republic, "allowed their beards to grow, and went about with long faces, flowing cravats, and untidy garments," and at Tréguier there dwelt "an elderly man, whose mode of life, ideas, and habits were in striking contrast with those of the country at large. He was poor, without literally being in want. He never spoke to anyone. I never," continues M. Renan, "knew his name, and I do not believe that any one else did. He did not belong to our part of the country, and he had no relations." He had not always been so reticent, but had imparted some of his ideas to some of his neighbours, who none of them understood what he meant; but the word "system," which he occasionally used, appeared to them droll, and he gained the nickname of *Système*—or "*le Bonhomme Système*," and was soon known by no other name. He possessed a large library composed of the great philosophical works of the eighteenth century, "which have exercised a wider influence than Luther or Calvin." He gained small sums by lending out these books to some of his neighbours. The circulation of these books, and the fact that their owner never appeared at church, made the clergy very unfavourable to him, they strictly forbade the faithful to borrow his books; and his lodging was looked upon as a receptacle for every kind of impiety. We transcribe verbatim the following passage, because it is a test of the accuracy and exactness of these "Recollections":—

"I, as a matter of course, looked upon him and his books in the same light, and it was only when my ideas upon philosophy were well consolidated, that I came to understand that I had been fortunate enough during my youth to contemplate a truly wise man. I had no difficulty in reconstructing his ideas, by piecing together a few words which at the time had appeared to me unintelligible, but which I had remembered. God, in his eyes, was the order of nature from which all things proceed, and he would not brook contradiction upon this point. He loved humanity as representing reason, and he hated superstition as the negation of reason. Although he had not the poetic afflatus which the nineteenth century has given to these great truths, *Système*, I feel sure, had some very high and far-reaching views. He was quite in the right. So far from failing to appreciate the greatness of God, he looked with contempt upon those who believed they could move him."*

* The words of the original are—"Loin de méconnoître Dieu, il avait honte pour ceux qui s'imaginent le toucher." "Souvenirs," p. 109: "he was ashamed of," rather than "looked with contempt upon."

"Lost in profound tranquillity and unaffected humility, he saw that human error was more to be pitied than hated. It was evident that he despised his age. The revival of superstition, which he thought had been buried by Voltaire and Rousseau, seemed to him a sign of utter imbecility in the rising generation."*

If this statement of *Le Bonhomme Systême's* views be taken from his own utterances, it is evident that his reticence could not have been so perpetual and universal as M. Renan first described it. On the other hand, if the statement of Systême's views is a gloss put by M. Renan on a few words "picked together" by him years afterwards, and interpreted by his own then "well-consolidated philosophical views," the question arises how much of these views is Systême's and how much Renan's. It is not of much importance what were the exact views of Systême, but the question we have stated involves that of the historical accuracy and, therefore value, of these "Recollections."

"*Le Bonhomme*" died suddenly; his remains received a civil burial by order of the mayor, and the clergy bought his library for a small sum and destroyed it. In one of his drawers was found "a packet containing some faded flowers tied up with a tricolored ribbon." On this M. Renan and his mother built an hypothesis as to the former career of Systême, but M. Renan has since been furnished by M. Duportal du Godasneur with further details inconsistent with this hypothesis; but he has made no change from his first edition, thinking it better to leave M. Duportal "to publish the true story, known only to himself, of this enigmatic character." The world, it appears to us, will suffer no loss if it hears no more of "*Le Bonhomme Systême*."†

The career of Renan reminds us of the career of Blanco White. In many respects the two men resemble each other, but there is this difference between the two cases. Blanco White shrank from an ecclesiastical career, and only entered on it by compulsion and to avoid a mercantile career, which to him was even more repulsive. The priesthood was forced upon him as the indispensable condition of an intellectual life. Renan was not only educated—"the college of Tréguier—kept by some

* "Recollections," pp. 99, 100.

† *Ibid.* pp. 81, 92, 97, 98 (conf. "Souvenirs," p. 108), 99, 100, 101, and preface, p. ix. Mr. Suffield (*Modern Review*, p. 499) confuses Systême with an unknown Jacobin, the announcement of whose death at Paris M. Renan read in a newspaper some years after the death of Systême. With characteristic hastiness Renan says that this newspaper paragraph explained to him "the whole thing" as to Systême. "Ce fut la pour moi un trait de lumière" ("Souvenirs," p. 111). In the translation Mr. Pitman (p. 101) speaks of "*the Jacobite School*," the words in the original (p. 111) are "*L'Eglise Jacobine*"—not *Jacobite*, but *Jacobin*.

honest priests ;” but he avows that “he was born to be a priest, as others are born to be soldiers and lawyers.”*

“The possibility of a lay career,” he says, “never so much as occurred to me ;” the highest object of his early ambition was to be like his teachers, “professor at the college of Tréguier, poor, exempt from all material cares, esteemed, and respected like them ; but looking back on his earliest college days, he records that the ‘instincts which led him away from these paths of peace already existed.’”† His teachers rendered him so unfit for secular work that he perforce embarked upon a spiritual career. Certainly the education he received at Tréguier was little likely to produce one of the leading sceptics of his age.

“The historical education consisted in reading ‘Rollin.’ Of criticism, the natural sciences, and philosophy, I as yet knew nothing of course. Of all that concerned the nineteenth century and the new ideas as to history and literature my teachers knew nothing. It was impossible to imagine a more complete isolation from the ambient air. A thorough-paced Legitimist would not even admit the possibility of the Revolution or of Napoleon being mentioned except with a shudder.

“My only knowledge of the Empire was derived from the lodge-keeper of the school. He had in his room several popular prints. ‘Look at Bonaparte,’ he said to me one day, pointing to one of them, ‘he was a patriot, he was!’ No allusion was ever made to contemporary literature, and the literature of France terminated with Abbé Delille.” But he continues ; “My tutors taught me something which was infinitely more valuable than criticism or philosophic wisdom ; they taught me to love truth, to respect reason, and see the serious side of life. This is the only part in me which has never changed.”‡

A still more important element in his training was that, the point to which

“The priests attached the highest importance was moral conduct, and their own spotless lives entitled them to be severe in this respect, while their sermons made such an impression upon me that during the whole of my youth I never once forgot their instructions.”§

The students at Tréguier were mostly “brawny and high-spirited young peasants,” on whose rugged natures Latin had a very singular effect ; “they were like mastodons going in for a degree.” These young men were left entirely to themselves and with no one to look after them ; but so great was the effect of the moral teaching of the priests on their pupils, that “their morals were irreproachable ;” so innocent, indeed, was M. Renan—if, indeed, we are to accept his testimony concerning himself—that there was only one sin which excited his curiosity, and made him

* “Recollections,” p. 139.

† *Ibid.* p. 129.

‡ *Ibid.* pp. 122-5.

§ *Ibid.* p. 10.

feel uneasy lest he should have been guilty of it unawares, that was "simony in the collation of benefices:" his confessor speedily reassured him on that point,* and he bears this testimony—

"According to my experience, all the allegations against the morality of the clergy are devoid of foundation. I passed thirteen years of my life under the charge of priests, and I never saw anything approaching to a scandal; all the priests I have known have been good men. Confession may possibly be productive of evil in some countries, but I never saw anything of the sort during my experience."†

On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that Blanco White, speaking from a priestly experience of ten years, gave a very strong opinion upon the demoralizing effect of the compulsory celibacy of the priesthood which, according to him, produced the utmost vigilance in guarding youth against lawful attachments, and a comparative indifference to profligacy.‡

Some of the evil effects of the compulsory celibacy of priests are strikingly set forth by M. Renan himself, in the chapter of these Recollections, entitled "The Flax Crusher."§ Blanco White, in his Autobiography, glances at the injurious consequences of this outward restraint in his own case, and in his "Letters of Doblado" he intimates the same thing.|| In the same work he bears the following powerful testimony against the practice of auricular confession :—

"The effects of confession upon young minds are generally unfavourable to their future peace and virtue. It was to this practice I owed the first taste of remorse, while yet my soul was in a state of infant purity. My fancy had been strongly impressed with the awful conditions of the penitential law, and the word *sacrilege* had made me shudder on being told that the act of concealing any thought or action, the rightfulness of which I suspected, would make me guilty of that worst of crimes, and greatly increase my danger of everlasting torments. My parents had in this case done no more than their duty according to the rules of their Church. But though they had succeeded in raising my fear of hell, this was, on the other hand, too feeble to overcome a childish bashfulness, which made the disclosures of a harmless trifle an effort above my strength. The appointed day came at last, when I was to wait on the confessor. Now wavering, now determined not to be guilty of sacrilege, I knelt before the priest, leaving, however, in my list of sins, the last place to the hideous offence. I believe it was a petty larceny committed on a young bird. But when I came to the dreaded point, shame and confusion fell upon me, and the accusation stuck in my throat. The imaginary guilt of

* "Recollections," pp. 127, 8.

† *Ibid.* p. 128. Conf. p. 28, where he speaks of "the mode of Catholic Confession, so admirable in some respects but so dangerous."

‡ "Letters of Doblado," pp. 120-2.

§ *Ibid.* pp. 1-49.

|| "Life of Blanco White," vol. i. pp. 44, 53, 107 (note), 117, 13.

this silence haunted my mind for four years, gathering horrors at every successive confession, and rising into an appalling spectre when, at the age of twelve, I was taken to receive the sacrament. In this miserable state I continued till, with the advance of reason, I plucked, at fourteen, courage enough to unburthen my conscience by a general confession of the past. And let it not be supposed that mine is a singular case, arising either from morbid feeling or the nature of my early education. Few, indeed, among the many penitents I have examined have escaped the evils of a similar state, for what bashfulness does in children, is often in after-life the immediate effect of that shame by which fallen frailty clings still to wounded virtue. The necessity of confession, seen at a distance, is lighter than a feather in the balance of desire; while at a subsequent period it becomes a punishment on delicacy—an instrument to blunt the moral sense, by multiplying the subjects of remorse, and directing its greatest terrors against imaginary crimes.”*

Mr. Suffield, speaking with a priestly experience of twice the length of Blanco White’s, says, of M. Renan’s statement as to the moral goodness of priests:—

“Unquestionably any-one closing his eyes so as not to see Italy, Spain, Austria, South America, and other countries, closing his eyes also to many other indubitable facts, and looking solely at certain English, French, and Irish colleges, seminaries, and religious houses, would emphatically agree; but it is not equally possible to agree with the close of the sentence. ‘Confession may possibly be productive of evil in some countries, but I never saw anything of the sort during my ecclesiastical experience.’ This statement invites serious criticism. If the author alludes to conscious encouragement of foul sin, we would gladly emphasize the remark a thousand times. But the confessional is the vehicle of unceasing attention to sins and temptations which experience shows that it is injurious habitually to recur to in detail, habitually to subject to examination, explanation, and discussion. It is meant well, but it is proved to foster the evil, and in a refined way to be injurious even to the most innocent and saintly person. But the confessional is also the chief mode of exercising ‘direction,’ and we think that M. Renan would have rendered a service, at least to young women and young men who now seek ‘direction,’ if he had distinctly unfolded the evil, instead of merely enabling us to gather it from his description of some derived features of his own character. He says enough to enable an observant and thoughtful reader to perceive that a person thus moulded by religious and excellent priests will be more gravely injured than if he had fallen into the hands of bad priests. He will have been rendered susceptible, perfectly trustful, utterly confiding, simple-hearted, yielding, very desirous of goodness, affectionate, tender, pious, and the almost certain victim of whoever is interesting, clever, designing, and apparently good. The person who

* “Letters of Doblado,” p. 77.

is tender, reverent, docile, loving, yielding, may be enshrined in our affection; but it is not the character best adapted to pursue a straight course amidst the moral difficulties of life.”*

At the time Renan was yet a pupil at Tréguier, M. Dupanloup, afterwards the well-known Bishop of Orleans,† was the superior of the seminary of St. Nicholas du Chardonnet, in Paris. This seminary had been a mere training-school for priests, and the secular side of education was passed over entirely. The office of superior was in the gift of the Archbishop of Paris, who was at that time M. de Quelen. He had received no other cultivation “than that of a well-educated man of the world. Religion in his eyes was inseparable from good breeding and the modicum of common-sense which a good classical education is apt to give.”‡ The superior of St. Nicholas—a mere clericalist—died, and M. de Quelen appointed in his place M. Dupanloup. M. Dupanloup was the illegitimate son of a family of the *ancien noblesse*. He was admitted as one of themselves to the exclusive coteries of the Catholic world of the Faubourgs St. Germain and St. Honoré, among whom he stood high on account of the part he took in the pseudo-reconciliation of Talleyrand to the Church of Rome. As we have questioned the accuracy of some of M. Renan’s “Recollections” we are bound to state that his account of this transaction is completely confirmed by independent testimony. M. Dupanloup in some respects resembled the late Bishop Wilberforce; he was the bishop of society. He is described by Renan as “a man of the world, well read, very little of a philosopher, and nothing of a theologian.”§ Both he and his patron the Archbishop “knew nothing of theology, which they had studied but little, and for which they thought it enough to express platonic reverence. Their faith was very keen and sincere, but it was a faith which took everything for granted, and which did not busy itself with the dogmas which must be accepted.”||

As an orator and writer, M. Renan estimates M. Dupanloup merely second-rate, but as an educator of youth he considers him unrivalled. He was without an equal in the art of rousing his pupils to exertion and getting the maximum of work out of

* *Modern Review*, *ubi supra*, p. 511, see further, as to Mr. Suffield’s views on auricular confession, and those of Count Campello, *WESTMINSTER REVIEW*, N.S. No. CXXII., April, 1862, p. 452.

† Died October 11, 1878, in his 77th year.

‡ “Recollections,” p. 149.

§ *Ibid.* p. 144. The original says, “aussi peu philosophe comme possible.”

|| *Ibid.* pp. 150, 152, 159.

each. He looked on classical studies as part and parcel of religion, and as necessary for those who were to be country priests as for those destined to occupy the highest social position. "Virgil," he thought, should be as much a part of a priest's intellectual training as the Bible.* As a training-school for priests, there might be shortcomings in the education given at St. Nicholas, but it was of a very high literary standard. The groundwork of ideas on which it was based was, indeed, brilliant on the surface, but it was shallow. This characteristic of St. Nicholas is stamped on the mind and style of its distinguished pupil; M. Renan, is undoubtedly ever brilliant on the surface, but as undoubtedly ever shallow. In support of this statement we refer to the views as to the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel, which he expresses in the "Vie de Jesus," and, by way of contrast, refer to the scholar-like research and accuracy of thought and expression shown in the views on the same question of the late John James Tayler.† M. Dupanloup had agents in the provinces charged to find young men of promise fitted to be recruits at St. Nicholas. In 1836 M. Renan, then in his fifteenth year, won all the prizes in his class at the Tréguier College. One of these agents saw the examination papers,‡ and reported on them to head-quarters. "Have him sent for," was the impulsive order of the superior. In twenty-four hours Renan started for Paris.

"No Buddhist lama or Mussulman fakir," he says, "suddenly translated from Asia to the Boulevards of Paris, could have been more taken aback than I was upon being suddenly landed in a place so different from that in which moved my old Breton priests, who with their venerable heads, all wood or granite, remind one of the Osirian Colossi, which in after-life so struck my fancy when I saw them in Egypt, grandiose in their long lines of immemorial calm."§

Renan, in common with all his fellow-Seminarists, idolized Dupanloup, whose notice he succeeded in attracting. The attachment of each to his mother was a special bond of union between them. Soon after Renan's coming to St. Nicholas a great revelation dawned on him. The words talent, brilliancy, and reputation conveyed to him a meaning, discussions on romanticism found their way into the Seminary, all the talk of the students was of Lamartine and Victor Hugo. In these conversations the superior joined, and the works of these writers

* "Recollections," pp. 152, 158, 161.

† *Vide* his "Attempt to ascertain the Character of the Fourth Gospel, especially in its relation to the three first."

‡ "Les Palmares."

§ *Ibid.* p. 155.

were for nearly a year the sole topic of the intellectual readings* of the Seminarists. He learnt much, too, from a course of lectures on history given in the spirit of the modern school, and with marked ability, by Abbé Richard. The Abbé's course was interrupted, his place was taken by an inferior teacher, but he, in his lectures, introduced extracts from Michelet's "Histoire de France." These extracts produced on Renan a very singular effect, he says whenever—

"the lecturer began to read from this book I was incapable of taking a single note; my whole being seemed to thrill" with intoxicating harmony. . . . Thus the modern age penetrated into me as through all the fissures a cracked cement."†

He ceased to look upon the death of Louis XIV. as marking the end of the world—he found that there was such a person as a serious and learned layman—he discovered that antiquity and the Church are not everything in the world, and especially that contemporary literature was well worthy attention. The superficial humanism of St. Nicholas kept his reasoning powers shallow for three years, while at the same time it wore away the early candour of his faith. "My Christianity"—we again use his own words—"was being worn away, though there was nothing as yet in my mind which could be styled doubt"‡ After the usual three years' sojourn at St. Nicholas, Renan went in due course to Issy, the country-house of St. Sulpice, the great clerical seminary of the diocese of Paris. The two houses form one establishment, which he says "is further removed from the present age than if encircled by thousands of leagues of solitude." Here the discipline was diametrically opposed to that at St. Nicholas. The first thing taught the student was to regard as childish nonsense what M. Dupanloup had taught him to prize the most.

"What," continues M. Renan, "I was taught, could be simpler? If Christianity is a revealed truth, should not the chief occupation of the Christian be the study of that revelation—in other words, of theology? Theology and the study of the Bible absorbed my whole time, and gave me the true reasons for believing in Christianity and also the true reasons for not adhering to it."§

St. Sulpice exercised a great influence over Renan, and definitely decided the whole course of his life; he therefore gives

* "Lectures Spirituelles," *vide* "Souvenirs," p. 132, Mr. Pitman. "Recollections," p. 162, renders these words "spiritual readings;" "intellectual" seems to us more accurate. There is not much spirituality in Lamartine and Victor Hugo.

† *Ibid.* pp. 162, 3.

‡ *Ibid.* pp. 172, 3.

§ "Recollections," pp. 172, 3. Conf. "Souvenirs," pp. 196, 7, our translation slightly differs from that of Mr. Pitman.

its history and explains its principles and tendencies at so great a length that we are unable to follow him. It is interesting to compare his recollections with those of Mr. Suffield, who entered St. Sulpice three years after Renan had left it, "and can recall," to use his own words, "the men so faithfully described, and many incidents illustrative of the mystical spirit taught."*

The great object of the Sulpician training is the destruction of the students' individuality, and of the independence of his will, and the absolute submission of his soul to his director, who is thought to represent God.

This leads to a system of espionage of which Mr. Suffield gives this illustration :—

"It was the custom to open and read our letters whilst kneeling round the image of the blessed Virgin, and the writer can remember on the first day he thus perused a letter, his director raising himself (for he was the minutest of men), so as to be able to read it all over our shoulders. This was a gentle way of reminding that all letters ought to be seen."†

Issy had been the residence of that clever but not very strait-laced Princess, Marguerite de Valois, the first wife of Henry IV. It remained little changed since her time, except that

"the paintings on the walls were slightly modified. The Venuses were changed into virgins, and the Cupids into angels; while the emblematic paintings, with Spanish mottoes in the interstices, were left untouched, as they did not shock the proprieties."

In the grounds was a representation of the inside of the Santa Casa of Loretta. Here mural miniatures very plainly representing "Hortus conclusus Fons signatus," much excited Renan's curiosity, but he adds, "my imagination was too chaste to carry my thoughts beyond the limits of pious wonder." In these grounds, beneath the shade of trees seated on a stone bench with a book in his hand, he acquired not only much learning, but a great liking for the damp autumnal nature of the north of France, and also a "good deal of rheumatism."‡

At Issy Renan passed two years. Here and at St. Sulpice itself, no attenuation of the dogmas of Scripture was allowed, and the "theological buffooneries" of neo-Catholics had no effect there. Literature was almost entirely excluded. The rule of the company was to publish everything anonymously, and to write in the most unpretending style possible. To give Renan's own words, "They see clearly the vanity and the drawbacks of talent, and they will have none of it. The words which

* See *Modern Review*, p. 506 *et seq.*

† *Ibid.* p. 518; and conf. "Recollections," p. 157.

‡ "Recollections," pp. 199-201.

best characterizes them is mediocrity, but then their mediocrity is systematic and self-planned." But St. Sulpice was, above all, a school of virtue.

"At St. Sulpice I have seen," is M. Renan's testimony, "allied, as I admit, with very narrow views, the perfection of goodness, politeness, modesty, and sacrifice of self."

While the majority of those who passed with him from St. Nicholas to St. Sulpice were weakened by the classical teaching of M. Dupanloup, and turned with disgust from the divinity of the schools, Renan liked "its bitter flavour," and became as fond of it "as a monkey is of nuts."

"I came," he says, "to realities from words, and I set seriously to study and analyse on its smallest details the Christian faith, which I more than ever regarded as the centre of all truth."*

By the advice of a fellow Breton, who was also a priest, Renan chose as his tutor M. Gosselin, the superior of Issy, whom he thus describes :—

"M. Gosselin was one of the most amiable and polite men I have ever known. . . . He was more remarkable for his erudition than his theology. He was a safe critic within the limits of an orthodoxy which he never thought of questioning, and he was placid to a degree. The great number of young ecclesiastics who had passed through his hands had somewhat weakened his powers of diagnosis. He classed his students wholesale."†

Parenthetically, we will point out to Mr. Pitman an error in his translation. The words in the preceding quotation rendered by him "as placid to a degree," are in the original, "sa placide absolue." The distinction between being absolutely placid and placid to a degree is obvious. In another place M. Renan says, "Dans mes ecrits j'ai été d'une sincérité absolue." This again, Mr. Pitman renders, I have been outspoken to a degree.§ We would respectfully remind Mr. Pitman of Lord Brougham's description of Sir Philip Francis, "as for the slip-slop of some fluent talkers in society, who speak of things being pleasing or hateful 'to a degree.' He would bear down upon them without mercy, and roar out. 'To what degree? Your word means anything, and everything and nothing.'"||

To return to Issy. Two of the other tutors were in every respect a contrast to M. Gosselin. M. Gottofrey, one of the professors of philosophy, would have been an accomplished

* "Recollections," pp. 192, 3, 195, 6.

† *Ibid.* pp. 202, 3, 205.

‡ "Souvenirs," p. 231; conf. "Recollections," p. 203.

§ "Souvenirs," p. 151; conf. "Recollections," p. 138.

|| Brougham's "Statesmen of the Time of George III.:" title, "Sir Philip Francis."

man of the world, but his priestly training only made him an extraordinary instance of suicide through mystical orthodoxy. He practised the studied absurdity of Tertullian, and emulated the exaltation of St. Paul.* His philosophical lectures were an absolute travesty, as his contempt for philosophy was made apparent in every sentence. M. Pinault, the professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, had he not received a Catholic education, would have been a Revolutionist and a Positivist; as it was, he was a leader of those who were full of ardent piety, the "mystics," as they were called. There was something very singular in his Lectures, as he did not make any effort to conceal his contempt for the sciences which he taught, and for the human intelligence at large. Another of Renan's teachers was M. Manier, also a professor of philosophy—a man of unswerving honesty, who had a great liking for the Scottish philosophers from whom Renan imbibed a great aversion to metaphysics and an unlimited faith in common-sense. "Scottish philosophy, he was taught, has a reassuring influence, and makes for Christianity."† During his two years at Issy, Renan entirely devoted himself to study; he never joined the other students in games; and though leave to enter Paris was readily granted, he never went there. His course of reading included the "Philosophie de Lyon," a book "embued with a very commendable spirit of rationalism," Pascal, Malebranche, Euler, Locke, Leibnitz, Descartes, Reid, and Dugald Stewart. In the way of religious books, his preferences were for Bossuet's Sermons, and the "Elevations sur les Mystères;" he was familiar too with the works of "Francis de Sales;" he forgot, he says, "the very existence of such a thing as modern literature." A rumour occasionally reached Issy that contemporary writers existed, and the Seminarists had some knowledge of Cousin, Jouffroy and Pierre Leroux, from the writings of those who opposed them. "Le Télémaque," in an edition not containing the *Euchuris* episode, was the only specimen of light literature which came into Renan's hands until—to resume our quotations—

"M. Gosselin one day called me aside, and after much beating about the bush, told me he had thought of letting me read a book which some people might regard as dangerous, and which, as a matter of fact, might be in certain cases, on account of the vivacity with which the author expresses passion. He had, however, decided I might be trusted with this book. It was a novel by Abbé Gerard. 'Le Comte de Valmont; ou les Égarements de la Raison.' Under the cover of a very innocent plot, the author refutes the doctrines of the eighteenth century, and inculcates the doctrines of an enlightened religion. . . .

* "La Folie," "Souvenirs," p. 231.

† "Recollections," pp. 205, 207, 210, 211, 214, 215.

The Christianity set forth in it is no more than Deism, the religion of 'Télémaque,' a sort of sentiment in the abstract, without being any particular kind of religion."*

This blending of the shallow training of M. Dupanloup, the uninquiring orthodoxy of M. Gosselin, the travestied philosophy of M. Gottofrey, the mystical metaphysics mixed with scepticism of M. Pinault, the principles fundamentally sceptical of Locke and of the Scottish school, the Rationalism of the "Philosophie de Lyon," and the Deism of "Télémaque" and "Le Comte de Valmont," we think affords a solution of the problem: "How to account for the 'Vie de Jesus?'" Renan does not describe the "Phases of his Faith" with the minute analysis and lucid narrative which distinguish alike Francis W. Newman's "History of his Creed" and his brother's "Apologia;" but he tells us—

"Positive science then appeared to me to be the only source of truth. In after-years I felt quite irritated at the idea of Auguste Comte being dignified with the title of a great man for having expressed in bad French what all scientific minds had seen for the last two hundred years as clearly as he had done. The scientific spirit was the fundamental principle in my disposition. . . . Mathematics and physical induction have always been my strong point. . . . M. Pinault taught me enough of general natural history and physiology to give me an insight into the laws of existence. I realized the insufficiency of what is called Spiritualism; the Cartesian proofs of the existence of a soul distinct from the body always struck me as being very inadequate, and thus I became an idealist, and not a spiritualist, in the ordinary acceptance of the term. An endless *fieri*, a ceaseless metamorphosis, seemed to me to be the law of the world; Nature presented herself to me as a whole, in which creation itself has no place, and in which therefore everything undergoes transformation. . . . But I cannot honestly say that my faith in Christianity was in reality diminished. My faith has been destroyed by historical criticism, not by scholasticism or philosophy."†

But this state of fancied security was suddenly disturbed. In college discussions Renan's arguments caused M. Gottofrey surprise and uneasiness. Sometimes Renan was too much in the right; at others he pointed out the weak point in the reasons given him as valid.‡ At length a crisis came—

"Upon one occasion, when my objections had been urged with force, and when some of the listeners could not repress a smile at the weakness of the replies, M. Gottofrey broke off the discussion. In the evening he called me on one side, and described to me with much warmth how unchristian it was to place all faith in reasoning, and how injurious an effect rationalism had upon faith. He displayed a remarkable amount of animation, and reproached me with my fondness

* "Recollections," pp. 220-223, and the note.

† *Ibid.* p. 219 and note, p. 224 and note.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 225.

for study. 'What was to be gained,' he said, 'by further research. Everything that was essential to be known had already been discovered. It was not by knowledge that men's souls were saved;' and gradually working himself up, he exclaimed in passionate accents, 'You are not a Christian.'"*

This reproach had on Renan the effect which the reading of Augustine's sentence "securus judicat orbis terrarum" had on Cardinal Newman—the words rung in his ears and eat their way into his heart. Probably Renan, like Newman, felt as if a ghost had appeared to him, and "that he who has seen a ghost cannot be as if he had never seen it,"† but the flash which shot through the mind of M. Gottofrey led to no immediate consequence.‡ The policy of ecclesiastical trainers of youth, in their treatment of those inclined to doubt, is everywhere the same. Keble counselled Arnold to take a curacy in order to believe the doctrines he was to teach, and called the dishonest stifling of thought in action "holy living." In like manner, M. Gosselin was of opinion that religious doubts "are of no gravity among young men when they are disregarded, and that they disappear when the future career has been finally entered upon. He enjoined me not to think of what had occurred." M. Manier also "strongly advised me not to let my faith in Christianity be affected by objections of detail."§

It was decided, therefore, that Renan, after his two years of philosophy at Issy were finished, should pass into St. Sulpice to go through his theological course. St. Sulpice was founded in 1615; the original building was destroyed at the Revolution, and "all that remains of the old house is a picture in the Seminary Chapel, by Lebrun, representing the Pentecost in a style which would excite the wonder of the author of the 'Acts of the Apostles.' The Virgin is the centre figure, and is receiving the whole of the pouring out of the Holy Ghost, which from her spreads to the Apostles."||

Here Renan was brought face to face with the Bible and the sources of Christianity, and eagerly immersed himself in their study. Biblicists, according to Sir James Stephen, maintain

"that in every passage of Holy Writ we are listening to the words in which the Deity himself has condescended to afford to us solutions, at once complete and unambiguous, of all the problems in which, as responsible moral agents, we have any concern," while Traditionists—according, also, to Sir James—contend "that these sacred truths are not in the Bible, either systematically or logically

* "Recollections," pp. 225, 6. † "Apologia," 1st edition, pp. 213-243.

‡ "Recollections," p. 228.

§ *Ibid.* p. 226, 7.

|| *Ibid.* p. 233.

established, nor even categorically propounded; that they are announced by the inspired writers in language usually so popular and poetical, often so mythic and abrupt, as must unavoidably have induced endless diversities and invincible errors, if there had not been in the mind of every reader a pre-conceived scheme of hereditary doctrine, into the complex harmony of which all scriptural revelations might be first received, and then be adjusted and reconciled.*

The late Provost of Oriel (Dr. Hawkins) was encountered by a lady in theological combat. His opponent brought against him "The Religion of the Bible." With his usual severity of judgment on the current phrases of the day, he promptly replied, "Which religion? there were several." It was he who first taught Cardinal Newman that Scripture was not intended to teach doctrine, but to prove it, and that for doctrine one must go to the formularies of the Church, the Catechism and the Creeds—advice, which reminds us of one of the rules in Single-speech Hamilton's "Parliamentary Logic." "You know the conclusions you want, find out premisses to justify them." According to Sir James,† "They who adhere with severe consistency to traditionalist opinions generally take refuge in the Roman Catholic fold, as the one secure place of shelter from fatal error." Such is the case of Cardinal Newman, who now, in his later years, still regards it as "often a most hazardous process to attempt to enumerate faith and morals out of the sacred text which contains them. It is not work for individuals."‡ "They, on the other hand"—we still quote Sir James—"who pursue to their consequences Biblical opinions, for the most part find themselves at length astray on the bleak mountains of scepticism, without a track, a resting-place, or a guide." Such is the case of Francis William Newman and Ernest Renan. Renan never entertained any objection to such dogmas as the Trinity and the Incarnation, regarded in themselves. "These dogmas," he says, "occurring in the metaphysical ether, did not shock any opposite opinion in me."§ Nothing in the polity and tendency of the Church—neither the atrocities of Philip II. nor the faggots of Pius V. would have been obstacles to his faith if he had had no material reasons for disbelieving the Catholic creed. If he could have believed the Bible and the Creed, none of the doctrines which were afterwards embodied in the Syllabus would have given him any trouble. His sceptical objections were entirely of a philological and critical order, not in the least of a metaphysical, political, or moral kind.||

* "Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography," p. 464, edition 1875.

† *Ubi supra.*

‡ See his letter on the "Inspiration of Scripture," in *The Century* for June, 1882, pp. 285, 6.

§ "Recollections," p. 260. || *Ibid.* pp. 229, 233-235, 237, 239, 359.

Such ideas seemed scarcely tangible or capable of being applied in any sense ; but on the other hand,

“the question as to whether there are contradictions between the Fourth Gospel and the Synoptics is one which there can be no difficulty in grasping. I can see these contradictions with such absolute clearness, that I would stake my life, and consequently my eternal salvation, upon their reality without a moment's hesitation.”*

It was, therefore, gradually and by a series of critical deductions which forced themselves upon his mind that the bases of his existence, as he had hitherto understood them, were overturned. Renan does not formulate his opinions with the logical precision and accuracy of Francis Newman, but we presume he, with Newman, came to these “three inevitable conclusions :”—

1. “The moral and intellectual powers of man must be acknowledged as having a right and duty to criticise the contents of the Scripture.”

2. “When so exerted, they condemn portions of the Scripture as erroneous and immoral.”

3. “The assumed infallibility of the entire Scripture is a proved falsity, not merely as to physiology and other scientific matters, but also as to morals ; and it remains for further inquiry how to discriminate the trustworthy from the untrustworthy within the limits of the Bible itself.”†

The agreement between the theories of Francis Newman and Renan is illustrated by many passages in the “Recollections,” *e.g.* :—

“The theory of inspiration implying a supernatural fact becomes impossible to uphold in the presence of the decided ideas of our modern common-sense. An inspired book is a miracle. It should present itself to us under conditions totally different from any other book. It may be said, ‘You are not so exacting in respect to Herodotus and the poems of Homer.’ This is quite true, but then Herodotus and the Homeric poems do not profess to be inspired books.”‡

The Superiors of St. Sulpice were unfit to guide through the mazes of an ever-increasing scepticism, so powerful, acute, and restless an intellect as Renan's. They were ecclesiastics of the old school, “worthy continuators of a respectable tradition.” The Superior-General was more than eighty, and overborne by the weight of his years. Another Superior, M. Carbon, was the “embodiment of kindness, joviality, and straightforwardness, but no theologian, and far from being a man of superior mind.” A third Superior, M. Le Hir, was, in an equally eminent degree, a *savant* and a saint. There was not one of the objections of rationalism which escaped his attention, but he did not make the

* “Recollections,” p. 260. † “Phases of Faith,” 9th edition, p. 70.
‡ “Recollections,” p. 257.

slightest concessions to any of them. "A water-tight compartment prevented the least infiltration of modern ideas into the sanctuary of his heart, within which burnt, by the side of the petroleum, the small unquenchable light of a tender and sovereign piety. As my mind," continues Renan, "was not provided with these water-tight compartments, the encounter of these conflicting elements led in my case to strange explosions."*

The study of Hebrew was not compulsory at St. Sulpice, and was not followed by many of the students. Renan enthusiastically devoted himself to it, and with such success that M. Le Hir entrusted him with the course of lectures on Hebrew grammar. The necessity for extending as far as possible his studies in exegesis and Semitic philology compelled him to learn German. These studies were fruitful in their results. "My inward feelings were not changed, but each day a stitch in the tissue of my faith was broken." He confided his difficulties to his director, who replied in just the same terms as M. Gosselin at Issy: "Inroads upon your faith, pay no heed to that; keep straight on your way."† The authorities at St. Sulpice Renan found rather deficient in wisdom. They endeavoured to hurry him into binding himself by the irrevocable tie of holy orders. As regards the first steps of the ecclesiastical state he obeyed his director, but he narrates—

"When I was going up to the altar to receive the tonsure, I was already terribly exercised by doubt, but I was forced onwards, and I was told that it was always well to obey. I went forward, therefore, but God is my witness, that my inmost thoughts and the vow which I made to myself was that I would take for my part the truth which is the hidden God, that I would devote myself to its research, renouncing all that is profane, or that is calculated to make us deviate from the holy and divine goal to which Nature calls us."‡

After receiving the tonsure, he was pressed by his director to be ordained sub-deacon, but refused point blank.§ The holy week of 1845 he found particularly painful, "for," as he wrote to a fellow Seminarist, "every incident which bears me away from my ordinary life revives all my anxious doubts."|| He might now have accommodated to himself the phrase in which Cardinal Newman described his position: "I was on my deathbed as regards my membership with the Catholic Church, though at the time I became aware of it only by degrees."¶ The vacation of that year Renan spent as usual in Brittany; there, he says, the grains of sand of his doubts accumulated into a mass. What follows we must give in his own words:—

* "Recollections" pp. 239, 40, 242.

† *Ibid.* p. 265.

‡ *Ibid.* (Appendix), p. 354.

§ *Ibid.* p. 266.

|| *Ibid.* p. 270.

¶ "Apologia," 1st edition, p. 257, where it is "Anglican" not "Catholic."

"The task of logic was done, that of honesty was about to begin. For nearly two months I was Protestant. . . . I was a Christian,* after the fashion of a professor of Halle or Tübingen. An inward voice told me, 'Thou art no longer Catholic; thy robe is a lie, cast it off.' I was a Christian, however, for all the papers of that date which I have preserved, give clear expression to the feeling which I have since endeavoured to portray in the 'Vie de Jesus.' I mean, a keen regard for the evangelic ideal, and for the character of the Founder of Christianity. The idea that in abandoning the Church I should remain faithful to Jesus got hold of me, and if I could have brought myself to believe in apparitions, I should certainly have seen Jesus saying to me, 'Abandon me to become my disciple.' This thought sustained and emboldened me. I may say that from that moment my 'Vie de Jesus' was mentally written. Belief in the eminent personality of Jesus, which is the spirit of that book, had been my mainstay in my struggle against theology. Jesus has in reality ever been my Master. In following out the truth, at the cost of any sacrifice, I was convinced that I was following him and obeying the most important of his precepts."† Elsewhere he says: "I am the only man of my time who has understood the characters of Jesus and of Francis of Assisi."‡

It is difficult to reconcile these statements with a later one, in which Renan, referring to his friendship with M. Berthelot, formed shortly after he left St. Sulpice, says:—

"When we first became acquainted, I still retained a tender attachment for Christianity; Berthelot also inherited from his father a remnant of Christian belief. A few months sufficed to relegate these vestiges of faith to that part of our souls reserved for memory."§

But we anticipate the crisis now close at hand. On September 6, he wrote to his director a letter, in which he told at length, and in what he calls "a somewhat inconsistent and feverish tone, the long story of his inward struggles," intimated "that he was at times both Catholic and Rationalist," and announced his decision—"Holy orders I can never take, for once a priest always a priest."||

He wrote to the same effect to M. Dupanloup. Of the modern criticism of Scripture the future bishop knew nothing, "Scripture, in his eyes, was only useful in supplying preachers with eloquent passages." An interview between them followed, which Renan thus describes:—

"I explained the nature of my doubts, and he informed me of the judgment which, from the orthodox point of view, he would feel it his duty to pass upon them. The priests of St. Sulpice were not nearly

* Conf. "Letter of August 14, 1845," Appendix, pp. 335-339.

† "Recollections," pp. 272-4.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 136.

§ *Ibid.* p. 298.

|| *Ibid.* pp. 275-283.

so emphatic in their views, and held that I must still regard myself as tempted to renounce the faith. M. Dupanloup was very severe, and plainly told me that it was not a question of *temptations* against the faith, but of a complete loss of faith; secondly, that I was beyond the pale of the Church; thirdly, that in consequence I could not partake of any Sacrament, and that he advised me not to take part in any outward religious ceremony; fourthly, that I could not, without being guilty of deception, continue another day to pass as an ecclesiastic, and so forth. In all that did not relate to the appreciation of my condition he was as kind as any one possibly could be. How kind and generous he was!" elsewhere exclaims Renan. "I have now before me a short note from him, in which he says, 'Do you want any money? This would be natural enough in your position. My humble purse is at your service; I should like to be able to offer you more precious gifts. I hope that my plain and simple offer will not offend you.'"*

For the interests of the Church it might have been more politic if M. Dupanloup had been less severe to its brilliant, but erring member; for Renan, in the same letter to his friend Cognat in which he relates his interview with M. Dupanloup, shows a lingering attachment to the Church:—

"Still I continue to confess, and, as I have no longer M. B., I confess to M. Le Hir, to whom I am devotedly attached. I find this improves and consoles me very much. I shall confess to you when you are ordained priest." †

He, however, determined to yield to the stern decree of M. Dupanloup, and on the 6th of October, 1845, three days before John Henry Newman received "admission into the one Fold of Christ," Ernest Renan went down, never again to remount them in priestly dress, the steps of the St. Sulpice Seminary. ‡

The feeling, as of one going on the open sea, which beforehand agitated Newman, was experienced after the fact by Renan:—

"The days which followed were the darkest of my life. I was isolated from the whole world, without a friend, an adviser, or an acquaintance, without any one to appeal to about me. . . . Here I am alone in the world and a stranger to it." §

The writer in *Macmillan* whom we have before quoted says:—

"Certainly, if any man ever had a right to appeal to the circumstances surrounding an important decision in his life, as proving the disinterested character of the motives which led to it, Renan had such a right." ||

* "Recollections," p. 284. Conf. the fuller account of the interview with M. Dupanloup in the Appendix, pp. 349, 350; in the text we have amalgamated both accounts.

† *Vide* Appendix, p. 350.

‡ "Cardinal Newman: The Story of his Life," pp. 49, 50. "Recollections," p. 285.

§ *Ibid.* Appendix, p. 344

|| *Macmillan*, July, 1883, p. 221.

We assent to this, but we would add that the same appeal may with equal right be made by either of the brothers Newman.

The same writer also remarks that,—

“No literary instance, at any rate, can be pointed out of such complete investigation of the Christian claims, followed by such complete rejection of them.”*

We think that Francis W. Newman investigated the Christian claims as completely as Renan, and equally on the grounds of “Learning, History and Criticism,”† and still more completely rejected them. We have not the “Vie de Jesus” at hand, but if our memory be to be trusted, there is nothing in it approaching the harsh and hypercritical remarks on the personal excellencies and conduct of Jesus, “as free and unshrinking as those of Mr. Grote concerning Socrates,” which forms the seventh chapter in the later editions of “The Phases of Faith.”‡ We agree with the writer in *Macmillan* that Renan “has remained Christian in feeling and in temper.”§ Indeed, according to Renan’s own judgment, “There are, in reality, few people who have a right not to believe in Christianity;” and in another place he says, in a tone inconsistent alike with his general tone of self-complacency and with the work of his life,—

“I sometimes reproach myself for having contributed to the triumph of M. Homais over his priest. But it cannot be helped, for M. Homais is right. But for M. Homais we should all be burned at the stake. But as I have said, when one has been at great pains to learn the truth, it is irritating to have to allow that the frivolous who could never be induced to read a line of St. Augustine or St. Aquinas are the true sages. It is hard to think that Gavroche, and M. Homais attain without an effort the Alpine heights of philosophy.”||

He further admits that the impress, not only of his Christian training, but in an equal or perhaps a greater degree, the impress of his clerical education, has remained upon him, and though not a priest by profession, he is so in disposition. A fellow Breton, M. Quellien, “a poet full of raciness and originality,” has created a mythical account of Renan’s future destiny, in a very ingenious style. He says—

“That my soul will dwell in the shape of a white sea-bird, around the ruined church of St. Michel, an old building struck by lightning which stands above Tréguier. The bird will fly all night with plaintive cries around the barricaded door and windows, seeking to enter the sanctuary, but not knowing that there is a secret door.

* “Recollections,” p. 219.

† Preface to “Phases of Faith.”

‡ Conf. also F. W. Newman’s “Discourse against Hero-making in Religion,” *passim*.

§ *Macmillan*, July, 1883, p. 220.

|| “Recollections,” pp. 125, 141.

And so through all eternity my unhappy spirit will moan ceaselessly upon this hill. 'It is the spirit of a priest who wants to say Mass,' one peasant will observe; 'He will never find a boy to serve it for him,' will rejoin another. And this is what I really am, 'an incomplete priest.'**

Again—"In short all my defects are those of the young ecclesiastical student of Tréguier."†

St. Sulpice also lifts its impress so deeply upon him that for years he remained a St. Sulpice man, not in regard to faith, but in habit. With characteristic complacency and frankness, he subjoins:—

"Since I left St. Sulpice I have been constantly losing ground, and yet with only a quarter the virtues of a St. Sulpice man, I have, I think, been far above the average."‡

"An inveterate habit of being over-polite is," Renan tells us, "a defect general in priests;§ and it leads to consequences which tend to give a colouring to Charles Kingsley's impetuous remark, "Truth for its own sake has never been a virtue with the Roman clergy."|| For Renan says:—

"A certain apparent lack of frankness in my relation with them is forgiven me by my friends, who attribute it to my clerical education. I must admit that in the early part of my life I often told untruths, not in my own interests, but out of good nature and indifference, upon the mistaken idea which always induces me to take the view of the person with whom I may be conversing."

Through his sister's influence he has for the last thirty years given up this habit.

"I am not aware of having told a single untruth since 1851, with the exception of course of the harmless stories and polite fibs which all casuists permit, as also the literary evasions which, in the interests of a higher truth, must be used to make up a well-poised phrase, or to avoid a still greater misfortune, that of stabbing an author."¶

If Renan admits that he has the defects of the priestly character, he yet boldly claims to possess its virtues; he boasts that his clerical ideas have exercised so great an influence over him that he is "blameless in morals." To account for his leaving the Clerical Seminary by the common question, "Where is the woman?" would be "a paltry attempt at humour." Feeling

* "Recollections," pp. 141, 2.

† *Ibid.* pp. 135-139.

‡ *Ibid.* pp. 301-305.

§ *Ibid.* p. 138.

|| It will be remembered that it was this remark of Kingsley's which led to the publication of the "Apologia." Cardinal Newman completely vindicated his own truthfulness, but was not so successful in refuting Kingsley's statement as to Roman priests in general. See Mr. Meyrick's "But is not Kingsley Right, after all?" which was never answered.

¶ "Recollections," p. 318.

that "a man should never take two liberties with popular prejudices at the same time," he has sought to vindicate, in the eyes of the world, his license of thought by his strictness of conduct, notwithstanding that he feels strongly that "perhaps the libertine is right, and practises the true philosophy of life," inasmuch as "Nature does not in the least encourage man to be chaste." He holds eccentric opinions as to benevolence, which remind one of a passage in an old novel: "I like your definition of benevolence very well," says one of the characters to another, "it consists not so much in doing kindnesses to other people, as in a disposition of mind to do them." "No Private Friendships" was one of the first principles taught the Seminarists at St. Sulpice, and in conformity with this teaching M. Renan avows that he has always preferred the mass of mankind to individuals (*tous à quelques uns*), and because he has been just, he has been very little serviceable, for he sees too well, that to do a good service to one man you must do an ill service to another; he has therefore obliged scarcely anyone.*

The writer in *Macmillan*, to whom we must express our obligations, has pointed out the difference between some of Renan's graver utterances in his former writings and the dangerous confidences and confessions in the concluding chapter of his "Recollections."† Still more irreconcilable with the general tenor of his works is the extraordinary rhapsody which forms the second chapter of this book, entitled, "Prayer on the Acropolis." Though placed so early in the volume, "it is not a "Recollection of his youth." Indeed, the chapter opens with these words—"It was not until I was well advanced in life that I began to have any souvenirs."‡ It was in 1865, we think, that Renan first saw Athens and stood on the Acropolis, "the sight of which was to him like a revelation of the Divine," and raised in him feelings which he describes in words we regret we have not space to transcribe.§ The hours which he passed on the "sacred eminence" were "hours of prayer," and they produced the extraordinary effusion which he calls "Prayer, which I said on the Acropolis when I had succeeded in understanding the perfect beauty of it." It should have been offered at the altar, "to the unknown God,"|| which St. Paul passed on his way through Athens. We regret we cannot afford space for it entire, but it is of such length that compared with it the "long prayer" of our Nonconformist public services is short. It is thus addressed—

"Oh! nobility! Oh! true and simple beauty! Goddess the worship of whom signifies reason and wisdom, thou whose temple is an

* "Recollections," pp. 12, 137, 315-16, 19-20.

† *Macmillan*, pp. 221-3.

‡ "Recollections," p. 49.

§ *Ibid.* p. 50.

|| Acts xvii. 23, attenuated in the Revised Version into "an unknown God."

eternal lesson of conscience and truth, I come late to the threshold of thy eternal mysteries."*

He then gives the Goddess the following melancholy account of "La Belle France:"—

"I am born, O Goddess of the blue eyes, of barbarian parents among the good and virtuous Cimmerians, who dwell by the shore of a melancholy sea, bristling with rocks ever lashed by the storm. The sun is scarcely known in this country, its flowers are seaweed, marine plants, and the coloured shells which are gathered in the recesses of lovely bays. The clouds seem colourless, and even joy is rather sorrowful there; but fountains of fresh water spring out of the rocks, and the eyes of the young girls are like the green fountains in which, with their beds of waving herbs, the sky is mirrored."†

He thus apologizes for his religious education:—

"Priests of a strange creed, handed down from the Syrians of Palestine, brought me up. These priests were wise and good. They taught me long lessons of Cronos, who created the world, and of his son, who, as they told me, made a journey upon earth. Their temples are thrice as lofty as thine. . . . They are the fantastic creation of barbarians."

The passage which follows shows his sentimental clinging to Roman Catholic worship:—

"Yet these temples pleased me, for I had not then studied thy divine art, and God was present with me in them. Hymns were sung there, and among those which I can remember were 'Hail, Star of the Sea, Queen of those who mourn in this valley of tears,' . . . or again, 'Mystical rose, tower of ivory, house of gold, star of the morning.' Yes, Goddess, when I recall these hymns of praise my heart melts, and I become almost an apostate. Forgive me this absurdity; thou canst not imagine the charm which these barbarians have imparted to verse, and how hard it is to follow the path of pure reason."‡

Modern society is then described to the Goddess, with especial reference to that Earl of Elgin who is gibbeted by Byron as of all the "plunderers of yon fane . . . the last, the worst dull spoiler."§

"All nobility has disappeared. Heavy hyperboreans denounce thy servants as frivolous. . . . A formidable *Panæotia*. A league of fools weighs down upon the world with a pall of lead. . . . Dost thou remember the Caledonian who, half a century ago, broke up thy temple with a hammer to carry it away with him to Thule? He is no worse than the rest."||

The Goddess, whose memory appears to be weak, is then reminded of the visit to the Acropolis of St. Paul, who is spoken of in no complimentary terms:—

* "Recollections," p. 53. † *Ibid.* p. 54. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 55.
§ *Vide* "Childe Harold," Canto II. || "Recollections," p. 55.

"Dost thou remember the day when, Dionysodorus being Archon, an ugly little Jew,* speaking the Greek of the Syrians, came hither, passed beneath thy porch without understanding thee, misread thy inscriptions, and imagined that he had discovered within thy walls an altar dedicated to what he called the Unknown God? Well, this little Jew was believed; for a thousand years thou hast been treated as an idol, O Truth! for a thousand years the world has been a desert in which no flower bloomed. And all this time thou wert silent, O Sulpinx, clarion of thought."†

After much more of the same sort Renan thus concludes his rhapsody :—

"A vast stream, called Oblivion, hurries us down towards a nameless abyss. Thou art the only true God, O abyss! The tears of all nations are true tears; the dreams of all wise men comprise a parcel of truth; all things here below are mere symbols and dreams. The gods pass away like men, and it would not be well for them to be eternal. The faith which we have felt should never be a chain, and our obligations to it are fully discharged when we have carefully enveloped it in the purple shroud within the folds of which slumber the gods that are dead."‡

If the gods and belief in them are alike dead, why try and rouse them with a rant like that of Maximin?

Our space is exhausted, and we must leave M. Renan to the enjoyment of what has been called his "tranquil optimism." He says, "I shall have, in bidding farewell to life, to thank the cause of all good for the delightful excursion through reality which I have been enabled to make."§ Whom he has to thank he says, "I do not exactly know." He confesses to being irritated at death. "He is levelling to a degree which irritates me; he is a democrat who attacks us with dynamite; he ought, at all events, to await our convenience, and to be at our call."||

With these flippant remarks we gladly contrast the solemn aspirations of the Englishman who perhaps, in theory of religious belief, most closely resembles Renan :—

* "Recollections," p. 55.

† *Ibid.* p. 56. "Paul had a sickly appearance which did not, as it appears, correspond with the greatness of his soul. He was ugly, short, thickset, and stooping, and his broad shoulders awkwardly sustained a little bald head. His sallow countenance was half hidden in a thick beard, his nose was aquiline, his eyes piercing, and his black and heavy eyebrows met across his forehead."—RENAN, *The Apostles* (English edition 1869, p. 152, and the second note). This portrait of St. Paul must be imaginary, not historical.

‡ *Ibid.* pp. 60, 61.

§ A friend points out to us the coincidence of this passage with the lines in "A Boy's Poem," by Alexander Smith :—

"The world and I are friends. When I depart,
Upon the threshold I'll shake hands with life,
As with a generous and cheerful host,
Who gave me ample welcome 'neath his roof."

|| "Recollections," pp. 328-330.

“ Lord of all power and wisdom, from whom our spirits came, thou abidest for ever, unchanged and glorious, while men pass away like the grass. How short is our life here! May we believe that Thou dost discipline and train us for a nobler life, of which Thou revealest nothing? To Thee we all return, but into a world wholly unknown, wholly unimaginable, concerning which it is hard to form hopes, desires, or aspirations through our utter ignorance. To Thy tender wisdom we have in faith resigned many beloved ones; on Thee in like manner we repose ourselves, awaiting Thy supreme will and Thy angel of death, who haply is but a minister of nobler life.”*

ART. VII.—POLITICO-ECONOMICAL HETERODOXY:
CLIFFE-LESLIE.

1. *Land Systems and Industrial Economy of Ireland, England, and Continental Countries.* By T. E. CLIFFE-LESLIE, LL.B., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. 1870.
2. *Essays in Political and Moral Philosophy.* By THOMAS EDWARD CLIFFE-LESLIE, LL.B., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. 1879.
3. *Easy Methods.* By T. E. CLIFFE-LESLIE. *Fraser's Magazine*, October, 1880.
4. *Financial Reform.* By T. E. CLIFFE-LESLIE. “Cobden Club Essays.” Second Series. 1871-2.
5. *Les Tendances nouvelles de L'Economie Politique en Angleterre.* CLIFFE-LESLIE, par M. EMILE DE LAVELEYE, *Revue des Deux Mondes*. 1er Avril, 1881.
6. *Guide to the Study of Political Economy.* By Dr. LUIGI COSSA, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Pavia. Translated from the second Italian Edition. With a Preface by W. STANLEY JEVONS, F.R.S. 1880.
7. *The Present Position and Prospects of Political Economy. Being the Introductory Address delivered in the Section of Economic Science and Statistics of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, at its Meeting at Dublin in 1878.* By the President of the Section, JOHN K. INGRAM, LL.D., F.T.C.D., M.R.I.A., President of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland. London and Dublin. 1878.

* Francis W. Newman's “Prayers in the Household of a Believer in God,” p. 77.

8. *The Progress of the Mathematical Theory of Political Economy, with an Explanation of the Principles of the Theory.* By W. STANLEY JEVONS, M.A., F.R.S. Manchester. 1875.
9. *The Future of Political Economy.* By W. STANLEY JEVONS. *Fortnightly Review*, December, 1876.

DR. JOHNSON, who once expressed the opinion that none of the Nonjurors could reason, admitted, when hard pressed, that there was one exception. The person in whose favour Johnson made this honourable exception was an Irish clergyman named Charles Leslie. He was, Macaulay tells us, the best fitted of all the nonjuring clergy to discuss constitutional questions. For he had studied law in the Temple for some years before he was ordained. Although while James II. was on the throne Leslie had opposed him, and had refused to recognize a papist as Sheriff of the county of Monaghan, he thought it wrong to oppose more than passive resistance to usurped authority; and when James had been expelled from the country, Leslie laboured during three-and-thirty years to prove that James and his son were lawful kings of England. A descendant of this remarkable man has lately passed away, in the person of Thomas Edward Cliffe-Leslie, the well-known writer on economics. It may seem fanciful to ascribe Cliffe-Leslie's mental qualities to the effects of hereditary transmission from his remote ancestor; and yet there are points of resemblance between the two men which make it seem likely that each would have done what the other did, if placed in similar circumstances. Cliffe-Leslie lived in an age which happily knows nothing of disputes about the sovereign's title to the throne, but in the line of controversy to which he devoted most of his literary life, that of opposing the accepted method of economics, we consider him entitled to the praise, that of all the opponents of the deductive method he was the only one who could reason. His arguments may be answered—in our opinion they may be satisfactorily answered—but they require attentive examination, and they are based on an understanding of the arguments of his opponents.

Like his ancestor, Cliffe-Leslie had the advantage of legal training. He derived from his legal studies a lawyer-like habit of verifying statements, and illustrating abstract arguments by familiar cases, which makes his essays as trustworthy as they are interesting. Thus, it is generally taken for granted that the writers of the mercantile school considered that gold and silver were the only elements of wealth. Leslie would not attribute such an opinion to these almost forgotten writers without first consulting their works; and the result of the reference was that

he satisfied himself that they merely held that gold and silver were of more importance than other kinds of wealth, an opinion which, however erroneous, contains nothing absurd.

Cliffe-Leslie was the second son of the Rev. Edward Leslie, Prebendary of Dromore and Rector of Annahilt, in the County Down. He was sent to school in the Isle of Man, and subsequently to Trinity College, Dublin, much to his chagrin, as his father had led him to look forward to being sent to Oxford. Trinity College has lately shown itself sensible of the value of its acquisition by republishing a collection of essays by its distinguished *alumnus*.

After leaving college he was appointed Professor of Jurisprudence and Political Economy at the Queen's College, Belfast. This only rendered it necessary for him to spend a few weeks every year in Ireland, and he generally resided in London. He was called both to the Irish and English Bar without much intention of practising; but his legal studies gave him the opportunity of attending the lectures of Sir Henry Maine, and this formed, as he confesses (in the preface to his essays) the turning-point in his mental development. Sir Henry Maine has laboured with great zeal and ability to overthrow the *à priori* theories of John Austin, by showing that "law" as conceived by nations in an early stage of civilization is very different to what Austin assumed that "law" ought to be. It seemed to Leslie that the *à priori* school of political economists erred quite as much as the *à priori* jurists in their generalizations respecting what men would do under given circumstances, and stood in equal need of being confronted with actual facts. He accordingly devoted the rest of his life to the task of criticizing the shortcomings of contemporary economists in this respect, and recommending his readers to apply the historical method to the study of economics.

His vigorous style and his command of apt illustrations rendered him a valuable contributor to any magazine whose editor was willing to employ him; and it is not surprising that he should have been entrusted with the business of reviewing economical treatises for the *Academy* and other papers, notwithstanding the heterodoxy of his opinions. He wrote constantly until disabled by the malady to which he succumbed on January 27, 1882, at the not very advanced age of fifty-five. He has left no systematic work behind him, though he twice commenced writing one. Unfortunately he lost his manuscript while travelling in France in 1872, and ill-health and the pressure of other engagements prevented him from ever re-writing it.

We are not sure that this is altogether to be regretted. It seems a pity that his powers should have been frittered away in reviews and magazine articles which are not likely to leave any

durable impress on the records of economic science. Yet there are many minds, and of these Leslie's was one, which cannot construct, but which are admirably fitted for the purpose of attacking. The occupation of a critic obviously furnishes the proper outlet for their energies. We have no reason to believe that the method which Leslie advocated ever has led or ever will lead to any discoveries in economics; but the appeal to facts which he was constantly inculcating furnishes an extremely valuable corrective to the sweeping generalizations in which deductive economists are accustomed to indulge. Leslie was just the man to cite apposite facts for the purpose of contrasting actual experience with theoretic assumptions, for to great powers of observation, and a considerable acquaintance with the literature of England, France, and Germany, he united a familiarity with the theories which he combated. He was a singularly fair-minded critic, and knew how to state his own views plainly and boldly without postulating the stupidity of his opponent. To a young author eagerly studying the opinions of reviewers on his first book it was quite a relief to read Leslie's criticism after wading through a dozen other articles which simply showed that the writers had glanced at the book without attempting to read it through, much less to understand it. Leslie read the books which he reviewed, and his criticisms, whether right or wrong, showed a thorough knowledge of the subject, and a sincere desire to do justice to the author who came under his lash. The main drift of his criticisms was of course that the economists of the day paid too little regard to facts, but he was always willing to acknowledge the merits of his opponents, and never allowed himself to degenerate into "the man with a grievance," who is at war with all the world because the world will not accept his theories.

He did not neglect the study of law, although it is as an economist that he has most claim to be remembered, and it is only as such that he will be criticized in the present article. He devoted so much of his time to economical subjects that he came at length to be weary of them; and on the last occasion that we had a visit from him, he came on the express stipulation that we were not to talk on political economy. After teaching and writing on it for twenty-five years, he said he had had enough of it, and found the weather a more agreeable topic of conversation. We did not grudge the condition, for his fund of anecdote and of lively argument was quite inexhaustible. He spoke as he wrote, always with a full mastery of his subject, and ever ready to enliven it with the humour for which his countrymen are famous.

In politics he reminded us of his ancestor. As the latter had resisted the illegal conduct of James the Second, and yet

maintained that James remained lawful king after he had been deposed for that very illegality, so Cliffe-Leslie repudiated the idea of home rule, while he knew as well as any man, and better than most Englishmen, how completely Irish interests were sacrificed to the exigencies of English party warfare. Our last conversation—in which, as we said above, political economy was tabooed—turned on to the subject of Ireland; and we well remember his saying that the “Compensation for Disturbance Bill,” then before Parliament, and the “Irish University Act” of the previous Session, were both brought in merely in order to pacify a few discontented Irish members who block the business of the House of Commons. He was deeply vexed at the sacrifice of the Queen’s University, which, as he well knew, was doing good work in Ireland; and he would have much preferred allowing the Roman Catholics to have a University of their own. He was as competent as any man to form an opinion on the Irish Land Question, and had repeatedly advocated the formation of a peasant proprietary in Ireland; but he would never have been a party to a scheme for enriching tenants by robbing landlords. But although he was keenly sensible of the evils of English rule, he was still as much opposed as the fiercest Orangeman to any proposal to place the government of Ireland in the hands of men residing in the country and interested in its welfare. In a letter which we received from him in 1877, he said:—

“You will probably have gathered, from what I said in one of the essays about ‘Irish Ideas’ that I am not for home rule. So far as anything can be certain in human affairs, it is so that the Protestants would not submit to the laws passed by a Catholic majority for the promotion of Ultramontane Romanism, and that there would be such bloodshed that England would have to interfere and resume dominion. Belonging myself to the Anglo-Scotch element, I have other reasons for objecting to home rule, as tending to weaken the British Empire. I wish to see Ireland as closely united to England as Wales is, or rather as Yorkshire is. The Protestants of Ulster, or rather of the Eastern side of Ireland, look on England as their own country. Those of Ulster in particular would very generally, on grounds of sentiment as well as of interest, resist separation, and would be disgusted at the notion of Dublin becoming, instead of London, their capital and seat of Government. The people of Belfast think their own town superior to Dublin, as in one respect, industrial and commercial enterprise, it certainly is.”

We do not know whether the experience of 1881 was enough to convince him that there was no limit to the amount of bloodshed which Englishmen could witness with indifference so long as all the victims were Irishmen.

As we have said, Cliffe-Leslie left nothing behind him which

deserves to be called a book; but his essay "On the Philosophical Method of Political Economy," published in 1876 in *Hermathena* (a periodical issued by the members of Trinity College, Dublin), enables us to see what were his ideas of the objects and method of the science. It is quite evident from this essay that his ideas respecting the end to be obtained were so radically different from those of other economists that his criticisms lose nearly all their force from their utter irrelevance. Economists in general seek to discover how men act when engaged in the pursuit of wealth. Given that a particular kind of wealth is desired by men, economists undertake to show that men will undergo a certain amount of toil and hardship in order to procure it. Having shown the direction which industry will take in order to attain a given end, an ordinary economist considers that his part is done, and does not think himself called on to explain why men should desire to obtain a particular object. Leslie's view was that no explanation was satisfactory which did not include an account of the circumstances which led people in different ages and countries to prefer different kinds of wealth.

"The wealth of Rome under the Cæsars," he says, "differed from its wealth in the first age of the Republic in quality as well as quantity; and there are essential differences, as well as resemblances and historical relations, between the constituents of mediæval and modern wealth. Some of the fundamental distinctions between Oriental and European wealth have been vividly brought before us in the last few months. One of these is that the moveable wealth of rich men in the East consists chiefly of precious stones, gold and silver ornaments, and splendid apparel. An English writer long ago described a religious ceremony in Turkey, at which a prince of eleven years old 'was so overloaded with jewels, both on himself and his horse, that one might say that he carried the value of an empire about him.' That is to say, the wealth that might have made a territory prosperous, and been distributed in wages through many hundreds of families, was concentrated on the bodies of a child and a horse. The correspondent of the *Times* recently remarked on the appearance of the officers of an Indian municipality:—'It would have rather astonished the members of an English town council to have seen these Punjabees in turbans of the finest tissue, gold-brocaded gowns and robes, with coils of emeralds, rubies, and pearls round their necks finer than any Lord Mayor's chain.' This allusion to the surviving finery of English official dress illustrates a change which has taken place, since the French Revolution, in the ordinary dress of men in Western Europe. Another description of a reception of native chiefs at Calcutta a few months ago seems to give indication of the beginning of a similar change in India. While one Maharajah 'dressed in black satin and silver lace, wore a cap which was literally covered with diamonds, said to be worth £100,000,' and another was 'resplendent in a dress of mauve em-

broidered with gold,' Holkar and Sir Salar Jung 'presented a striking contrast from the extreme simplicity of their attire.' The wealth of all but the stationary part of mankind of both sexes undergoes various changes in the nature as well as in the number of its constituents; and the differences and changes in the character of Eastern and Western, mediæval and modern, masculine and feminine wealth, of which some indications have been given, ought surely to meet with investigation, as regards both cause and effect, in a true science of Wealth."—*Essays*, pp. 217-9.

This last remark furnishes the keynote of the whole controversy between Leslie and his fellow economists. His difference with them was, not that he sought to improve their method of arriving at truth, but that he was labouring to attain a totally different object. We have no wish to discourage any investigations undertaken with a view of explaining the changes in matters of costume to which Leslie refers in the above-quoted passage, but we protest against the notion that the science of political economy is bound to explain them. To an economist human desires are facts from which he has to infer the conduct to which they will give rise, and as long as he can explain what their effects will be he cannot reasonably be called upon to account for the facts from which he reasons. Whatever be the particular objects desired by the inhabitants of a particular country, their conduct in pursuit of these objects will be found to possess certain common characteristics which political economy explains. It will be necessary that capital and labour should be applied to the purpose of procuring the articles which happen to be in request. It will be necessary that those who furnish the capital and labour shall be remunerated. If a great number of labourers have to be employed it will in most cases be found profitable to divide them into separate classes, and set each class to do a different kind of work. Thus political economy shows how capitalists and labourers, wages and profit, and division of labour, make their appearance as industry advances. These results are equally certain to follow whatever may be the particular object to which the people of a particular country devote their energies; and it is not reasonable to say that a science which explains these results teaches nothing, because it does not teach something totally different, which it does not profess to explain.

No doubt an investigation into the causes which produce changes in the tastes and desires of mankind might very well receive the appellation of a "science of wealth;" but the question is not whether the same name might be applied to Leslie's proposed inquiries as to those of other economists, but whether his inquiries should be substituted for theirs. It seems to us that

Leslie has not made out any case for such a substitution. It is quite true that political economy, as at present pursued, does not explain why it is that jewels are much more worn in Eastern than in Western countries, and were formerly more worn in Europe than they are at present. But this does not prove that there is no use in inquiring into the manner in which the manufacture and sale of jewels is carried on in any country in which jewels are in demand, without reference to the circumstances which cause them to be in demand in one country and not in another. The two inquiries are not mutually exclusive, but may very well supplement each other. Without the desire for jewels on the part of the wealthy there could be no industry established for the purpose of supplying them, but without the incentives to industry which political economy describes the mere desire for jewels would not cause them to be produced.

Leslie's contention was that an economic formula explained nothing, because it did not mention the circumstances which led to a particular act; but this is a necessary shortcoming of all general principles. Gravitation is a principle which accounts for a multitude of events; but it has never been held to be a flaw in physics that a knowledge of the law of gravity will not enable a coroner's jury to determine who caused the death of a particular person by throwing him over a precipice. We learn from physics that an unsupported body will fall to the earth; and, if we did not know this, we should not be able to account for the presence of bodies in the places where we find them; but it is no fault in physics that we require further evidence to show how certain bodies were brought into positions where gravitation could act upon them. Leslie's criticisms on political economy show that he required much more from this science than is ever expected from any of the physical sciences. Thus, in an interesting account of La Creuse, he inveighs against the manner in which the interests of that department are sacrificed to those of Paris. The inhabitants of La Creuse have, he tells us, a traditional aptitude for the mason's craft, and the majority of them were accustomed, at the time he was writing (1868) to migrate to Paris in order to work on the new buildings with which the Emperor was then adorning his capital. Other departments suffered from the drain of able-bodied men consequent on the military conscription.

“But La Creuse suffers under Imperial rule more than most other departments, for while it must contribute its full quota to the military contingent, it loses a yet larger part of its best strength by emigration to the capital. There are, indeed, people in France who, following English precedent, explain all the movements of labour by demand and supply, the tendency of wages to an equality, &c., and who are

ready to argue that the peasantry follow their own interests in going to the towns, and it must therefore be the best thing for the country. There is, they urge, a demand for builders in Paris, and a supply of poor labourers well fitted for building in La Creuse, where there is no demand for their labour; wages are much higher in the capital than in remote parts of the country; emigration is the process by which they are raised in the latter to the metropolitan level. But the truth is that the old formula of demand and supply never explains anything; it merely states over again in vague general terms the facts it is put forward to explain. Why is there so great a demand for building in Paris? Why none in La Creuse? Why are wages so much lower in the latter than the former? In political constitution and in system of government, lies the real explanation of many economic phenomena both in England and France, which political economy, treated as a 'deductive science,' can never explain."—*Land Systems*, pp. 275-6.

It is perfectly true that the abstract principles of political economy cannot enable us to predict the way in which men like Napoleon the Third and Baron Hausmann will expend the funds which are under their control. But it does not follow that the science explains nothing. Given that the amount of capital to be expended in Paris is greater in proportion to the number of labourers than that which is seeking employment in La Creuse, political economy enables us to predict that a migration will take place from the rural districts to the capital. It is quite true that merely stating the fact does not explain why there should be a demand for building in Paris and none in La Creuse, or why wages should be higher in the capital than in an agricultural department. But it is nevertheless true that political economy does explain the conduct of French workmen under given circumstances. A fact is explained when it is shown to be included within a general principle which embraces a multitude of other facts. The migration of masons from La Creuse to Paris is an instance of the general law that labour flows from those places where it is ill remunerated to others where it is better remunerated. If it were not for this principle the mere fact that the French Government wish to construct new buildings in Paris would not cause a drain of population to the capital. As this is a principle which is explained and illustrated in every treatise on political economy, and which necessarily follows from the desire of wealth and the aversion to labour, which form the basis of the deductive system generally pursued in that science, we cannot admit that the science has done nothing to explain the fact on which Leslie dwelt with such emphasis.

It was, however, the characteristic of Leslie's mind that he

could only see facts, and could not grasp the general principles which underlay them. In this respect he furnished a remarkable contrast to his countryman, Cairnes. Both of them devoted themselves with great zeal and industry to the study of economical questions. Both collected facts and figures with great care and trouble, and both brought keen intellects to the task of evolving theories out of the materials which they had collected. But while Cairnes could at once disentangle a general principle from a confused mass of facts, Leslie seemed able to see nothing but the conflict between facts and an abstract theory. Both of them devoted some time to investigating the effects of recent gold discoveries on wages and prices, and the difference between their methods of treating the subject is very remarkable.

Cairnes at once proceeded to take a test case from which all disturbing influences were as far as possible eliminated, and in which, therefore, the effects of the discoveries could be most clearly seen. He studied the variations of prices and wages in the limited market of Victoria during the period immediately subsequent to the discovery of gold in that colony. By pursuing this method, he was able to trace the rise of wages and prices, in the clearest and most direct manner, to the greater facility of procuring gold which the discoveries afforded to the people of Victoria. He showed that the rates of wages in different employments depended upon the average quantity of gold which a miner could extract for himself at the diggings; that the prices of home-grown produce depended on the rates of wages; that the prices of foreign produce were independent of them; that the direction taken by Victorian industry was necessarily materially altered by the discoveries, and so on. Every step in his investigation strengthened and illustrated theories which had been thought out by deductive economists who had been in their graves long before Victoria was colonized. At the same time, the facts which he brought to light furnished data for predicting the results which would follow in the rest of the world, as the supplies of new gold were gradually absorbed in a larger market. His method of proceeding enabled him, while giving due attention to facts, to collect their results into a comprehensive and instructive theory.

Cliffe-Leslie, with the same object in view, selected Germany as a favourable field for his investigations. Instead of trying to discover how much of the rise of prices was due to a single cause, he set to work to prove that many different causes had been at work. He noticed that the rise of prices was much greater in some parts of Germany than in others, and set himself to explain how it was that such differences existed. He

showed that the opening of a railway, and the establishment of a manufactory, were circumstances which had a marked effect on the level of prices in particular localities. The general result of his essay was not to show what effect had been produced on prices by the gold discoveries, but to show that many causes, of which the gold discoveries were only one, had combined to raise the prices of some articles, and to lower those of others. Leslie's researches were by no means useless. On the contrary, they were very instructive, for they brought together collections of facts, which showed how an abstract principle is modified in practice. But while Cairns placed in the clearest possible light the working of a general principle which lay concealed under a multitude of seemingly contradictory facts, Leslie seemed to delight in putting forward awkward facts, and in trying to convince his readers that he had thereby overthrown a theory.

In the same way, when Leslie was investigating the subject of the incidence of taxation, he set to work to collect facts at first hand; and because these were not at first sight compatible with the theories of deductive economists, he at once assumed that the theories must be worthless.

"The theoretical canons," he says, "commonly applied to determine the incidence of taxes afford but moderate assistance, and are often misleading. They furnish us amply with inferences from ideal 'average' or 'natural' rates of wages and profit, respecting the 'tendencies' of taxes 'in the long run' and 'in the absence of disturbing causes.' But taxes are paid immediately under the real conditions of life, and out of the actual wages and profits, or other funds of individuals, not out of hypotheses or abstractions in the minds of economists."—*Essays*, p. 192.

One might fancy from this tirade the function of an economist was the same as that of a tax-collector, and that it is not enough to show on whom the burden of taxation falls, unless we can also enable the tax-payers to bear it. The economic theory which roused Cliffe-Leslie's wrath was simply this, that if a tax is laid on any particular article, the consumers of that article must pay the tax. He has done nothing to shake this proposition, though he has pointed out many instances in which taxes fall on persons who are not meant to pay them. If he could have shown that tobacco on which duty has been paid costs no more than similar tobacco in bond, he would have brought forward a formidable argument against the theory; but instead of doing this, he merely adduced numerous instances in which, for some reason or other, a producer or seller of a taxed article was not compensated for his outlay. Yet such instances do not really affect the general question. Whatever may be the success or failure of particular individuals, it is certain that a trade cannot

be permanently carried on unless those who engage in it earn enough to meet their expenses. Hence it follows that if the Government, by imposing a tax on the material used in a particular trade increases the expenses of the manufacturers, the price of the product must be increased in the same proportion, as otherwise the trade would come to a standstill. The testimony of practical men is quite as unanimous as that of theoretic economists to the truth of this proposition.

In investigating a question of this kind Leslie of course sought for facts. It was nothing to him that trade could not be carried on if subjected to a burden which traders could not shift on to the shoulders of their customers. He set to work to find out on whose shoulders the burden actually *did* fall, and would not accept any foregone conclusion as to where it *ought* to fall. Of course he had no difficulty in finding unfortunate persons who had failed in business, and who ascribed their ruin to the necessity of paying the duties on their stock in trade.

“A cab-driver saves a little money and sets up a cab for himself; soon afterwards his cab is smashed in a street collision, and his horse is so seriously injured that it has to be shot. A large cab proprietor would feel the loss of one horse almost as little as the cost of his licence; but to the poor cabman I speak of, his licence itself was a considerable outlay, and he will never recover it.”—*Essays*, p. 197.

All this is true enough, but we may admit the hardship of such cases without thereby acknowledging the unsoundness of the economic theory. Economists do not say that every one who engages in business must succeed in it, but simply that the expenses of the trade must be borne by those who are served by it. It may be quite true that such cabowners as Leslie speaks of do not get adequate compensation for the sacrifices which our system of taxation imposes on them. This may be a reason for altering the mode of collecting taxes, and Leslie has done good service by calling attention to such cases of hardship. But whether cabowners are successful or not, they get the benefit of a tariff which is adjusted so as to make the cab trade a profitable one, and such an adjustment necessarily involves a scale of fares which will make cab users compensate cabowners for all the sacrifices which they have to undergo, whether owing to our fiscal system or to other causes.

In like manner, Leslie speaks of a petty retailer who has to advance the duty on his tea, tobacco, &c., and who, after all, does not succeed in his business. Here, again, there is no opposition between Leslie's facts and the theories of his opponents. If a retail dealer fails in his business, it is quite true that he is

not compensated for his outlay, but it does not follow that if his stock-in-trade consists wholly or in part of taxed articles, the tax does not fall on the consumers. When his creditors proceed to sell his stock, the fact that the duty has been paid on these articles causes them to fetch a better price than similar articles in bond, and this is all that the economic theory asserts. Traders are not more likely to fail in business because they deal in taxed articles than in untaxed ones, and the mere fact that part of their outlay has consisted in the payment of taxes does not prove that they have not shifted the burden of taxation on to the shoulders of others.

Leslie's researches into this subject were very useful, for they brought to light the hardship imposed on small capitalists by the necessity of making large payments to the Government in advance. He showed that there was a constant tendency in trades subject to excise duties to become concentrated in the hands of a few large capitalists, who could afford to incur a considerable outlay, and to wait a long time for repayment. A small capitalist must often be seriously embarrassed by the necessity of making a large payment which may never be compensated; and it is most desirable that the collection of the revenue should be made in such a way as to minimise the inconvenience. The system of requiring licenses to be taken out at the beginning of the year for a business which may end in failure before three months are over is obviously open to objection, as inflicting an unnecessary burden on persons who are ill able to bear it; but we may admit that our system of revenue collection needs reform, without abandoning our theories respecting the general effects of taxation.

Leslie seemed hardly able to grasp the meaning of "tendency." To him, a theory which required to be modified by other principles when compared with actual facts was worse than no theory at all. In a letter which we had from him, he says:—

"Our whole system of so-called indirect taxation is based on the assumption that profits are equal, not only as between trade and trade, but individual and individual. When an adherent of this old piece of solemn humbug, that goes by the name of the doctrine of profits is held to it, I know, of course, all the old dodges for wriggling out of it to which he resorts, 'in the absence of disturbing causes,' 'in the long run, and so forth.' But he ought to be ashamed of such loose, slippery, and double-dealing ways in what he calls a science."

Yet Leslie really had no more respect for facts than he supposed his opponents to have. No economist ever maintained that there was no difference between the profits made by different individuals; nor is our system of indirect taxation

based on any such absurd assumption. What economists and statesman do maintain is, that the same motive acting on all the persons engaged in a trade will cause them to act alike. It is assumed that every trader will add the amount of the tax which he pays to the price of the article which he sells, and will thus transfer the burden to his customers. This assumption is amply verified by experience, and Leslie has not brought forward any facts to show that no such rise of prices takes place. It is not necessary to the theory that everybody should make the same profit, but merely that the successful and unsuccessful traders alike should decline to submit to lower profits when a new tax is imposed.

There is nothing new in the allegation that political economy takes no account of facts. It is not unprecedented even for a professed economist to maintain that his brethren pay too little regard to facts, and too much to theory. Jones, who succeeded Malthus as professor of political economy at Haileybury, collected a vast array of facts in order to show that Ricardo's theory of rent did not harmonize with the land systems of most parts of the world. Like Leslie, he produced an interesting and valuable essay, but like Leslie, he left the theory of the subject unimproved and unimpaired. So long as different farms exhibit different degrees of fertility, their possessors will be differently remunerated, and Ricardo's theory will be needed to explain the differences in their remuneration. Whether the extra yield of the more fertile farms goes to enrich a Government, a landlord, or a peasant proprietor, the fact of there being something extra received by some one will need explanation, and Ricardo's theory will explain it equally well, whatever may be the system of land tenure in a particular country. Leslie's objections to the common theory of profit do not seem at all likely to have any more effect in overthrowing it than Jones's researches have had upon the current theory of rent.

In his attacks on the current theory of wages, Leslie had more reason on his side. In fact, the position which he assumed of leader of a constitutional opposition to the dominant section of economists, was one which marked him out for the task of exposing any blunder which they might commit, and we have no wish to contend that they are incapable of making mistakes. When the economic world was startled, some fifteen years ago, by Thornton's onslaught on the theory of the wages fund, it was no slight advantage to the cause of truth that there was already one professed economist who was dissatisfied with the established doctrine. Leslie was naturally the first to abandon the theory which explained the problem of wages by merely re-stating it in other words. Fond as he was of collecting facts and finding out

what were the circumstances which caused wages to be higher or lower in one place than in another, he was naturally intolerant of a theory which explained these differences by simply pointing out that the proportion of the amount paid in wages to the number of recipients was higher or lower as the case might be. After quoting McCulloch's statement that—

“Wages depend at any particular period on the magnitude of the fund or capital appropriated to the payment of wages, compared with the number of labourers,” he says, “Supposing it true that the average rate of wages depends on the proportion of an aggregate fund to the number of labourers, small light is nevertheless shed on the subject by the statement of the problem in that way. If as it ever been propounded as the theory of the rate of profit, that it depends on the ratio of the aggregate amount of profit to the aggregate quantity of capital? or as the theory of rent, that the average rent of an acre depends on the proportion of the total amount of rent to the total number of acres?”—*Land Systems*, pp. 359–60.

Thus, while Cairnes went on modifying and refining the theory so as to make it look less like a truism than it really was, Leslie abandoned it altogether. It must be admitted that in this matter he enjoyed a triumph over the deductive economists, although it does not follow that the deductive method is bad because those who employ it are sometimes led into error.

The example of McCulloch is enough to show that the mere collection of facts affords no guarantee against being led astray by a preconceived theory, and whatever method is pursued, economists cannot help being biassed by established theories. McCulloch passed his whole life in collecting and arranging statistics on economical subjects, and he praised Adam Smith for giving so much attention to facts. Yet Leslie has pointed out a glaring instance in which McCulloch was so much under the influence of a theory as to state positively that facts were what they ought to be, without taking the slightest trouble to ascertain them. Seeing that the facilities of communication tend to bring wages to the same level, and that the means of communication between different parts of England have been greatly improved since Adam Smith's time, he did not hesitate to assert that there was less diversity between the rates of wages in different counties in his own time than in Adam Smith's day. Leslie showed by a comparison of Sir J. Caird's figures with those of Arthur Young that the diversity, instead of diminishing, had actually increased. By pointing this out Leslie rendered a service to science, for, by showing that the facts were not in accordance with the theory, he made it evident that some other cause must have been at work. He did not overthrow the

theory, for this merely stated that if no impediment existed labour would flow to the places where it was best remunerated, and so bring wages to a common level. All that his evidence proves is, that the difficulties in the way of such a migration are greater than McCulloch supposed, and no method can guarantee an inquirer against mistakes.

Although, as we have said, we agree with Leslie in thinking that the current theory of wages is incorrect, we hold that many of the objections which he made to it are equally untenable. He maintains—

“That no funds are certainly appropriated by employers either collectively or individually to the hire of labourers; that the ‘average rate of wages’ is a phrase without practical meaning; that competition does not equalise wages; that the actual rates of wages are not determined solely by competition, or by any one general cause; and that the aggregate amount of wages is merely the arithmetical sum of the particular amounts of wages, determined in each case by its own special conditions.”—*Labour Systems*, pp. 359–60.

We do not see how he could deny that there are funds in the possession of employers which must be appropriated to the payment of wages. An employer’s capital must be devoted either to the purchase of materials or machinery, or to the payment of wages; and in a given state of the industrial arts the proportion which these three forms of expenditure bear to one another is tolerably permanent. An employer cannot have more machines than his men can attend to, or more material than they can work up, without incurring a loss, and the fear of such losses acting on the general body of employers must make them adhere to that apportionment of their capital which experience proves to be the most profitable. It was in this sense that Cairnes maintained that the wages fund was a real entity; and though we do not think that any light is thrown upon the question of wages by saying that the rate depends on the proportion between this fund and the number of labourers, we do not see how the existence of the fund itself can be denied.

To say that the “average rate of wages is a phrase without practical meaning” appears to us to be tantamount to misconceiving the very object which political economy seeks to attain. We can only suppose that Leslie meant that if we take a great number of labourers we shall find them to be earning almost as many different rates of wages as there are men to earn them, and that if we divide the total amount by the number of labourers, the quotient thus obtained will not be the actual sum which any one of them earns. This might be so, for it might very well happen that the quotient would contain a fraction of a penny too small to be represented by any current coin, but

this would not prove that there is no such thing as an average rate. There must always be differences between the earnings of different individuals; but it may nevertheless be useful to inquire into the causes of the greater differences between the rates prevailing in different countries, or in different parts of the same country. If we find that the rates of wages paid in one county vary from seven shillings to nine shillings a week, we may, for the sake of convenience, speak of an average rate of eight shillings, even though the labourers who receive this exact sum may be only a small minority. If in another county we find that the rates vary from fourteen shillings to eighteen shillings a week, we may, in like manner, say that the average is sixteen shillings, or twice as high as that of the former county, and proceed to account for the one rate being double the other without troubling ourselves to prove that either is the exact sum actually received by the greater number of workmen. So far from such phrases being devoid of practical meaning, they afford the only means by which the mind can grasp a number of heterogeneous facts. Just as a small map of an island, on which only the general outline is marked out, gives us a better idea of its shape than we can obtain by tracing on foot every winding of the coast, so the adoption of an average gives us a better idea of the condition of the labourers of a district than we could hope to have if we tried to retain in our heads the actual amount of each individual's earnings.

The statement "that competition does not equalize wages" is only true in the sense that it does not establish a perfect equality. But no economist ever contended that it did. All that they maintain is, that if the rate of wages in one trade or in one place is higher in proportion to the character of the work than in other trades or places, fresh hands will be attracted thither, and that they will reduce the rate of wages by their competition. That this is true has been abundantly demonstrated by the history of recent strikes, a frequent feature of which has been a determined effort on the part of the strikers to prevent outsiders from working for less than the rate decided by the union leaders to be adequate. Whether these combinations on the part of the unionists are successful or unsuccessful, whether the means which they employ are right or wrong, does not affect the argument; for the question is simply whether there is a tendency on the part of labour to flow to places where it is in demand, and whether the effect of this migration is to bring down wages. It is difficult to understand how the existence of this tendency can be denied, whether we reason from theory or from experience.

That competition is not the chief cause which regulates wages

may be admitted, whether we accept or reject the theory of the wages fund. Competition is, in fact, too vague a term to be accepted as a cause capable of accounting for anything. To say that the rate of wages is determined by competition is simply to say that labourers obtain as much as they can get, and that employers pay as little as they can induce their workmen to accept. But this obviously throws no light on the cause of any particular rate. What political economy is called upon to explain is the hidden cause which compels employers to give, and workmen to accept a particular rate; and "competition" is obviously no explanation.

Leslie no doubt meant to maintain that combination, as well as competition, is a potent force in determining the question. His love of facts naturally led him to question the soundness of the reasoning by which deductive economists have been accustomed to demonstrate that trades unions and strikes were powerless to raise wages. He held, on the contrary, that combination was an useful and necessary instrument in the hands of workmen who wished to obtain the best possible remuneration for their labour. It is not necessary, however, to go into the question whether combination on the part of employers or workmen can reduce or raise wages, for whatever alterations might be effected in this way could only be considered as departures from a standard otherwise determined, and could not be considered as affecting the validity of the theory of the wages fund.

Leslie, as we have said, could only destroy, and could not construct. The essay from which we have just been quoting is devoted to an examination and refutation of the current theory of wages. But he does not seem to have thought himself in any way called on to set up a better theory in its place. This is the more remarkable, as many of the facts and arguments which he cites in this very essay might very well have suggested the theory which has since been advanced by Mr. Jevons and others, that wages depend on the efficiency of labour. He notices that the ill-paid labourers of Dorsetshire cannot do near so much work as the well-paid and well-fed labourers of Northumberland. He notices that when men are ill-paid they commonly reduce the amount of work, so that their employer gets no more than he pays for. Most remarkable of all, he actually quotes the evidence of an American employer, to the effect that the rate of wages in the United States depends on the amount which a man can earn by farming his own land. Yet he never thought of putting all these facts together, and basing on them the theory that the rate of wages depends on the productiveness of the labour which it remunerates. He could not frame such a theory, for his attention was distracted by the multiplicity of the facts

which it would have to explain, and many of which would be in apparent contradiction to it. He gives us nearly a page full of figures illustrating the great diversity of the rates of wages paid in the building trade in different parts of England, and sets down the variations as unaccountable. It does not seem to have occurred to him that the skill and strength of the workmen might vary in the same proportion. Yet it is well known that there are as great differences in these respects among mechanics as among farm labourers. Sir T. Brassey mentions an instance in which a highly-paid London bricklayer actually laid more bricks than two ill-paid country bricklayers employed at the same time and on the same job. No doubt much, if not all, the diversity which puzzled Leslie might be accounted for by any one who had the assistance of a sound theory in disentangling a confused mass of facts.

Leslie did, indeed, see that the problem of wages could not be solved by a theory which regarded the actual wages fund as an ultimate fact. He saw that the best way of raising wages was to increase the productiveness of the labour which earned them, not to strive to obtain for the labourers a larger share of the total product by reducing the share of the capitalists. He warns capitalists and labourers that they fall into the mistake of striving to enrich themselves at each other's expense, instead of doing their utmost to increase the common fund, from which both must be remunerated—

“Neither looking to the means by which the total amount to be divided may be raised to the utmost; both looking to extort the utmost possible share of the actual total: neither treating the problem as one of production; both treating it as one only of distribution.”
—*Land Systems* p. 378.

He, moreover, exhorted the working classes to aim rather at removing all impediments to production and consumption, than at obtaining a mere rise of money wages by combinations and strikes. In short, he was able to give good practical advice on any subject which he had studied, but he lacked the power of constructing a comprehensive theory.

Much as Leslie differed from other economists, he thoroughly agreed with them in admiring Adam Smith. It may, indeed, be said that this is the common point of agreement among all who have given their attention to economic questions, however they may differ from one another in respect to the conclusions which they finally adopt. However thoroughly they may be satisfied with their own theories, they feel that they have not quite done their part unless they can cite the testimony of Adam Smith in their favour. Although Leslie did not deny that Adam Smith

made use of deduction, he yet considered that the abundant use which Smith made of facts placed him in a very different position to that occupied by Ricardo. It must be admitted that Smith's method saved him from many mistakes into which Ricardo fell; though it does not follow that the deductive method is therefore unsuited to economics. Ricardo's mistake consisted, not in reasoning from abstract principles, but in neglecting to verify his conclusions by comparing them with the results of experience. Had he done so he could hardly have maintained such paradoxes as that the interests of landlords are opposed to agricultural improvements, and that profit can only be raised by a fall of wages. It is true that his followers have striven to prove that both these propositions were true by altering the ordinary meaning of the terms employed, so as to make the facts square with Ricardo's theory; but this is a consequence, not of the deductive method, but of the perversity of human nature, which is ever unwilling to abandon an established doctrine as long as any excuse can be invented for retaining it. It was not Cliffe-Leslie, but Mr. Jevons, an uncompromising upholder of the deductive method, who showed that Ricardo's theory of the mutual dependence of profit and wages was as fallacious as an attempt to find out two unknown quantities from a single equation.

It must be remembered that Ricardo's work was not published until forty years after "The Wealth of Nations;" and that although most of the writers who filled up the interval are now forgotten, political economy had in the meantime become an established science with a terminology of its own. Phrases which Adam Smith and Malthus had used to express the results of long and close study of the subject had become familiar formulas perpetually in the mouths of people, who, without having mastered the reasoning which led to their adoption, fancied that a mere phrase was in itself sufficient to explain everything. In the progress of science it must inevitably happen that the carefully-elaborated theory of one master mind should become a common-place at the disposal of every student who has mastered the simplest text-book. The career of the great naturalist who has passed away, even while we are writing these lines, reminds us that biology may suffer quite as much as political economy from its own success. When Mr. Darwin hit upon the expression "natural selection," he condensed into two words a carefully-reasoned theory which embraced, as Sir Charles Lyell said, a greater multitude of facts than had ever before been grasped by a single generalization. Now-a-days any one can talk of natural selection as the cause of anything requiring explanation in the organic world, and, without troubling himself to make

any researches or experiments, such as those to which Mr. Darwin devoted his life, can imagine that he has explained the particular phenomenon, when, in fact, he has left the question just where he found it. "Natural selection" is but the expression of an universal principle which works in innumerable ways, and special explanations are none the less required for the form of each plant and the habits of each animal, because we now know that whatever variation from the prevailing type gives an organic being an advantage over its competitors in the struggle for life is sure to be perpetuated.

Although Ricardo's method led him into several mistakes, we cannot on the whole regret that he adopted it. If he had stopped to check every theory by a reference to facts, he would no doubt have committed fewer errors, but he would thus have consumed much of the valuable time and labour which he employed in making real discoveries. His extension of Adam Smith's theory of value from a simple state of society to all states of society would probably never have been effected if he had thought himself bound to explain all the facts which are in apparent contradiction to it. Although his theory of rent was not his own discovery, and he merely professed to expound what had been suggested by others, it might never have been placed in so clear a light, if he had not been able to fix his attention solely on the principle involved, without being distracted by a confused multitude of facts.

Leslie, of course, thought that no explanation was a real one which did not take into account all the circumstances of the case to which it was applied. To him it seemed that a "natural price," which might never be actually paid, was a mere abstraction not worth accounting for or arguing about, as actual prices were the only ones which deserved to interest mankind. He could never realize the notion of an average rate, from which actual rates were mere deviations. The fact that very different rates of wages were paid in different parts of the country was to him sufficient proof that there was no such thing as an average rate of wages. The fact that traders made high profits one year and became bankrupt the next proved to his mind that there was no such thing as an average rate of profit.

He never would admit the right of his opponents to qualify their theories by such expressions as "In the long run," "on the average," &c., in order to meet his own objections, and yet he somewhat inconsistently praised Adam Smith for doing the very same thing. When Adam Smith limited the uniformity of profit to the traders residing in the same neighbourhood, Leslie considered it as a proof of Smith's caution and regard for facts. But

when the economists of his own day, writing in an age when through the medium of banks capital can be readily transferred from one trade to another, spoke of the impossibility of an abnormally high rate being long maintained in any one trade, Leslie denounced such a theory as being either too vague to be of any use or utterly at variance with facts. Yet the persons whom it most concerns have as good means of knowing which districts and trades are prosperous at the present day as the traders of Adam Smith's time had of knowing how much profit their neighbours were making. If Leslie had been in the habit of studying that branch of literature which most people consider as fit for nothing but the waste-paper basket he might have found that promoters of new companies have satisfied themselves by experience that the best way to attract fresh capital into a business is to show that the capital already engaged in it is earning exceptional profits. If, in short, he had paid more attention to facts, instead of only selecting those which served his purpose, he would have found that the deductive economists had more reason on their side than he was disposed to admit.

But what most strikes us in Leslie's writings is his inability to comprehend what constitutes a scientific explanation. He never seems to understand that there may be two forces at work counteracting one another, so that the result may be different in different cases, and yet each of the forces may be a veritable and potent cause. We find him, for instance, saying that "had Mr. Lowe ever watched a French peasant at work in his vineyard, he could hardly have made a universal dislike of toil one of the two pillars of political economy" (*"Essays,"* p. 393). Leslie might as well have said that if Mr. Lowe had ever seen a balloon ascend, he would never have made gravitation a pillar of physics. In economics, as in physics, the intensity of a force is measured by the amount of resistance overcome; and the fact that motion takes place does not prove that there is no resistance. The same peasant who will work from morning till night in order to provide a comfortable home for himself and his family will require constant watching when ordered to do a regular task in prison for the good of the State, and will become lazy and thriftless if subjected to a system of land tenure which transfers all the profits of his industry to his landlord. All that his industry shows is that the hope of gain is strong enough to overbalance his indisposition to labour. In like manner, the rise of water in the common pump does not prove that gravitation does not act upon water, but simply that the weight of the atmosphere is sufficient to balance an equal weight of water.

It must be admitted that in objecting to apply the method of
[Vol. CXX. No. CCXL.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. LXIV. No. II. I I

physical science to the solution of economic problems, Leslie had the support of a philosopher, who, whatever his defects, certainly knew what scientific method was. He objected to being considered a disciple of Auguste Comte. In a letter we had from him, he says :—

“Whoever told you that I simply followed Comte, only showed that he knew neither Comte’s works nor mine. On some points I am opposed to him, in some I agree with him ; but the greater part of my work relates to points he never touched at all. Some of the Germans, who know nothing of Comte, claim me as a follower of their school, though they do so in a very civil and complimentary way. But the truth is my line was taken ten years before I ever saw a German book on economics. So far as my method is taken from any one, it is taken from Sir H. Maine, as my preface says.”

But though we willingly give him the credit or discredit of having arrived at his conclusion independently of Comte, we find a striking similarity between his arguments and those of the “*Philosophie positive*,” which have been so ably criticized in one of Cairnes’s essays. Both Leslie and Comte assumed that the fact that many different motives affected human conduct, was a sufficient reason why we should not endeavour to predict human actions by tracing separately the consequences of each motive. Comte argued that simplicity had been arrived at in physical science by the method of investigating each cause separately, but that such a method could not be applied in social science, because the facts were so complex. It is extraordinary that it did not occur to him that complexity was the natural state of every subject which had not been scientifically explored, and that it was illogical to make the existence of chaos in one subject a reason for rejecting a method which had succeeded in evolving order out of chaos in another field of inquiry.

Leslie saw that men were influenced by other motives than the desire of wealth, and that many men were engaged in occupations which did not conduce to the production of wealth. He accordingly maintained, as Comte had done before him, that no theory could satisfactorily explain human conduct which assumed that the love of gain was the only, or almost the only, motive which influenced them. It is, he tells us, a—

“superficial philosophy that overlooks the influence of war and religion on the economy of modern Europe, the occupations of its inhabitants, and the nature, amount, distribution, and consumption of their productions. At no period of the Middle Ages was so large a proportion of the population of the Continent trained to war as at the present day. An immense part of the wealth of modern Europe, England included, consists of weapons, warlike structures and stores, and the appurtenances of armies and fleets. What would be the worth

of a treatise deducting the economy of Germany from the assumption that every man is occupied solely in the acquisition of wealth, 'the actual deviations being so slight that they may be treated as practically non-existent?'—*Essays*, p. 402.

Yet deductive economists never maintain that they can predict what particular kinds of wealth will be in request in a particular country, nor do they assert that all the inhabitants of any country are necessarily engaged in production. All that they seek to prove is, that those who make it their business to produce wealth will behave in a certain way, and the fact that the particular objects produced differ in different countries does not affect the matter. No doubt the existence, or the probability of a war, induces many men to devote themselves to the production of swords, bullets, and cannon, which would never be manufactured if mankind were assured of a permanent and universal peace. But in producing weapons of destruction men are actuated by the same motives, and behave in the same way, as when producing the instruments of peace. The gun-makers of Essen and Birmingham carry on their business for the sake of profit, just as much as the cloth-makers of Manchester and Rouen. The mechanics whom they employ demand and obtain a rate of wages fixed with as much regard to the character of their labour as the rates prevailing in other employments. The outbreak of a war causes unusual activity in the gun-making trade, just as the construction of a vast network of railways gives an impetus to the steel-rail trade. A long peace causes stagnation in the trades connected with the manufacture of war material, just as the introduction of iron ships causes stagnation in the wooden ship-building trade. In short, the flow of labour and capital into different trades obeys the same law, whether the trades be subservient to the arts of war or of peace.

It is quite true that the deductive system of political economy would not enable us to predict that all the able-bodied men of Germany would be withdrawn for a period of three years from productive employment in order to serve in the army. But the fact in no way proves the unsoundness of a theory which assumes that the desire of wealth is an universal motive. As we said above, force is measured by resistance, and the German Government would not be compelled to resort to a forcible conscription if it were not that its subjects were able and desirous to earn more by industry than they can by military service. The difficulties which the Government encounters in preventing young men of military age from quitting the Fatherland show that the desire of wealth is a powerful counterpoise to patriotism. Of course, when Leslie speaks of "the economy of Germany," he means the particular form which the industrial and other habits

of the people assume, not the general principles which underlie their conduct. In this sense it is no doubt true that the military policy of the German Government, and the type of character which engenders, or is engendered by that policy, must be taken into account by any one who wishes to understand the economy of the country.

This, however, is not the sense in which "economy" is understood by those who say that political economy is of no nation and of no country. Those who use such expressions mean simply that the same motives act upon all who are engaged in the pursuit of wealth, to whatever race or country they may belong. It is admitted that some races are more under the influence of one motive than others are, and that what seems an adequate incentive to prolonged exertion in one country, will not call forth the slightest effort in another. Far from ignoring these differences, deductive economists refer to them as the principal causes of the great diversity in the industrial development of different countries. It is just because the people of England are more willing to labour than the people of India, that the wealth of England is so much greater than that of India. Economists do not contend that all men are equally industrious, but simply that wealth cannot be obtained without industry, and that wherever an industrious population is found, there wealth will be found also.

A prophet is not without honour save in his own country. In one of his letters to us Leslie complained that—

"Mr. Cairnes was careful throughout his economic career to draw no attention to my views, and never to name them; but I believe I was, and am, the exponent of the ideas and tendencies of a new generation of economists already numerous on the Continent, whom no silence on the part of the followers of Ricardo can prevent getting the ear of the public."

On the Continent he was better appreciated. His article on agricultural wages in Europe was translated into French and German. Another (on Belgium) led to a much-valued friendship with Léonce de Lavergne, which ended only with the death of the latter, about a year before that of Leslie himself, who devoted one of his most interesting articles to a memoir of his friend. The Belgian economist, M. Emile de Laveleye, has frequently inveighed against the insular prejudice which prevents his English contemporaries from adopting Leslie's method. In Germany the historical method has been advocated by Roscher, Knies, and others; and Nasse's researches, into the economic effects of the enclosure of commons in England in the sixteenth century, were conducted in a manner quite after Leslie's own heart.

It must be admitted that the amount of support which Leslie had received on the Continent, and more lately from Dr. Ingram and others in this country, gives some colour to his own belief that he was the first prophet of a new system which was slowly but surely to supersede the old. We cannot ourselves think so. There are many doctrines, both scientific and religious, which have succeeded in winning a number of converts, but which are yet as far as ever from obtaining universal acceptance. Catholicism and Mormonism still make proselytes by the hundred and the thousand; but this only shows that the types of mind which they respectively satisfy are common ones, not that either is destined to supplant all other creeds. So it is in economics. The upholders of protective duties and of inconvertible currency are still able to gain supporters, and to boast that the writings of economists have not succeeded in silencing such opponents. It is so even in matters in which the truth must be on one side, and where both the disputants cannot possibly be right. How much longer must the struggle last when the dispute is only about the proper method of conducting an inquiry, and when it is quite possible that both methods may lead to the common end—the discovery of truth!

It seems to us that Mr. Jevons has rightly gauged the position of affairs in predicting that economists will now divide into two schools, the deductive and the historical. We do not say that the former will follow Mr. Jevons in employing mathematical symbols to illustrate their arguments, though he, like Leslie, can point to many English and foreign writers who follow or agree with him. But, with or without such symbols, it appears to us that the theory of the subject must always be worked out deductively, and that, in fact, economics would hardly deserve the name of science unless its theories could be shown to follow necessarily from the principles of human nature. But the construction and employment of such theories do not exclude the careful study of facts. The very object of the science is to enable us to understand the economic condition of different countries; and the study of theory and the study of facts ought to supplement, not interfere with, each other.

Among recent writers we may point to Cairnes and Mr. Jevons, as affording convincing proof that strict adherence to the deductive method is in no way incompatible with the careful collection and intelligent study of facts. Cairnes's "Slave Power" and Mr. Jevons's "Coal Question" would not have been more valuable, but much less so, if their authors had discarded the theories of previous economists, and endeavoured to strike out new ones for themselves by simply observing a confused mass of facts. Leslie himself would have been unable to give us such

valuable accounts of foreign countries as he has done if he had not had the assistance of theories which at least guided him in his observations. He was eminently fitted for the work of an observer, and it is much to be regretted that he should have wasted so much energy in denouncing as opponents those who were really labouring in concert with him for the attainment of the same end.

In the most perfect of the physical sciences—astronomy—the proper spheres of deduction and induction are clearly marked out, and no one supposes that they can be in conflict. If, when a mathematician has calculated that a given star ought to appear in a certain part of the heavens at a certain time, an observer looks through his telescope and finds that the star is not there, it is at once recognized that either some mistake has been made in the calculation, or some disturbing cause has placed the star in a different position from that which our previous knowledge had assigned to it. But, neither the mathematician nor the observer would think of contending that his colleague's method was altogether fallacious because the theory and the fact did not happen to agree. In the same way, deduction and induction may and do afford mutual aid in economics. If we wish to understand the economic effects of negro slavery, we cannot do better than study the account given in Cairnes's "Slave Power;" for, while its author possessed all the qualities of a historian, he was at the same time such a thorough master of economics that he was able to point out the connexion of cause and effect, and to show which of the evils that he described were the necessary results of slavery, and which were owing to other causes. Had Leslie been willing or able to devote himself to such an inquiry, he might have produced as exhaustive and as valuable an account of some other country, as Cairnes has left us of the Southern States of America under a social system which has happily now passed away.

It is when economic theories touch upon political and administrative matters that deductive economists stand most in need of the assistance of another class of writers, who will devote themselves to the collection of facts. All who would understand the theory of the currency should study the elaborate work of Tooke, which amply repays the labour of perusing it, by the rigorous manner in which every theory that had ever been broached on the subject is tested by a comparison with actual facts. It is true that the actual addition made to the theory of the subject is very small; but the service done to the cause of truth by exposing a multitude of errors is very great indeed. Though Tooke's arguments did not succeed in convincing the legislature, and though we still live under a system.

of bank restriction which he proved to be foolish and mischievous, we still owe him gratitude for the efforts which he made, though unsuccessfully, to emancipate us.

Leslie did not, so far as we know, devote much attention to the subject of the currency. Indeed, the mere fact that our system has remained practically unaltered since 1844, has forced bankers and merchants to adapt their arrangements to it, and to discover means for mitigating its evils, so that the subject of currency, which is at the best a dry one, is now abandoned to the Statistical Society and to the bores of the House of Commons, and no longer attracts the public interest which it once did. But on the subject in which Leslie was most keenly interested, that of indirect taxation, he found much to say which is well worth the attention of economists and of statesmen. We have said above that we cannot agree with him in thinking that the theory of the tendency of profit to uniformity ought to be abandoned because a license tax or a tobacco duty often presses hard upon individual tradesmen. But at the same time we gladly acknowledge that he has done much to set in a clear light the hardships which the system of indirect taxation produces, and to make us hesitate before accepting many of the reasons commonly given for maintaining it.

His essay on financial reform, written for the Cobden Club, is a forcible exposure of the evils which seem to be inseparable from any attempt to obtain a large revenue by excise and custom-house duties. Since he wrote the sugar duties and the malt tax have been removed; but the mere fact that even a very few duties are still retained makes it necessary to keep up a system of restriction and interference which, as he has shown, must be none the less injurious to industry because its effects are not apparent to the public eye. Thus, it is often assumed that the cost of collecting import duties is very small because the actual expense of the Custom House establishment forms but a small percentage of the amount collected. But Leslie points out that this economy is only apparent. A small number of officials are able to collect a large amount of revenue; but it is only because a large number of ships are forced to come to ports selected, not with reference to the interests of trade, but to suit the convenience of the officials themselves. The number of ports at which ships may load and unload is limited in order that the number of revenue officials may be kept as low as possible. When a proposal is made to establish a new port the application is sure to be resisted by the revenue officials, who naturally urge that the trade of the place is not considerable enough to bear the expense of a custom-house. Yet it is perfectly obvious that no coast town can carry on a considerable

trade if no vessels are allowed to come in or out, and it is too much to expect of fallible mortals that they should be able to foresee the channels into which trade would flow if left untrammelled. Leslie asks us to consider how many harbours might be improved if there was a prospect of a profitable trade being thereby attracted into them, and how many places might become flourishing seats of industry if trade were not diverted into other routes by the necessity of passing goods under the inspection of officials who are in no way interested in the development of commerce. We do not blame, any more than Leslie did, the officials who, in guarding the public purse, find it necessary to propose these restrictions. They have only a choice of evils. They must either keep a larger staff of inspectors than can be fully employed, and so inflict an unnecessary burden on the taxpayers, or they must prevent traders from carrying on their business in the way which seems most convenient to themselves, but least convenient to the revenue officials. We merely refer to the subject as an instance of the way in which Leslie's study of facts enabled him to throw light on a question which is of the highest importance, both in a practical and speculative point of view.

As we have said, Leslie's object was not precisely the same as that of the deductive economist, though both contributed to a common result. While the latter seeks to refer human actions to a common principle of human nature, Leslie sought to discover the particular circumstances which led to each action. His proper place was that of an observer. His accounts of places and countries which he visited show that he was well fitted for the task of finding out what was going on, and why it was going on. The reports of intelligent observers form the necessary data which a thinker must have at his command in order to frame a comprehensive theory. It is a pity that Leslie's reports were generally interlarded with superfluous invectives against the abstract theories which he imagined himself to be overthrowing. But, if we disregard the rhetoric, and fix our attention on the facts which he describes, we find that they often afford suggestions for the improvement of an old theory or the construction of a new one; and we may be none the less grateful to him because he thought himself bound to attack the method which had been employed by economists before he was born, and which we venture to predict will continue in use long after his death.

Now that sociology has taken its place among recognized sciences, we may expect that the deductive and the inductive schools of economists will both find their proper places in contributing to its development. Leslie thought that if economists

would not follow his method the task of explaining social phenomena would be wrested from them by sociologists. It is perfectly true that a complete science of sociology will explain many things which deductive economics can never explain. The growth of the industrial at the expense of the military spirit, the extinction of slavery, the emancipation of women, are no doubt brought about by other causes besides those of which political economy takes account. A complete science of sociology must embrace an account of all the factors which are at work in the development of society. But, if we may take Mr. Herbert Spencer as a fair specimen of a sociologist, we have no reason to fear that the science which he has done so much to found on a secure basis will take up a permanently hostile attitude towards that which was founded by Adam Smith. The more comprehensively social facts are studied, the greater is the need of some theory to hold them together, and the more firmly will the soundness of a correct theory be established. Mr. Spencer knows too well the service which each branch of science gives to all the rest, to suppose, like Comte, that the establishment of inductive sociology necessarily implies the overthrow of deductive economics. On the contrary, he is ever ready to borrow a principle (like that of the division of labour) from economics, and to apply it in elucidating physical phenomena. He is too familiar with the complex results of opposing forces to suppose, like Leslie, that a principle cannot be universal if it is counteracted by another principle. He is not likely to admit that the tendency to differentiation

“Is not a universal law, or an invariable truth, from which inferences respecting the course of social development can with certainty be drawn,” on such grounds as the following: “Joint stock companies have almost effaced all real division of labour in the wide region of trade within their operation. Improvements in communication are fast eliminating intermediate trades between producers and consumers in international commerce; and the accumulation and combination of capital, and new methods of business, are working the same result in wholesale and retail dealing at home. Many of the things for sale in a village huckster’s shop were formerly the subjects of distinct branches of business in a large town; now, the wares in which scores of different retailers dealt are all to be had in great establishments in New York, Paris, and London, which sometimes buy direct from the producers, thus also eliminating the wholesale dealer. These changes are among the causes that baffle the supposed prevision on which the doctrine of the equality of profits rests.”—*Essays*, pp. 407–8.

Every reader of Mr. Spencer’s works knows that the process of integration is as essential a factor in evolution as that of dif-

ferentiation. It is just because the division of labour has gone so far that improved facilities of communication now enable the products of the most distant regions to be exposed side by side in the village shop. It is just because the system of joint-stock enterprise facilitates the introduction of capital into new enterprises, that the division of labour is carried to such extreme lengths, and we may add that the rate of profit is constantly tending to equality in all trades. It is true that directors and shareholders seldom give the whole of their time to the business of a single company, but then we must remember that the formation of two new classes of persons, one of which is devoted to the management of companies, and another to the selection of suitable investments for capital, is itself an instance of differentiation.

As the mathematical theory of astronomy could not attain perfection before the invention of the telescope and the more correct observations which that invention rendered possible, so the deductive system of economics cannot attain perfection unless correct reports on economic subjects are furnished by competent observers. Mathematicians cannot calculate the orbits of stars, unless observers furnish them with proofs that the stars themselves, or their effects, have been actually seen. But when a star had once been found, mathematics will enable astronomers to predict what its course will be. In the same way, we could not tell from *à priori* reasoning that there would be a drain of population from La Creuse to Paris, any more than a blind mathematician could have discovered Jupiter's satellites. But both in economics and in astronomy deduction can supply an explanation of observed phenomena. Among the numerous pupils whom Leslie must have had in his long professorial career there must be many who are competent to follow him in making observations which may be utilized by deductive reasoners. We hope that they will take up an attitude of less pronounced hostility to the deductive method than the economist whom we have now lost; but if they do not, they may at least remember that his example shows that it is possible to be a minute observer without being dull, a severe critic without being unjust, and an independent thinker without being a bitter controversialist.

ART. VIII.—DR. TUKE'S HISTORY OF THE INSANE
IN THE BRITISH ISLES.

Chapters in the History of the Insane in the British Isles. By DANIEL HACK TUKE, M.D., F.R.C.P. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1882.

“THAT Nature makes no leap” is a favourite aphorism with us, and of late years the study of the progressive manifestations of the objective world has been an all-absorbing one. We have learned to believe in an order, in a definite relation, among the sequences of the outward and visible. Cause and effect, as parent and offspring, have become more familiar to us; we have come to see the child in the father, and the father in the child. We have threaded, and are threading, events as the child strings its beads, and it is thus that, having witnessed an unfolding, we have proceeded to name it—and the word *Evolution* has arisen.

Our schooling has been a progressive one; in the more simple manifestations we have learned to recognize the inseparable union in the concrete of our abstracts *Force* and *Matter*; thence, in the more complex, to the necessary relation between *Function* and *Structure*, till, finally, by insensible and yet unwilling steps we have been led to admit that even *Thought* itself, that very antitype of the material, must yet stand necessarily related to the material. Thus much for our advance up to the consideration of *Modes* of Consciousness; as to consciousness itself, apart from its forms or modes, as to the raw material apart from its texture, there we halt, and, not without a sense of relief, accept as insoluble the riddle.

But, it is modes of consciousness which now concern us, just as in the material world else it is forms of energy which we have to consider; and the tale now to be told is of how the modern conception that thought has its material side has arisen among us. Dr. Tuke's *History of the Treatment of the Insane* tells this tale well; and though the consideration is limited to treatment in the British Isles, yet we may get a glimpse of the larger in the smaller, and may take it that the specimen is fairly representative. Dr. Tuke's work is not a technical production; it is written in language intelligible to all, and in a style for which the author's well-accredited position is sufficient guarantee,—simple, clear diction sets forth a subject interesting to the initiated and the uninitiated alike.

Chapter I. introduces us to the medical and superstitious treatment of the insane in the olden time, the days of leechdoms

and wortcunning, or herblore, and the days of starcraft. Treatment, in these simpler days, we may take as the practical expression of the mind's belief; and what this was we may gather sufficiently when we meet with the prescription of wolf's flesh in madness, or the prayer to Vinca, the common periwinkle of our gardens, "to outfit the supplicant, so that he be shielded and ever-prosperous and undamaged by poisons and wrath;" and, yet further, learn of this potent herb: "and the wort is to be plucked when the moon is nine nights old, and eleven nights, and thirty nights, and when it is one night old." Involuntarily we recall the scene in the garden at Belmont, and the converse between Lorenzo and Jessica concerning yet more distant times:—

"In such a night did Medea gather the enchanted herbs that did renew old Æson."

These ancient fragments of heathen lore possess a peculiar charm; we see the world again, not truly with young, but with younger eyes; though the mirror reflect still darkly for us, yet then it was still more darkly. The relations of things outward were so little apparent, and, failing accurate vision, the outline supplied by the imagination so fanciful and grotesque.

At this age, so the author tells us, there was a distinction between the lunatic and the one possessed, but whether this was a distinction without a difference or not, the ecclesiastical element came into the treatment of both. Hence the exorcism of the Church, which succeeded to the heathen incantation, whereby the evil spirits were adjured; hence the binding of lunatics to holy crosses; hence the miraculous healing powers of holy wells, as, for instance, of St. Ronan, of St. Maree, of St. Fillan, and of many others which the author mentions. In these days of the early Church the battle was that of the powers of good against those of evil; the devil was incarnate, and his name was legion; he housed in this temple of flesh, and worked evil therein. It is not then to be wondered at if the advent of the Church did not dispel, but rather strengthened the belief in those powers of evil which itself had come to combat. Hence, co-etaneously with the Church witchcraft flourished, and the *spell* and the *evil-eye* wrought their baneful effects.

But, simultaneously with the priest, the medicine-man had arisen—the man of the real world with the man of the fictitious world. Frequently, indeed, in the commencement, the two were one, and we find that the priest was cunning in the virtues of herbs, and that the casting out of devils included, as part treatment, the use of potent draughts. Several examples of these latter are given us by Dr. Tuke; and to those whom the pharmacopœias of the present day are something more than a mass of driest detail, the study of these earliest prescriptions would furnish much of in-

terest. This study cannot well be entered on here, but we may mention as symbolic of the times that one important ingredient in the prescription was holy water. It is to be regretted that those who took upon themselves the treatment of the insane did not limit themselves to the exhortation and the potion; had this been the case we had been spared the painful records of a treatment in which ducking—more correctly, half-drowning—the whipping-post, and chains were such important factors. Thus then the spiritual, the medical or herbal, and the mechanical treatments, a formidable array, before which but too often the spirit, if not the spirits, took flight.

We pass on to later days—viz., to those of Henry Cornelius Agrippa, the contemporary of Paracelsus; of Wierus, Agrippa's pupil, and of Reginald Scot; of James I, that royal and wisest fool in Christendom and, save with here and there a protest in particular from Wierus and Scot, the doctrine of witchcraft still possesses the land, and the system of terrorism still obtains; whipping posts abound throughout the country, and apparently are used in a very business-like fashion, if the following item from the constable's account at Great Staughton, Huntingdonshire, may be taken as a sample of what was going on elsewhere; we quote from Dr. Tuke, p. 41: "169^o. Paid in charges, taking up a distracted woman, watching her, and whipping her next day—8s. 6d."

Meanwhile medical treatment has taken definite shape, and we find from the author that the practice of Sir Theodore de Mayerne, the celebrated Court physician who lived in the first half of the seventeenth century, consisted in emetics, purges, blood-lettings, blisters and issues, of which we cannot complain that the treatment was not active enough.

We must, however, leave treatment for the while, and come to a subject which, though possessing great interest, can yet be only briefly entered on here. Chapter II. treats—viz., of the origin of two of our great institutions, Bethlehem and St. Luke's. Undeniably here we may see progress, and to an extent such that of the Bethlehem of the past one may indeed say that scarcely anything but the name remains in the Bethlehem of to-day. The metamorphosis is an interesting one, from the foundation of the institution as the Priory of St. Mary of Bethlehem, in the year 1247, by one Simon Fitz-Mary, down to the present day. The original site appears to have been in Bishops-gate Street Without, and to correspond with what now is represented by the Liverpool Street and adjoining railway stations, with the busy thoroughfares in their immediate vicinity. The lover of ancient London will here find much to interest him, but for the details he must turn to the author himself. The institu-

tion, which in its original foundation does not appear to have contemplated the reception of the alienated specially, pursued a very chequered career; in the year 1346 it was "so miserably poor that the master applied to the mayor, aldermen and citizens of London to be received under their protection," which request was acceded to. From this deplorable state it must have recovered considerably under its new patronage, for in 1375 its seizure by the Crown is recorded. The date at which it first harboured the demented seems doubtful, but it appears certain that as early as the year 1100 such was the case. From this time on the function of Bethlehem as an asylum for the insane must have become well established, since by the end of this same century, or the beginning of the sixteenth, we find the word *Bedlam* used synonymously with *madman* or *madhouse*. As to the form of the buildings of this the first *Bedlam*, the author, as the result of much research, presents us with a very interesting engraving, from which the extent and character of the buildings may be seen. As to the interior truly we gain but little insight; nor could we divine from this outside view that, so late as "half a century after Henry VIIIth's death, Bethlehem hospital was so loathsome as to be unfit for any man to enter." During the seventeenth century various alterations were made in the shape of enlargement of the hospital and buildings. And this same century records the first medical governor, Helkins, or Hilksiah Crooke—"unto Cæsar are being rendered the things that are Cæsar's." In the year 1632 an interesting item in the hospital account occurs—viz., the expenditure of various sums on *fetters and straw!* We get a glimpse of the existing treatment from these two words. We are now nearing scene two in the transformation, the construction—viz., in the year 1676, of the second Bethlehem, the old hospital having become unfit for the care of the inmates. The position occupied by this second hospital was the south side of what now is Finsbury Circus. Interesting as are the details concerning this second Bethlehem, we cannot stop to consider them, except in passing to record with regret that the celebrated figures by Caius Gabriel Cibber, the father of Colley Cibber, the comedian, should so entirely have passed out of mind. These figures, still extant, but scarcely remembered, are at present in some obscure corner in South Kensington Museum; the personifications are of raving and melancholy madness, and of the second Bethlehem they surmounted the stone piers which swung the entrance gates to the hospital. We have now reached the time of Hogarth's Bethlehem, so familiar to us in engravings, and Dr. Tuke seizes the opportunity to present us with a contrast in the shape of two engravings—the one of a ward in Bethlem in the year

1745, the other from a photograph of a Bethlem ward in the present day. The immeasurable distance which separates us from the past, in respect of the treatment of the insane, could not well be better illustrated—from those good old times, of which the “wiser few” have so much reason to be thankful that they no longer exist. A century and some twenty odd years follow, and the second Bethlem, built on the ancient ditch of the City, is found to have suffered serious settlements in its foundations, and to be in a dangerous condition. A few years later, in 1810, and an Act of Parliament authorizes the City to grant a property of twelve acres in St. George’s Fields for the purpose of erecting a new hospital. The foundation stone was laid in 1812, and in the August of the memorable year 1815 the new hospital entered on its career. A new garment for a new century, and a new spirit, that of charity, of kindness, which spirit is, however, but young in the world, and scarce able to see out of the high windows which, unglazed as they are, admit the cold air rather than the light. Nevertheless, in spite of damp and cold basements, and small, cheerless “airing courts” such as we are told the third Bethlem started with, the advance is a most material one—and to this, after some rounding of the corners, the present institution can testify.

From the consideration of the rise and development of one institution it is necessary that we pass, and take account in later times more generally of what was the state of England so far as the treatment of the insane was concerned. Chapter III. deals more especially with this, introducing us to England in the eighteenth century, at which time private asylums for the reception and cure of the insane were in more or less repute, in proportion probably to the loudness of the advertisement. We here meet with a Dr. Newton, whose advertisement in the *Post Boy* for 1700 ends up with: “No cure, no money;” with a Dr. Fallowes, who sings the praises of an incomparable Oleum Cephalicum, which has an excellent and most pleasant smell, but withal raises small pustules on the head; so that the conclusion is probably warranted that the Oleum Cephalicum was a fairly strong counter-irritant, and that, so far as the then treatment of madness went, there was a grain of method in the author’s own madness. A little further on and we read, amongst other strange remedies, of toasted silk as a cure for melancholy and vapours; this is from the Pharmacopœia of another physician of the time.

The inference is that we have lighted on a goodly fellowship of quacks, and that we must make the best of it. Nor, indeed, is this surprising if we but remember that we live in the days of “black humours which clog the finer vessels through which the

animal spirits ought freely to pass," and in which all manner of evil qualities are assigned to the spleen and to the bile; and further, if we call to mind that this is the language, with but very little, if any, alteration of the science or nescience of the day. The soil, as we perceive, is ignorance, which same has ever proved most fertile in the production of quacks, most sterile of the honest few who have the courage to avow ignorance. But we have not to go far to discover that the lunatic in these, as in modern times, was a social as well as a medical problem; thus, for one thing, the lunatic was incapable of transacting affairs after the manners and customs of the rest of the community; not, indeed, that his dealings were without reason, but that his reason or madness, whichever we are pleased to call it, did not happen to accord with the reason or madness of the many, so that the fact remained that the lunatic was an element of discord. Then again, and this perhaps was still more to the point, the madman was not uncommonly positively dangerous to the well-being of the community, and then how to deal with him was a question very practical indeed.

Dr. Tuke here records the two names, Smollett and Defoe, as representative of two attempts to solve the social problem, but after very different methods. Thus, the one—Smollett—failing, as the author points out, to distinguish between motive and consequence, urges that the homicidal act of the lunatic, since it may be as pernicious to society as the deliberately planned murder by the sane man, should be punished as such. Earthly justice we all know to be fallible, and we know further that the distinction between sanity and insanity is at times a very nice one; so nice, indeed, that discrimination at times becomes impossible. In such cases we may record our failure to perceive, and perhaps must mete out our punishments according to consequences, as Smollett advises, but let us not imagine that this is justice. Justice, if it mean anything, must recognize motive as the only test of *desert*. The ideal is high—in many cases unattainable, but it is there; and any deviation from the path thus indicated must be recorded as a failure, not as a success. The subject is indeed a complex one; volition will not help us, for that the lunatic wills is undoubted; and that he plans is as clear. The question we have to decide is on what grounds does he plan? What are the data which his senses furnish him with? If we find the mechanism faulty, the senses perverted, to the extent by which this obtains will be the excuse for the acts which have followed. It is, however, clear that the act of the madman may be distinctly criminal, and, therefore, deserving of punishment; for that his mental perversion may be but partial is certain, and that such partial mental perversion may affect a man we should

term morally bad is equally certain. The conclusion is inevitable that this mental perversion may form but the most inadequate of excuses, and that the act of such man may be in the highest degree criminal. A nice problem for justice—but can the position be combated?

We are, however, digressing, and leaving Defoe, whose attempt to solve the social problem related to another aspect of the case, the system—viz., of private asylums, which at the time appear to have been a crying shame in the land. His indignant protest is that of a generous mind outraged by a system of abuses, carried to such an alarming degree that the liberty of the subject was seriously endangered by the private madhouse, into which access was so ready but the exit therefrom so difficult. Nor this alone, for, as Defoe points out, such was the treatment in these madhouses, that it is undoubted that many thus introduced, though quite sane on admission, must in consequence of this treatment have subsequently become insane. Defoe, strong in his own convictions of the righteousness of the cause he was advocating, appears to have been sanguine as to the results of his protest. This, however, did not bear fruit immediately.

Dr. Tuke proceeds to dwell at some length on the abuses of private asylums and the need for legislation, as also on the many difficulties which beset the path of progress in this direction. As some excuse for the delayed course of legislation, it must be remembered, as the author points out, that the days—those of the elder Pitt—were of exceptionable excitement, the public mind being agitated by many and burning questions. At the same time, as having an opposing tendency—viz., that of attracting public attention to the lunacy question—the singular mental illness of Lord Chatham must be recalled, as also, later on, the insanity of the king himself. The British public is, however, singularly conservative and proverbially slow to move; it affords, indeed, an admirable illustration of Newton's law of *inertia*, and, wise after the event, we may read in the persistence in "*statu quo*" that the force adequate to change this had not arisen. The most interesting name in the present chapter is that of William Tuke. To this citizen of York, and member of the Society of Friends, we are indebted for having pointed out to us that the principles of humanity might, nay should, still be adhered to in the case of the insane. Our indebtedness is the greater that he gave us, not a precept merely, but actual proof, in the foundation of the York Retreat, an institution which in its management was to give practical expression to his views. About this same time, the last decade—viz., of the eighteenth century, we may remember that Pinel was doing at the Bicêtre in Paris, the work that was to render his name illustrious. Here,

however, as in so many other instances, the two men were working independently of, and unknown to each other, so that the name of William Tuke does not lack the lustre of originality. The many testimonies as to the mode of working and the efficiency of the Retreat as an asylum for the insane we must pass over; suffice it to say, that, though the system of gentleness met with much opposition in the beginning, it triumphed in the end, so that, as we now know, the system of terrorism, from having been almost universal, is all but a matter of history. The guiding principle of the so-called non-restraint system, as pursued at the York Retreat, was, as the author observes, "an active humanity—the highest form of it, as embodied in the Golden Christian Rule." Such being the moral treatment, what, we may ask, was the medical? We must again quote the author:—"As benevolent feeling naturally led to the non-use of chains, and the minimum resort to restraint which then seemed possible, so common sense led to the avoidance of the periodical blood-letting and emetics then in fashion;" and again, "it is a remarkable fact that even then it was seen that insanity rarely calls for depressing remedies," and "that excitement is often relieved by a directly opposite treatment." We may here remark, for the benefit of non-medical readers, that a depressant remedy and a soothing remedy are two distinct things, and that the latter were by no means eschewed, whilst the warm bath was found to be an agent of the greatest value. To the great benefit to be derived from regular employment, where this was possible, the York Retreat also bore witness—the great endeavour being to treat the patients "as much as possible like rational beings"—*i.e.*, as beings capable of employment, able to be recreated, and amenable to the higher sentiments generally far more readily than to the lower. As evidence of what the inmates themselves thought of their treatment at the Retreat, we cannot do better than quote the exclamation of one such, who had been brought to the asylum in a lamentable condition, having nearly lost the use of his limbs from being chained. When asked by one of his friends what he called the place, he replied with great earnestness, "Eden, Eden, Eden!"

We must pass over the chapters on the course of lunacy legislation, and the succeeding ones on "Lincoln and Hanwell," on "our Chancery Lunatics," "our Criminal Lunatics," &c., and come to the closing chapter on the progress of psychological medicine during the last forty years, 1841-1881. This was the author's address as President of the Medico-Psychological Association, held in London in 1881. A brief mention and passing tribute to the names of the illustrious dead introduces the subject. Where, we may ask, have they left us?

Not yet in possession, and agreement—the world of thought is yet a divided camp on the subject of restraint. We are not dealing here with the question of humanity ; no one would differ on that score, or deny that the history of the past is a cruel one, or that we can be too thankful to the generous-minded few who ushered in the new era. The question about which there is still difference of opinion is as to the desirability of entire abolition of mechanical restraint. In Germany in particular it would appear that conversion to the complete non-restraint system is far from being general, whilst in France, and likewise in America, the question is still an open one. Here in England the partisans of restraint are also to be found, but they are at present decidedly in the minority. On another subject we find yet more diversity of opinion—on that, viz., of moral insanity. Prichard, in his book on the subject published in 1842, pointed out the special relation it bore to jurisprudence. We have already made some remarks *apropos* of this, and we must confess that the nut is a hard one to crack. The entire social relations of the community hang on the peg of the responsibility of the individual, yet here, we are told, is a case of moral obliquity combined with mental rectitude, and that this mortal obliquity is a form of insanity, and as such, therefore, not punishable. What are we to do? Here, indeed, is an ell in prospect grant but this inch. The lawyers need fear no lack of material for disputation with such a question in the foreground. Let us hope Prichard rests peacefully in his grave having bequeathed such a firebrand to the world.

There are, then, still moot points—still problems for solution ; and we know that this must ever be the case. But has the nineteenth century no triumphs to record? Of a surety it has. Could it, indeed, be otherwise? Could the promulgation of a doctrine of the indestructibility of matter, followed by that of the conservation of energy, leave one quite where one was? Could a Spencer and a Darwin arise and ever so isolated a region in the domain of thought escape agitation? Assuredly not ; and accordingly we have to record, as one great advance in things mental, the recognition of an underlying material basis, and the assumption that different states of mind will have as substratum correspondingly different states of matter. No doubt we are but on the threshold of nerve physiology, and hence of nerve pathology ; but already we may record, as first-fruits, the doctrine of cerebral reflex action of Laycock, of unconscious cerebration of Carpenter, and the teachings of Hughlings-Jackson. More definite, however, than speculation, are the experimental results gained by Fritsch, Hitzig and Ferrier with respect to the functions of the brain. Now, indeed, we map out

the surface of the brain into motor and sensory regions, and in many cases can localize with considerable accuracy the position of a lesion of the brain from the symptoms manifested. Nay more, in our power to localize the so-called speech centre, we trench on the border-land of ideation. All this, however, leaves us, as we said before, but on the very threshold; but it leaves us with good intentions, and probably with our eyes set in the right direction. Advance in knowledge means to the wise but advance in the recognition of the unknown, and in the hour of achievement we should never cease to forget, as Spencer so truly sets forth, that man has not only an unknown before him but an unknowable. We may scarcely follow Dr. Tuke further in his review, but let us say, in conclusion, that to cerebral pathology in the future we must look for advance in treatment. From application in cerebral disorders of our knowledge as to the treatment suitable to other organs we have no doubt gained immensely on the past; but more special treatment will demand more special knowledge, and in particular, perhaps, in the use of the whole class of nerve sedatives we may look for great advance as the view opens out.

Dr. Paris, in the introduction to his "Pharmacologia," a book now unfortunately but little read, tells us that Aristides for ten successive years was alternately purged, vomited and blistered by the disciples of *Æsculapius*—a treatment vividly recalling that which we have seen to prevail in England in the days of the Heathen and the Early Christian. Few, however, even in those rude, unpampered days, could have boasted a constitution such as Aristides', or but would have succumbed to such praiseworthy persistence. Fortunately, our less vigorous frames are no longer called upon to meet such truly active treatment; and in reviewing modern treatment the conviction is no longer forced upon our minds that the followers of *Æsculapius* are to be regarded as specially designed agents for the purpose of weeding out the sickly from the strong. Nor, we trust, need we now exclaim, as Juvenal did of Themison, the Roman physician, the founder of the Methodic sect:* "How many sick did he not slay in a single autumn!"

We are grateful to Dr. Tuke for the much instruction and pleasure derived from the study of his book, and we sincerely hope that so valuable a work may find many readers.

* *Vide Paris's "Pharmacologia."*

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

THEOLOGY.

THOUGH confined within the cramping framework of a review of the Reformation in its relation to modern thought and knowledge, the Rev. Mr. Beard's "Hibbert Lectures" for this year¹ abound in views which we are glad to record. No declarations could be better suited to the four-hundredth anniversary of Luther's birth than these:—"If theology is to keep abreast of advancing science . . . a new reformation is needed" (p. vii.). "If it was admissible for Luther to examine the interpretation put by the Catholic Church upon the Bible and Christian antiquity, it is equally admissible for us to examine Luther's" (p. 406). Again: "If it be not possible for religion to march side by side with science with equal step, it is no reason why she should lag three centuries behind her comrade, and utterly refuse to try to lessen the interval" (p. 412). "Can she afford to be at variance with the keenest wits, the most judicial intellects of the day?" (p. 422).

The Hibbert Fund was established in 1847, and the first course of lectures was given by Professor Max Müller in 1878. Le Page Renouf followed in 1879, Renan lectured in 1880, Mr. Rhys Davids in 1881, and Dr. Kuenen in 1882. The Rev. Mr. Beard is certainly not the least of these, and there is no better way to give an idea of the frankness and breadth of view, and the fearless attitude of this worthy successor of Dr. Martineau, than to quote his own limpid, simple and masculine language:—

"The Revival of Letters was essentially an upheaval of the lay mind (p. 402), and the result is that philosophy . . . has improved and developed the art of thinking. An art of criticism has grown up which enables us to use with confidence the materials bequeathed to us by primitive tradition and ancient learning (p. 403). The science of Biblical criticism has been born, and has grown to a vigorous maturity (p. 404). We cannot read the Bible, or interpret history, or look out upon Nature as the reformers did (p. 405). The conception of Nature which is the inspiration of recent research, and seems to hold all the promise of the future, demands, if it is to be brought into conformity with religion, some modification of the traditional conception of Nature's God. The history of man upon earth can no longer be compressed within the limits of scriptural chronology. The patriarchal stories fall into the general category of primæval history, and undergo the same dissolvent analysis (p. 404). Israel's story is no longer the story of mankind; his cosmogony is only one of many similar guesses into the origin of things; the myths and legends into which his history runs up have their near analogues in those read off from Babylonian bricks (p. 360).

¹ "The Reformation in its Relation to Modern Thought and Knowledge." By Charles Beard, M.A. London: Williams & Norgate.

"What if the Bible shows by its history and structure that it is unfit to occupy that seat of authority from which, in its favour, Luther displaced the Church? (p. 406). There can be no doubt as to the reply we shall give to such a question when once we have taken the Hebrew history out of the category of the miraculous, and learned to interpret the Bible as we would any other book. It is just the Evangelical faith which has shown itself least receptive of the influence of the newer time. It denies the validity of discoveries until long after all the rest of the world has been convinced. It reads history after a fashion of its own, and Scripture as if criticism did not exist (p. 414). A finality is claimed for old views of the Bible which in the case of any other literature would be laughed out of court" (p. 353).

On the subject of the New Testament Mr. Beard is equally clear and outspoken, admitting that criticism has converted it from a Divine oracle into a human record (p. 362), and that it is contrary to the plainest evidence of fact to seek for finality in that book either (p. 369). And as to the personality of Christ he left little doubt as to his meaning on the minds of those who heard his lectures. In the twelfth he honestly confesses he sees no evidence that Christ ever intended to teach any dogmatic system of theology at all (p. 423). He admits that in the fourth gospel are the germs of that doctrine of the deity of Christ which the first three centuries developed into the statements of the Nicene, and three centuries more into those of the Athanasian, Creed; and in the Pauline letters is the outline of that doctrine of atonement which the early Church passed by almost in silence, but which, revived by Augustine, by Anselm, by Luther, has since, in one form or other, met with almost universal acceptance (p. 425). And on this subject he says, in the eleventh lecture:—

"Did, then, God, and such a God as the all of things proves He must be, die for us? I say it with the deepest respect for the religious feelings of others, but I cannot but think that the whole system of atonement shrivels into inanity amid the light, the space, the silence of the stellar worlds" (p. 389).

And then, as to Christianity, it is clear that in the New Testament itself the process of interpreting Christ had already begun (p. 415), and the history of Christian doctrine during the first ages is one of gradual development, affected by the impact of forces which were Greek as well as Jewish (p. 369).

While we cannot go all the way with the writer when he sanguinely looks forward to the "restoration of Christianity to the place which it has lost, and is more and more losing, in the hearts of thoughtful and educated men," still we must record our conviction that the Rev. Mr. Beard's book will bring "good words and comfortable words" to the sorely tried minds of many who now stumble in the thick darkness, and are in danger of being strangled in the bands of modern English theology. It should be added that the second lecture, on the Revival of Letters in Italy and Germany, the tenth, on the growth of the critical spirit, and the eleventh, which traces philosophical method and scientific investigation, are rapid but penetrating and masterly surveys, which make very pleasant reading indeed.

The Hibbert Trust promotes comprehensive learning and thorough research in relation to religion as it appears to the eye of the scholar

and philosopher; wholly apart from the interest of any particular Church or system. This is not the spirit which actuates Mr. James Freeman Clarke, D.D., who now publishes the second part of his "Ten Great Religions."² The first part¹ was originally published in 1868 and 1871, and the edition which bears the date 1883 purports to be the nineteenth. These books are written up to a foregone conclusion. The first part wound up by asserting that Christianity is "a pleroma or fulness of knowledge. . . . It includes everything; it excludes nothing but limitation and deficiency" (whatever that may logically mean); and, it was added, "Christ will reign until he has subdued all his enemies—error, war, sin, selfishness, tyranny, cruelty—under his feet." Like Henry Ward Beecher's sermons, this sort of thing is written to sell to the "Protestant denominations of the United States who (Dr. Clarke says) make converts, build churches, and support their clergy with an ardour seemingly undiminished by the progress of science." The second part of this book is equally impartial, and consists of twelve lectures given in the Lowell Institute two years ago. It terminates in the following rhapsody:—"All men will come to Jesus . . . and through Him they will catch glimpses of that immortal sea which brought us hither, and hear its mighty waters rolling evermore."

Differing from Mr. Beard, Dr. Clarke maintains that "Christianity was never so vigorous as to-day." But he by no means confines his flock to orthodox dogma; he serves them up high-spiced novelties as well. For instance, he slipperily proposes a doctrine of "the evolution of the soul, as an improvement on the doctrine of Darwin," and, rushing in where angels fear to tread, irreverently desires to "launch again the theory of metempsychosis on the wide ocean of human belief," for—"stranger things have happened in the history of human opinion."

"The modern doctrine of the evolution of bodily organisms is not complete unless we unite with it the idea of a corresponding evolution of the spiritual monad from which every organic form derives its unity. Evolution has a satisfactory meaning only when we admit that the soul is developed and educated by passing through many bodies, and not only accept the theory that our ancestors may have been apes and fishes, but the larger doctrine that we ourselves were probably once apes or fishes, and that we learned much in those conditions which is useful to us in our present forms."

This impudent rigmarole, which might be good patter in the mouth of a jack-pudding at a country fair, is of course a flat (and dull) plagiarism from Buddhism, save that the Buddhist does not admit a soul. (Dr. Clarke, by the way, denies this; he knows Buddhism better than the Buddhists.) One more illustration of the condition of this writer's brain on the subject of the soul, and we have done with his volumes:—

² "Ten Great Religions." Part II., A Comparison of all Religions. By James Freeman Clarke. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. London: Trübner & Co.

³ "Ten Great Religions." An Essay in Comparative Theology. By James Freeman Clarke. Nineteenth Edition. Boston: 1883.

"The late Dr. Edward Clarke told Dr. O. W. Holmes that once, as he sat by the side of a dying woman, he saw at the moment of death 'a something rise from the body which seemed like a departing presence.' The conviction, he says, forced upon his mind that something at that moment departed from the body, was stronger than words could express. Dr. Holmes adds that he heard the same experience told, almost in the same words, by a lady whose testimony was eminently to be relied on."

This is at least amusing. The Something rising which seemed like a departing presence reminds one afar-off of the *Chimæra volvitans in vacuo* of the schoolmen.

It is an historical fact not too generally known that Biblical criticism had an early and important development in France. Hobbes,⁴ it is true, made a simple remark that the phrase "the Five Books of Moses" was no proof that Moses was their author, and adduced some of the most obvious of the reasons why he could not have written a large part of them. The Jew Spinoza, in the "Tractatus Theologico-Politicus," gave a whole body of acute criticism in the same direction. But it was Richard Simon, a French priest of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri, who in 1678, in his "Critical History of the Old Testament," authoritatively pronounced against the Mosaic authorship. His conclusions were indorsed by the Arminian Le Clerc, and finally Astruc, a Parisian physician and a Catholic (although, as we do not remember to have seen remarked elsewhere, the name is Jewish) in a work published in 1753, struck the keynote of all subsequent debate by diagnosing, in a crude way, what are now so familiar to us as the genealogical and legislative Elohistie, and the mytho-historical Jehovistic, components of the Pentateuch. In the person of M. François Lenormant, who now publishes in "La Genèse"⁵ the first instalment of his translation of the Pentateuch from the Hebrew, France again enters into the field. It is to be regretted that he should find it necessary to adopt a quasi-apologetic tone, saying that he has not abandoned without pain the theory of the unity of composition of these books, and that the discordances must not be exaggerated, for they bear only upon facts of an historical character, and not on matters essential to faith. He even paradoxically gives weight to the supposition that the abstention of the latest editor (or diascevast, as he prefers to call him) from obviating the divergences of his materials is "a decisive proof of the holy and inspired character which he recognized" in them. From all which we may take it as an acquired fact that the pure Hebraist, no matter how good a scholar he may be, if unaided by the modern discoveries and the spirit that is abroad in other fields of science, makes but a sorry guide at the present day. M. Lenormant and the diascevast to the contrary notwithstanding, it will continue to be the general consensus of intelligent minds that notable discrepancies in a witness's evidence are destructive of his general trustworthiness.

As might have been anticipated from his apologies, M. Lenormant's

⁴ Leviticus an III. c. xxxiii.

⁵ "La Genèse, traduction d'après l'Hebreu, &c." Par François Lenormant, Membre de l'Institut. Paris: Maisonneuve. London: Trübner & Co.

translation steers as close as possible to orthodoxy, but the novel and convenient method of the composition of his book produces, mechanically and *per se*, advantages for which he deserves our thanks. He first prints Genesis as it stands, but distinguishes by differing type the portions which belong to each of the sources, and then he follows up this Masoretic text by reprinting separately its two principal divisions, each complete in itself; the Book of Origins or Jehovistic document coming first, and the Elohist Book of Genealogies following, while numerous notes and cross-references keep up the connection. No arrangement could be clearer or more satisfactory, and we can thus distinguish at a glance the double narratives of the Creation or the Deluge, and the single accounts of Cain and Abel or of the tower of Babel, and so forth.

Though the Société des Études Juives "restricts itself exclusively to the domain of science," it is scarcely possible to touch any section of judaistic studies and keep clear of religious discussion; indeed, it is maintained by the present Grand Rabbi of Paris, Zadoc Khan, that "in Judaism an accord has existed from all time between science [taken, we suppose, in some esoteric, theological sense] and religion." Thus a notice of this young society, now in its fourth year, finds a natural place here under the head of Theology. It publishes a quarterly Review, highly praised by Renan, and an Annual Miscellany,⁶ and has undertaken a series of original works, ancient texts, translations, and so on. Its proceedings thus far have been of much interest to the student of Christian (and therefore of Jewish) theology. We have space only to draw attention in rapid and cursory fashion to the mass of valuable matter it has edited within the last three years. And first, as to the Old Testament, we may note the admission by Jewish *savants* that the recent revelation of the secrets of Sidon, Babylon and Nineveh make it necessary to review, if not to recommence, the whole work of Biblical exegesis. The Proverbs of Solomon, no longer ascribed to Solomon, are given a date before the Babylonian Captivity, or four centuries later than their reputed author. The pronunciation of the metaphysical "Yahweh," which has found favour with Dr. Kuenen⁷ and the German *savants*, is by no means generally preferred by French Jews to the "Jehovah" of the vulgar, which Genesis proves to be posterior to the less comprehensive and more naturalistic Elohim. To the sceptical Ecclesiastes (more fully noticed farther on) is ascribed the date 180 B.C., and in its respect for Jewish dogma is perceived a reaction against the Grecomania which had then invaded Judea, and a first symptom of the Jewish *Renaissance* which about 168 B.C. produced the book of Daniel and eventuated in the triumph of the Maccabees. As to the Jewish creed, it is a fact of leading significance that the language of the Bible and the prophets contains no word equivalent to *faith*. The word *emuna* which has been so translated twice, and twice only,

⁶ "Annuaire de la Société des Études Juives." Paris: Durlacher. London Trübner & Co.

⁷ "Hibbert Lectures," 1887, pp. 52, 308.

in the English version, means properly firmness, constancy, fidelity, truth. It is the virtue by which the just man lives (Habakkuk ii. 4), and the passage recalls Horace's *justum et tenacem propositi virum*. It is not that blind submission which demands the sacrifice of reason—Tertullian's grotesque *Credo quia absurdum*. It was St. Paul who impelled nascent Christianity in this new direction by substituting Faith for the Law. Professor F. W. Newman, in his "History of the Hebrew Monarchy" many years ago held that Judaism was founded on Sabian or Persian conceptions, though it had also a noble native development. M. Théodore Réinach now declares that the Jews at their origin shared the customs, institutions, and general run of the beliefs of the mass of Semitic tribes. Their national God spoke in the phrases of Kamosh, the God of Moab, and they adopted the strange ritual of the Phœnicians as well as the Magic of Chaldea. Later on they borrowed angels and demons from Persia, fables from India, and metaphysics from Greece. The native evolution of which Newman speaks gradually refined the worship and raised the standard of morality, until Israelite thought crystallized into its highest form and reached its apogee with the school of Hillel [the same who maintained it was unlawful to eat an egg which was laid on the Sabbath]. And what have our Evangelicals to say to the following glorification of the Talmud at the expense of their Biblical talisman? When the Jews, after the dispersion, commenced their greater Exodus over the globe "they took with them as viaticum the Bible and, better still, the Talmud" which, taking up Aryan legends and theories from the Avesta, became (strange metaphor!) a veritable wall of China which "for ages has safeguarded the faith of our ancestors and secured their triumph in the struggle for existence." And it is quite a commonplace with the Jews that the doctrine of the immortality of the soul was but floating in the air until fixed in the Talmud. As to the mutual influence of Christianity and Judaism, while Philo of Alexandria, one of the greatest minds the Jewish nation has produced, is, in consequence of his influence on his disciples Origen and Clement, called "the first Father of the Church," the reaction of incipient Christianity on the Jewish doctors is fully admitted, and even the legends of mediæval poetry have found their way into the Talmud.

In the Rev. Dr. C. H. H. Wright's edition of Ecclesiastes,⁸ we have a book from one of those Evangelicals of whom Mr. Beard's opinion has been given. We believe we are correct in saying that from cover to cover, throughout 516 pages, the word Science does not once occur, the author evidently believing, with his divinely inspired Koheleth, that "he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow;" and, although he be a member of the small disestablished sect of Irish Protestants, he prints as a testimonial at the end a remark from the *Dublin Review* that he writes scarcely a word to which a Catholic need object. He solemnly declares *in limine* that he firmly adheres to the doctrine of the divine revelation of the Scriptures, and confesses

⁸ "The Book of Koheleth." By the Rev. C. H. H. Wright, D.D., Incumbent of St. Mary's, Belfast. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

(as is perfectly natural in such a state of mind) that it was not without regret he felt constrained by modern criticism to abandon the Solomonic authorship of Ecclesiastes. But he hurries on to add that that in no way affects the canonical character or divine inspiration of this book by an unknown writer—a forlorn sort of position which may well be commiserated. The Book of Koheleth, or the Preacher, which Dr. C. H. H. Wright translates afresh, occupies but twenty-one pages, the rest of the volume being taken up with heavy lectures (the Donnellan, 1880-1) and a minute commentary chiefly designed for English Christian students of Hebrew. In this new translation many phrases change their familiar dress. "All is vanity and vexation of spirit" becomes: The whole is vanity and a striving after wind. "A good name is better than precious ointment" is given as: Better is a name than good oil. We almost regret "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might," which now appears as: All that thy hand may find to do with thy strength, do. As might have been expected, Dr. C. H. H. Wright freely flings about violent but easily made accusations of atheism against those modern "pessimists" who differ so widely from, and are so far in advance of, the *esprit borné* of his divinely-inspired Jewish *not*-Solomon pessimist of twenty centuries since. Thus we have such empty wailings as the following: "It is important, though melancholy, to note the degradation of male and female which sooner or later is ever the outcome of atheism"—a term which may here be taken to mean "false philosophy" in general from Dr. C. H. H. Wright's point of view, although elsewhere he is plain enough in identifying materialism with a denial of the existence of a God. And, surely, nothing can well be more grossly unfair than to accuse the "new philosophy" of "seeking to lower the estimation of the female sex," when its professors have ever been in the forefront, and too often alone, in fighting the battles of progress for the freedom and education of women.

Another book by an Irish Protestant reaches us—"Hints to Readers of the Old Testament"⁹—intended for the education of the young. The object of the book is clear from the following jesuitical passage of the preface: "It is not necessary, nor would it be right, to turn the scriptural education of the young into a series of lessons in Biblical criticism; and the mistake of adopting too negative a style of teaching is one that may easily be made. To teach negations is not to teach religion." But how if the "negations" be negations of the untrue, such as Jehovah causing the shadow to go back on the dial of Ahaz, and Joshua making the earth and moon stand still (the true astronomical meaning), both of which are stated without a word of disapproval. If Mr. Cross knows (as he ought) that the first effect is no miracle at all, being producible by the well-known phenomenon of a double mock-sun; and that the account of the second should be translated "Sun of Gibeon, be thou silent, and thou Moon of Arajalon,"—where the Sun and Moon are those that gave oracles and were wor-

⁹ "Introductory Hints to English Readers of the Old Testament." By Rev. J. A. Cross. London: Longmans.

shipped in Gibeonite temples,—if, we say, Mr. Cross knows this, he is wittingly, as Cowper finely said, stealing the gem of Truth from the unguarded souls of our little children.

Although the science of comparative mythology is but in its infancy, still it strangles serpents in its cradle, and the reactionary bibliolaters who desperately cling on to a *caput mortuum* will, we venture to think, be gradually left high and dry by the writers and countless readers of such books as "Bible Myths."¹⁰ The industry, range and intelligence of such compilations are not less conspicuous than the labour and circumscribed erudition of the judaizing Christian theologian; while their outspoken unreserve is in such direct contrast to the underhand interment of difficulties as to be gratifying to all active minds eager for knowledge. We are not blind to the absence of "accurate scholarship." On the contrary, we say that in spite of it, such books, with their copious notes and references, are most useful to the student as guide-posts over the whole wide tract of mythological and legendary religion. We must be content here to point out this very full book, merely remarking upon one or two of its (we regret to say) numerous defects. Bell's "New Pantheon" of 1790 is not exactly the book we should now cite authoritatively as to the mythology of heathendom. We cannot find any mention as regards the doctrine of atonement (and it is an important omission) of the Jewish scapegoat. The cross-formed Swastica is said (p. 340) to be "the distinctive badge of the sect of Xaca Japonicus." The original authority for this ignorant statement is not given, but it evidently comes from a Latin work by a Portuguese missionary priest. The Japanese Xaca is of course Buddha himself, the Sanscrit *Śākya-muni* and the *Shiyaku-Niyorai* or *Niyorai-sama* of Japanese Buddhism. The same misapprehension shows itself in different words in speaking of China, on another page (119), where we find "the sect of Xaca, which is evidently a corruption of Buddhism."

PHILOSOPHY.

IT is after all not a common event to meet with a book that is altogether worthless. Generally there is some point of view from which redeeming features may be found to an extent sufficient to prevent a conscientious critic from expressing the conclusion that the volume ought never to have been published. We regret to have to say that in the case of the work before us it is not possible to take any such charitable view. President Mahan's work¹ is, in our opinion, not only worthless as a history of philosophy, but likely, from the igno-

¹⁰ "Bible Myths and their Parallels in other Religions." New York: Bouton. London: Quaritch.

¹ "A Critical History of Philosophy." By Rev. ASA MAHAN, D.D., LL.D. Two vols. London: Elliot Stock.

rance which it displays on every page of the problems with which it has to deal, to do harm to the very cause which, as we learn from the extraordinary preface, it was intended to defend, that of Christianity. Throughout the book the writer mixes up exposition and criticism in a way which makes it no easy task to extract the scanty material of the former. Passing over the very inaccurate sketch of the earlier Greek philosophy, we quote the following sentence about Plato, as characteristic of the point of view from which that philosopher is treated:—

“Nor was Plato, in any proper sense of the term, an Idealist. Idealism denies wholly the reality of a material creation, and resolves all existences into spirit or its operations. While Plato fully believed in the ideality of the world of perceptions, he held, that behind the phenomenal there existed a realm of spiritual existences, and also a material creation, a creation not perceived through the senses, but knowable and known through Reason. We may dispute his psychology, but cannot justly deny that he was a Realist.”

A few pages further on we are informed that “in the department of Ethics the world owes very little to Aristotle.” Coming to the part of the second volume, which deals with idealism, we learn that “no intelligent thinker now doubts that idealism, in all its forms, is in its essential principles and deductions utterly subversive, not only of religion, but equally so of morality. If there is no external universe, as the system affirms, there is revealed to the individual no realm of moral agents, of whom he is one, and to whom he does or can sustain any known natural or moral relations of any kind. These are the identical deductions which the ablest Idealists have actually drawn from their own system.” Nowadays there can be no excuse for any one who writes ignorantly and unintelligently about Hume, Kant and Hegel. The already considerable number of excellent text-books is constantly increasing. But President Mahan derives his material, not from such sources, not from first-hand, but apparently from the histories of Lewes and Ueberweg, and the writings of Hamilton, whose disciple in philosophy he is to a considerable extent; and his paraphrases of these writers have not even the merit of accuracy. It may further be remarked that, however interesting tales of the conversion of infidels (such as occur in vol. ii. at page 163), they are scarcely relevant in a history of philosophy. The treatise closes with “Indications of the plan of a work which, for want of time, will probably never appear.” As though the uselessness of its substance were not enough, the book presents the further defects of a radically bad and careless arrangement, and the absence of an index. We repeat our conviction, that the author would have done well in the interests of Evangelical religion, as much as in his own, to have abstained from presenting to the public what he can hardly have failed to be to some degree aware was not fit for publication.

It is with a sense of relief that we turn to Mr. Bradley's book. Here, as in his “Ethical Studies,”² everything is sacrificed to thoroughness

² “The Principles of Logic.” By F. H. Bradley. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1883.

and accuracy. The present work is far from being a systematic treatise on logic. It professes to do, and does no more, than subject to a searching criticism, and reconstruct some of the leading principles of logic as we are familiar with that science in England. Several influences are apparent in the treatment. In the theory of the judgment, no one who is familiar with the writings of Lotze can fail to recognize how deep an impression the study of his works has left on Mr. Bradley's mind. And then, although we agree with Mr. Bradley that to call him "Hegelian" would be simply to display ignorance, it is plain, as Mr. Bradley himself says, that he has learned much from the subtle criticisms of logical and psychological doctrines which abound in the writings of Hegel. The "Principles of Logic" is a valuable book in two ways. In the first place, it is one of the few approaches in the English language to a treatise on the higher logic. In the second place, there is a great deal in it which, notwithstanding the modest disclaimer of the author, is new. For example, the very acute criticisms which extend over pp. 273-321 of the current theory of association of ideas, is a piece of work upon ground which, so far as we are aware, is practically unbroken. For Mr. Bradley's examination of the theory is very much more specific than that of Mr. Green, and is undertaken from a somewhat different point of view and with different results. It is curious in this part of the book to find the doctrines of Wolff and Maas, which Sir W. Hamilton, by misrepresenting the theory of Redintegration, had unintentionally succeeded in bringing into discredit, presented to us in a form which leaves it hardly doubtful that psychology has unlearned as well as learned something during the present century. Mr. Bradley says that his metaphysics are really very limited. Of course, in the general sense, this is not so; but in the special reference of logical as distinguished from psychological doctrine the statement is curiously true. For example, it is not easy to find metaphysical continuity between the basis of his theory of the judgment, which approaches very near to that of Lotze, and his view of the laws of identity, contradiction, and excluded middle, which is distinctly Hegelian. Again, it would seem as though the Aristotelian tendencies which disclose themselves in the discussion at page 484, of the relation between the middle term and the cause, were radically divergent from those which appear in the chapter on the final essence of reasoning.

The fact is that Mr. Bradley has sought to treat logic, not as one part of a system of philosophy, but as a science standing more or less by itself. And whatever the difficulties to the student incident to this method, he is more helped than he is hindered by it. We are grateful to the author for what is probably the best piece of English work in this department since the publication of Mr. Jevons' "Principles of Science."

When a writer of Dr. Maudsley's large experience in the pathology of mind publishes a book upon such a subject as *Body and Will*, we expect to find much that is interesting—not, indeed, to students of philosophy as such, but to pathologists and specialists in psychology.

And in this respect Dr. Maudsley's new book,³ even if it adds but little to what he has already said, does not disappoint us. The third part in particular, which deals popularly with Will in its pathological relations, is attractive both in its substance and its style.

The philosophy of Schopenhauer is still in the system-producing period of the development of its influence. In this respect it has, during the last few years, been very fruitful in Germany. Dr. Peters' system may be said to be a product of his study of Schopenhauer in the sense that its author has been profoundly influenced by that study. But Dr. Peters is not a disciple of Schopenhauer. At least, it is no more fair to call him so than it is to call Schopenhauer himself a disciple of Kant. The keynote of his book,⁴ the doctrine that in the Will is to be sought the complement of knowledge, is no doubt derived from Schopenhauer. But there Dr. Peters stops and is in doubt as to his subsequent path. Accordingly, he institutes a critical examination of modern philosophy so far as he conceives it to bear on this doctrine with a view to discover the next step. After stating the problem of knowledge, he passes in critical review the answers of Kant, Schopenhauer, and Von Hartmann, together with the views of Frauenstädt, Noiré Bilharz, and Bahusen. His criticism of Schopenhauer in particular leads him to his own standpoint. He finds that Schopenhauer failed to define the nature of Will, and he cannot accept the doctrine of unconscious volition. For Dr. Peters all volition must be as it were a function of the Ego, and accordingly, since he accepts from Schopenhauer Will as the key to existence, he finds that the true thing in itself, the omnipresent foundation of both subject and object, is neither the subject nor the object, but the Ego. Sacrificing accuracy to brevity, he is willing to speak of his system as "pluralistisch-monastischer Dualismus." It is significant of the time that Dr. Peters concludes the second book of his volume with the words, "Ist es doch mit dem Wechsel menschlicher Welt-Anschauungen wie mit dem Emporkeimen und Absterben des organischen Lebens."

Mr. Mahaffy's translation of the "Prolegomena"⁵ was not altogether satisfactory. Mr. Bax has now published a plain workmanlike English version, not free from faults in all respects, but carefully done and accurate. This addition to "Bohn's Philosophical Library" is likely to be much appreciated by the increasing number of students of Kant in this country. We should have been glad to see that "Vorstellung" had been translated, not by "representation," but by the word on which, in spite of its defects, the most eminent authorities are now agreed, "idea." "Cognition" might also have been banished, not only on account of its clumsiness, but because of its want of precision in meaning. We hope that the time is not far

³ "Body and Will." By Henry Maudsley, M.D. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1883.

⁴ "Willenswelt und Weltwille: Studien und Ideen zu einer Weltanschauung." Von Dr. Carl Peters. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus. London: Trübner & Co. 1883.

⁵ "Kant's Prolegomena and Metaphysical Foundations of Natural Science." Translated, with a Biography and Introduction. By Ernest Belfort Bax. London: George Bell & Sons. 1883.

off when English translators of German philosophy will come to some agreement upon the rendering of some twenty technical expressions which are constantly recurring. And this is the more important from the circumstance that, whatever be the value of German philosophy generally, there is a consensus as to the desirability of more accurate information on the subject of the work of Kant at all events. We trust that Mr. Bax will not infer from the circumstances of our having drawn attention to this feature in his translation, that we do not thoroughly appreciate the obligation students of philosophy must feel to him for a translation of two of Kant's most important treatises, one of which appears in English for the first time.

The "Politics of Aristotle"⁶ is one of the very few systematic treatises on politics which the world possesses. For Aristotle politics included much more than does political economy for us. The whole of the phenomena of the State, and not merely those which related to the production and distribution of wealth, claimed systematic investigation for Greek thought. After Aristotle attention became concentrated on those metaphysical and logical questions which bore directly on the problems of Christianity, and it was not until the eighteenth century that the questions which presented themselves so engrossingly to the Greek mind came to receive renewed attention. Even then the science of politics sacrificed extension to intension, and narrowed the sphere of its investigations to matters strictly economical. Thus it is that there are so few attempts extant at a scientific investigation of the nature of State. Those that exist have either been undertaken for some special purpose, and form a relatively speaking narrow point of view, such as the inquiries of Hobbes and Bentham, or are mere illustrations of metaphysical deductions as in the case of Fichte and Hegel. Therefore it is that the "Politics of Aristotle," the method of which is disinterested and inductive, and the scope of which is of the widest, presents to us an ever-fresh interest, the more so as we begin (only in the latter part of the nineteenth century) to understand the rest of his philosophy. Mr. Welldon's translation is admirable in point of style, and is introduced with an exhaustive analysis of the text. We are glad to learn from his preface that the Master of Dulwich College intends this to be only an instalment of a larger work.

It is difficult to fathom the purposes of the authors of the three volumes which conclude our list. They all contain distinct demands for consideration in the character of philosophical essays, and we therefore consider them as such. We should have been glad to have been spared the necessity of doing so. The authors, all three, plunge *in medias res* with the confidence that characterizes a class—the class of writers who imagine that the ultimate and most recondite difficulties of philosophy can be dealt with in the absence, not only of any knowledge of the investigations of the great thinkers of history, but of the painful preliminary effort and study which is necessary for the com-

⁶ "The Politics of Aristotle." Translated by J. E. C. Welldon. London: Macmillan & Co. 1893.

prehension of the history of philosophy and its problems. Mr. Drummond's book⁷ illustrates this kind of writing very clearly. He asks in his preface (and the sentence is the key to the plan of his book) whether "there is not reason to believe that many of the Laws of the Spiritual World, hitherto regarded as occupying an entirely separate province, are simply the Laws of the Natural World?" He tells us, among other applications of this principle (p. 65), that the theory of Spontaneous Generation in religion is that man may become gradually better until he reaches the quality of religious nature known as spiritual life, while the theory of Bio-genesis is the doctrine of Regeneration. And he thinks that in such analogies he has found a new key to theological and metaphysical problems in the application to them of scientific methods. Mr. Drummond appears, like many others, to be altogether without suspicion that this very assumption is the one which Kant directed his whole system to destroying, pointing out that since Hume had worked it out, it was no longer possible to resist the conclusion that it must end scepticism. The Bishop of Carlisle⁸ writes from a point of view which is substantially indistinguishable, so far as difficulties are concerned; and Mr. Tyler⁹ makes a feeble application of the same kind of ideas, characterized by a want of preparation which, if qualitatively the same, is quantitatively greater. Such productions, if in the form of a volume of sermons, might, in the light of a wholly different standard, be called good. Regarded, as a critic of current productions in modern philosophy must regard them, they can only be characterized as worthless, and it is fairer, both to the writers and the public, to do so than to adopt the alternative of not characterizing them at all.

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES, AND TRAVELS.

IN commencing this section with a notice of Mr. Lester Ward's *Dynamic Sociology*,¹ we do not think we are departing from the convenient rule of adhering to the sequence of subjects as indicated above; for it will be seen that Mr. Ward's researches extend over a very wide area, and lead him to the discussion of subjects which undoubtedly fall under the head of Politics as that term is commonly understood. Judged also by the standard of importance this very remarkable work would certainly seem to claim the first place, but we must say, at once, that it will be utterly impossible to give it adequate

⁷ "Natural Law in the Spiritual World." By Henry Drummond. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1883.

⁸ "Walks in the Regions of Science and Faith." By Harvey Goodwin, D.D., Lord Bishop of Carlisle. London: John Murray. 1883.

⁹ "The Mystery of Being; or, What Do We Know." By J. Tyler. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1883.

¹ "Dynamic Sociology, or applied Social Science as based upon Statical Sociology and the less complex Sciences." By Lester F. Ward, A.M. 2 vols. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1883.

treatment within the limits of space assigned to us. This, we think, will be conceded when we state that in his two volumes, containing upwards of thirteen hundred pages, Mr. Ward takes us from the primordial atom, through the three stages of atomic aggregation indicated by "Cosmogeny," "Biogeny," and "Sociogeny," to the consideration of some of the most complex problems presented to the student of life, mind, morals, and society. Let us first, however, ask Mr. Ward to tell us what he understands by "Dynamic Sociology." His explanation is as follows:—"The science which concerns itself with the laws of the social *order* is social statics," a term with which Mr. Herbert Spencer's volume has made us all familiar. The condition or *status* of Society at the present time, or 'at any past time, is the problem of social *statics*. But

"while there is a social statics, there is no statical condition of society. Just as the mechanical laws of equilibrium do not present the incessant motion and change of all things in the universe, so the establishment of the laws which tend to preserve society as it is, does not alter the fact that society is in a state of incessant change."

The science, therefore, which considers the conditions of social *progress* is social dynamics; and while social statics studies the laws of co-existence only, social dynamics deals with those of sequence. But progress is twofold. First, there is a spontaneous progress, such as we see in the development of the animal and vegetable kingdoms under the influence of natural laws. This is *genetic* progress. Secondly, there is a progress which is the result of an intelligent foresight, seizing upon the laws of Nature and directing them to the ends of reason. This Mr. Ward designates as *teleological* progress. The first is a *natural* progress and results in a *growth*. The second is an *artificial* progress and results in a *manufacture*. Accordingly there are two branches of social dynamics.

"The *natural* progress, or movement, of society, the causes, origin, and genesis of its leading institutions, and the purely spontaneous changes which it has undergone, are problems of *passive* or *negative* social dynamics."

But far more important is the *active* or *positive* branch. The problems of social *statics* and of *passive* social dynamics are, indeed, of the utmost importance, but only because from the study of these alone can we collect the data for the consideration of the problem of *active* or *positive* social dynamics, and this problem differs from the others

"in contemplating society itself, considered as an intelligent agency, seeking to secure through the exercise of a true scientific prevision based on a fundamental acquaintance with the laws governing social phenomena, an artificial or teleological control of these phenomena, analogous in all respects to that which science exerts over physical phenomena, in the interest of human advantage and human progress."

It is this teleological social progress which is so urgently needed. For genetic progress is slow and imperceptible, and is barely sufficient to keep pace with the increase of population.

“There is very little perceptible amelioration of the condition of society at large. The world does, indeed, enjoy thousands of material blessings, which this unorganized progress has scattered over it; but when we consider the proletariat, when we look into great cities, or out on large plantations, or visit those immense centres of production, the factories, we realize that, while the intellectual and material condition of society has reached almost giddy heights, the moral or emotional condition of man has scarcely advanced at all. There still remain the overworked millions on the one hand, and the unemployed millions on the other. There are still all the depths of ignorance, poverty, drudgery, and nameless misery, that have ever been the baneful concomitants of human civilization.”

Therefore to constitute Sociology a true science we have, besides social statics, social dynamics, negative and positive, and whereas the negative branch has no other object than that of *discovery*, the positive branch connects the study of the social forces with the *art* of applying them, which is a distinctly human process, and depends wholly on the action of man himself. “This art may be very appropriately named *Sociocracy*, although it is the same that has been sometimes called *politics*, giving to that term a much wider range than that now usually assigned to it.” To overcome the manifold hindrances to human progress, to check the enormous waste of resources involved in merely genetic progress, to secure the rational adaptation of means to remote ends (whereas in the genetic process the means and the end are in immediate proximity), these are some of the tasks of Dynamic Sociology. “*Voir pour prévoir, prévoyance, d’où action*’—*i.e.*, predict in order to control. Such is the logical history and process of all science; and, if sociology is a science, such must be its destiny and its legitimate function.” But can there be such a science as the one indicated? Only upon the assumption that it is with the social science as with the physical sciences—*viz.*, that there are fixed and unchangeable laws prevailing within its domain, so absolute in their regularity that the same adjustments are regarded as certain to involve the same result under like conditions. “The primary concept upon which all science rests is the dependence of *phenomena* upon *antecedents*. The phenomena are the *effects* of the antecedents as producing or efficient *causes*.” Nature never employs the “final cause” but only the “efficient cause.” It is for man, by teleological action, to employ the final cause. But, says Mr. Ward:—

“There can no more be a moral science in connection with a free moral agency, or a social science, while human events are determined by an arbitrary free-will, whether human or divine or both, than there could be a physical science in a purely ‘chance world.’ . . . The true sociologist speaks of social science because he firmly believes that social phenomena are under the dominion of unvarying law, in precisely the same sense that astronomical phenomena are, while he ascribes the apparent irregularity and nonconformity to our ignorance of the subject, due in turn to the far greater complexity in which these events are involved.”

But Mr. Ward has much to lay before us previously to embarking upon the consideration of the social science. A convinced and ardent evolutionist, he regards it as a primary principle of the utmost importance

that there is a causal dependence in all the phenomena of nature. Science, therefore, is capable of unification. Accordingly, after the Introduction, we have two chapters, giving brief sketches of the positive philosophy of Comte, and the synthetic philosophy of Herbert Spencer, respectively; not that he has not much to criticize in each (especially in the first);

“Not so much in consequence of any assumed pre-eminence in these two men above others, as because they alone, of all the thinkers of the world, have the merit of having carried their generalizations from the phenomena of inorganic up to those of human action and social life. Of all the philosophers that humanity has brought forth, these two alone have conceived and built upon the broad principle of the absolute unity of Nature and her laws throughout all their manifestations, from the revolutions of celestial orbs to the rise and fall of empires, and the vicissitudes of social customs and laws.”

This is “the grand *monistic* conception the final crown of human thought;” and as one who accepts this hypothesis of the genetic or *monistic* origin and development of life as an established truth, Mr. Ward has conceived the design of presenting to his readers the theory of existence as a whole, and unfolding to them the secrets from what Lucretius would call “the first beginnings of things,” the aggregations of primordial atoms, to this the last in the series of the sciences, which depends more or less upon all other sciences, while no other science is in the least dependent upon it. For this “is, as it were, all sciences combined, embracing all that they embrace, together with a large differentia.” We start then with the cosmical principles underlying social phenomena. First we have a chapter on “Primary Aggregation.” The primordials are *matter* and *motion*.

“The motions of material particles are as eternal as are the particles themselves. The destruction of motion is as impossible as that of matter. The creation of matter is inconceivable; it must have existed always, and hence the alleged endowment of it with properties—*i.e.*, with motion—is impossible.”

From the aggregation and segregation of these material particles thus endowed with indestructible motion all things are derived. We must, however, leave Mr. Ward's readers to follow him from molecular to molar aggregation, and thus to the development of celestial systems, upon the now well-known nebular hypothesis. Leaving, then, primary aggregation, “Cosmogony,” and the genesis of matter, we come to “Secondary Aggregation.” Under this head we have three chapters—the first, dealing with “Biogeny,” the genesis of organic forms, vital relations, and all the wonders and mysteries of *protoplasm*; the second with “Psychogeny,” the genesis of mind; and the third with “Anthropogeny,” the genesis of man. Life is found to be a *property of matter*. It is the chief property of protoplasm, the highest of all chemical substances. Similarly when it is asked of mind, Is it material or immaterial? the answer is that of only two possible categories, matter and relation: the phenomena of mind belong to the latter.

“Mind is immaterial because relational; but, like all relations, it has matter for its basis. The organized matter of the living body, actuated by the

co-ordinated mechanism of a brain and nervous system. But relations constitute the properties of matter, and hence mind, as well as life, is such a property."

All this, however, is clearly beyond the sphere of the present section, and we hasten on to the seventh chapter which deals with "Tertiary Aggregation." From the ultimate atoms we have reached inorganic compounds, thence organic forms, life and mind, till at length man has been developed from simian ancestors; and we agree with Mr. Ward, when he ascribes to man an antiquity which may be represented by so many millions of years, that it is useless to peer into it. We now come to the aggregation of men into societies, for the phenomena of "Sociogeny" are only a continuation of the process of aggregation. Here, then, we have at length reached the Social Science, and since in this as in all other sciences, the causes of phenomena are the *forces* which are operating in each department, the author presents us with a classification of the Social Forces. These he divides into essential and non-essential. The Essential Forces are (1) Preservative, and (2) Reproductive, each of which is subdivided under two heads of minor importance. The Non-essential Forces are (1) Æsthetic; (2) Emotional or Moral; (3) Intellectual. But before undertaking this classification Mr. Ward enters upon the consideration of the origin of society and its development through three stages—(1) the solitary or autarchic; (2) the constrained aggregate or anarchic; (3) the national or politarchic. Mr. Ward contemplates a fourth stage as possibly to be realized—viz. the cosmopolitan or pantarchic, when all governments, shall be consolidated into one. In his speculations upon the origin of society we do not see any reference to Sir Henry Maine's works, and as this distinguished author does not appear in the list of authorities which is appended to these volumes, we are, perhaps, justified in assuming that they have not been fully brought to Mr. Ward's consideration. Had it been otherwise, we cannot help thinking that his observations on the origin both of society and of government would have been more satisfactory, because more complete, than they at present appear to us. We may refer to this section in our last number for some remarks upon Sir Henry Maine's Patriarchal Theory and the Horde Theories of McLennan and Morgan. Again, Mr. Ward makes certain reflections upon the genesis of civil justice and kindred subjects (as *e.g.*, the following: "It thus came about that every man consented to conditions which limited his own action. The great *plexus* of rules which constitutes the civil, the social, and the moral codes, has been woven in just this way"), which, we venture to think, require some modification in the light of Sir Henry Maine's disquisitions upon the *contrat social*. Passing now to the consideration of the action of the social forces, we find that in the organic world Nature may be said to possess two primary objects—viz., the preservation of the individual, and the continuance of the species. Under the head of the Preservative Forces we are led to consider the origin of art, of industry, of property as a social factor, and of civil justice; and,

further, the problems of acquisition, production, and its accessories, such as exchange, finance, and distribution. Especially interesting, however, are Mr. Ward's reflections upon the Reproductive Forces, which he very sensibly and successfully vindicates from the opprobrium with which superficial prejudice has surrounded them, and we would particularly recommend to all those who take interest in social questions, and who are capable of free and unbiassed thought, his remarks upon Marriage Institutions. Even Mr. Lecky, a writer who places such a very high estimate upon the virtue of chastity, has long ago pointed out the evil effects that ensue from the recognition by Society of the one form of life-long monogamous union as honourable and laudable, and its utter condemnation (outwardly at least) of all other forms, which are relegated to places beyond its pale, and branded with the most offensive epithets. The question is, no doubt, a difficult one, but the existence in our midst of a mass of prostitution, a most degraded, because a scorned and unrecognized form of polyandry, may suggest to unprejudiced reformers that Society, as at present constituted, has not hit upon the best solution of the problem. At present by refusing to recognize anything between one form of monogamy and prostitution we actually create and intensify the very evil which we affect to condemn. These and kindred questions (such as the subjection of women) have each its appropriate place in Mr. Ward's scientific scheme. It is not, however, until the second volume is reached that we enter upon the most important, that is, the active or teleological, branch of social dynamics, the concluding chapter of the first volume dealing solely with social statics, and *passive* social dynamics. We are now brought to *applied* sociology, and invited

"to consider, in all its length and breadth, the important proposition that society can and should seriously undertake the artificial improvement of its condition, upon scientific principles strictly analogous to those by which the rude conditions of Nature have been improved upon in the process which we call civilization."

Accordingly, after a very interesting chapter, in which the attitude of Nature towards man and of man towards Nature is discussed, and in which such doctrines as those of divine free-will, predestination, "depravity," and optimism are adverted to but to be dismissed—in which, further, phenomena are classified as genetic (*i.e.*, physical and unconscious) and teleological (*i.e.*, psychical and conscious), and the direct and indirect methods of conation are stated and defined—we are brought to the six theorems of dynamic sociology, to the discussion of which the remainder of the work is devoted. These are: (1) Happiness is the ultimate end of conation; (2) Progress is the direct means to happiness; (3) Dynamic action is the direct means to progress; (4) Dynamic opinion is the direct means to dynamic action; (5) Knowledge is the direct means to dynamic opinion; (6) Education is the direct means to knowledge. The proposition that *happiness* (for which term Mr Ward desiderates a milder equivalent such as *bonheur* or *Glückseligkeit*) is the ultimate end of all conation brings us to the discussion of utility. We need scarcely say that Mr. Ward is

a strong utilitarian. It may be asked *why* do we want virtue; but nobody thinks of asking what we want happiness for. Happiness is "complete and final in itself." This is true enough, but when Mr. Ward goes on to say that "an action is right if its ultimate results upon *all* beings within its influence, and capable of feeling the effects of that influence, are of such a character as to produce more pleasure than pain, or relieve more pain than they occasion," we may ask what do we want with the happiness of others, and why should we act for any happiness except our own? Obviously it must be shown that by acting for the greatest good of others we are at the same time acting for our own greatest good; but this link (which is, no doubt, more important for Ethics than for Sociology) Mr. Ward fails, we think, to supply. But admitting, as we surely must, that happiness is the ultimate end to which all the social forces—*i.e.*, *desires*—tend, we find that the problem of dynamic sociology is "the organization of happiness," the question whether society, in its corporate capacity, may not devise measures which, from their inherent character, must have as their natural result to enhance the general sum of happiness among its members. We have, therefore, a chapter upon social progress, which is defined to consist in whatever increases the sum-total of human happiness. Here certain non-progressive agencies are discussed, among which are classed Government (which has failed to "ameliorate" society, though it may both "protect" and "accommodate" it) and Religion. As to the first of these it is the duty of Society—

"throwing off the yoke of *Government* in the odious sense of this ill-conceived term, to establish a truly progressive agency, which shall not only be a product of art, but shall itself be an art. . . . The present empirical, anti-progressive institution, mis-called the art of government, must be transformed into a central academy of social science, which shall stand in the same relation to the control of men in which a polytechnic institute stands to the control of Nature."

Passing by the very interesting remarks upon religion and its position with regard to science, we come to the chapter on "Action." Dealing with voluntary actions, which are divided as *impulsive* and *deliberative*, Mr. Ward comes to speak of the *will*. This, he contends, is nothing more than desire. "To desire is to wish, and to wish is to will." But there are two sources of desire—*sensation* and *perception*. Perception isochronous with sensation, conveys to the mind a *conception* of the *qualities* of the object. Hence results a judgment of the intellect or an opinion, and "opinions are generally legitimate causes of desires." Now, suppose a man to have a glass of spirits placed before him. The sensation may produce an impulsive desire to drink, but at the same time the *conception* gives rise to a deliberative judgment of the intellect. This judgment is an opinion. An opinion begets desire. If his opinion is that to drink would cause more pain than pleasure, the only desire that could spring from such an opinion (since every desire is to seek pleasure or to avoid pain) would be to refrain from drinking, and if this were stronger than the desire to drink, he would not drink. In any case, therefore, of a conflict of desires, the result depends solely upon the relative strength of the desires. The strongest desire must

prevail. "It is not the *man* who fights the battle and decides the issue, it is the forces within him." There is, therefore, no more free will in a man than in a dog, and "no one ever talks about the free will of a dog." Human action, therefore, is the product of fixed laws, for which there is no personal responsibility; neither is there any absolute good or bad, these qualities being relative to the benefit or injury done to beings susceptible to pleasure and pain. In all this, and in such statements as the following—viz., that no one ever does what he believes to be wrong in the case of *rational* or deliberative actions, but only in the case of *impulsive* actions, there is much to criticize did space allow of it. We must, however, content ourselves with saying that Mr. Ward appears to us at times to forget that *acts* in themselves cannot be either right or wrong, the whole question whether the agent does right or wrong being decided by his state of mind at the time. We must add that Mr. Ward's observations upon Free Trade at the end of this chapter appear to us to indicate that he has never thoroughly mastered the principles of that system. Passing now over the chapter on Opinion (where we agree with the writer, who here follows Bain and Lewes, that the verification of truth consists in the recognition of identity under varying external aspects), and the chapter on Knowledge, we come to the very important subject of *Education*, the initial means to the ultimate end, such that if it be secured, all the intermediate proximate means to that end, progress, action, opinion, and knowledge, must result from it, and may, therefore, be left to take care of themselves. Education may be regarded as a systematic process for the manufacture of correct opinions. Let the sentiments, opinions, and ideas of society be changed, and the character of its actions will be correspondingly changed. Instil progressive principles, no matter how, into the mind, and progressive actions will result. Here we are glad to find that Mr. Ward strongly dissents from the views expressed with such curious emphasis by Mr. Herbert Spencer upon the subject of compulsory State education. Mr. Spencer's utterances upon this question have always seemed to us to show that the thoughts of this great philosopher, though their channel is frequently so profound, do yet sometimes flow in somewhat shallow streams. The education advocated by Mr. Ward is the education of information, and may be defined as a system for extending to all the members of society such of the extant knowledge of the world as may be deemed most important. Education must be universal. It must be equally and universally diffused. The distribution of knowledge underlies all social reform, and in discussing this, the *initial means*, it is more to the point to insist upon the contrast in society, as it now exists, of civilization and barbarism, intelligence and ignorance, than upon that between wealth and indigence, "progress and poverty." Education, therefore, must be equalized, and Mr. Ward gives some excellent reasons why it must be compulsory, and undertaken by society itself—*i.e.*, by existing governments, or their better substitutes in time to come. A consideration of the matter, means, and method of this education brings to its conclusion a work from which all readers,

whether or not they agree with the doctrines therein expounded, cannot fail to derive benefit, more especially if they are capable of bringing to its consideration a mind divested of prejudice, and only desirous of the truth. *Initiatos nos credimus* is the motto of mere charlatanism. *In vestibulo haeremus* should be that of philosophy, and especially of students of the Social Science. The volumes have a good index, which adds immensely to their value, but we must enter our protest against the use, *ad nauseam*, of the objectionable words "former and latter." Scientific writers, above all others, should take a hint from Macaulay, and learn that the repetition of words, while it secures clearness, does not really detract from elegance of style.

In conjunction with Mr. Ward's social dynamics, considerations of order require that we should consider M. Paul Mougéolle's "*Statique des Civilizations*." We have seen that the American writer starts from the ultimate atom in order to lead us thence, through various stages of aggregation, to the problems of society and civilization. The French author, on the other hand, is content to leave on one side "*le problème encore si obscur des origines*," and without attempting to follow man back to his first appearance on the globe, he takes humanity at that moment when civilization began to dawn, and human intelligence to shed its light upon the world. He commences his work with a consideration of the two different theories which have been propounded to explain the progress and development of the human race. These are: (1) the anthropocentric system; (2) the system which supposes the subordination of man to his environment (*milieu*). He points out, as others have pointed out before, that historians nearly always endeavour to explain the diverse phenomena which have attended the rise, progress, and decay of the various branches of the human race by referring them all to the inequalities of the human intellect, and the varieties of human genius. "*Ils ont fait de l'homme le point autour duquel tout gravite, le centre vers qui tout converge*," until, in the words of Carlyle, universal history becomes nothing but the history of the great men who have laboured on the earth. And among great men there is always one who eclipses all, "*car il a pour lui le génie de la naissance*;" and thus the history of nations becomes merely the history of their king. Further, "*cette conception du souverain mène tout droit à une autre du même genre, celle de la Providence, qui gouverne l'humanité absolument comme les rois gouvernement leurs peuples*." Thus, setting out with an exaggerated notion of the dignity of human personality, these theorists, by an anthropomorphic transference of ideas, end in the complete subordination of man to an arbitrary interfering power. All this is discussed also by Mr. Ward who, in the work which we have just noticed, shows how curiously the notions both of "optimism" and of "depravity" have grown out of this same idea of a Providence; who maintains that "anthropocentric ideas are essentially immoral," leading (amongst other evils) to "the enormous faith of many made for one." M. Mougéolle, like Mr.

* "*Statique des Civilizations*." Par Paul Mougéolle, ancien élève de l'école Polytechnique. Paris: Ernest Leroux. 1883.

Ward, is an advocate of the second theory—viz., “The subordination of man to his environment, which, in the wonderful development which it has received at the hands of Mr. Darwin, Mr. Herbert Spencer, Professor Hækel, and others, we are accustomed to denote by the term “Evolution.” M. Mougeolle, however, associates with this theory as the first writers on human history and institutions who stood up to do battle with anthropocentric notions, the names of Montesquieu, Herder, and Buckle. “Après Montesquieu, après Herder, il n’y a qu’un nom à citer, celui de Buckle.” It seems surprising that he does not with these name, at any rate, Lamarck, who introduced the very word, *milieu* (subsequently adopted by Comte), which plays such an important part in M. Mougeolle’s discussion, and in whose expression “milieux environnants” we seem, as Mr. Ward points out, to see the origin of Mr. Spencer’s excellent word “environment.” To proceed. Starting, as we have said, with the dawn of human civilization, M. Mougeolle remarks that the student can either follow this civilization as a whole in its general movement and upward progress, or fix his attention on its particular developments and local manifestations, and endeavour to ascertain the laws of their distribution over the face of the earth:—

“Dans le premier cas, on fait une intégration, dans le second, une différenciation. Dans l’intégration, ou plutôt dans l’évolution, car c’est ainsi qu’on appelle cette partie de l’histoire, on ne tient compte que des ressemblances, on les ajoute, et à l’aide de matériaux pris un peu partout, on construit l’édifice de la civilisation; dans la différenciation, au contraire, négligeant les similitudes, on fait ressortir les contrastes, on classe les divers matériaux suivant leur valeur et suivant leur provenance. . . . C’est un problème de différenciation que nous abordons. . . . nous proposons de rechercher les relations qui peuvent exister entre les diverses civilisations et le milieu où chacune d’elles s’est développée: cela revient à étudier l’empreinte de chacun de ces milieux sur l’homme.”

He then shows that this investigation has both a *statical* and a *dynamic* side, but we note that the dynamic action of man to which he makes reference seems to correspond rather with the *passively dynamic*, than with the *teleologically dynamic* of Mr. Ward. It is concerned with such questions as the modification of the conditions of man’s existence occasioned by the movements of races from one locality to another—for instance, “Ce beau mouvement d’expansion Européenne, qui s’appelle la colonisation Américaine.” These and like subjects M. Mougeolle reserves for another work, in which he purposes to discuss the dynamic side of “le problème de la différenciation des civilisations.” The investigations of M. Mougeolle lead him to the same conclusions as those arrived at by Mr. Ward:—

“L’homme est un parasite de la terre, la terre est un satellite du soleil, le soleil est une étoile comme les autres, et les étoiles ne sont que les atomes des nébuleuses: l’homme n’est donc rien dans l’univers. Ce que nous prenions pour notre royauté n’était que l’illusion d’un beau rêve: comme dit le poète, ‘nous sommes de la matière dont on fait les songes.’”

We feel irresistibly tempted to change one vowel, and read *singes* for *songes*. Further—

“L’erreur des psychologues, lorsqu’ils veulent prouver que l’homme est libre, consiste à prendre des possibilités pour des réalités. Il ne s’agit pas de savoir ce que l’homme pourrait faire, mais ce qu’il fait: la possibilité n’a jamais existé que dans le cerveau des métaphysiciens.”

In illustration of this view he gives, amongst other things, the statistics of marriage, which show that these, instead of being dependent on human free-will, take place in accordance with fixed laws, and preserve an almost unvarying proportion to the population.

“Les mariages, qui de ces trois groupes de faits—(*viz.*, naissances, mariages, décès), sont ceux qui paraissent déterminés le plus par le caprice individuel, sont précisément ceux qui se reproduisent avec le plus de constance.”

Nay, the statistician can predict almost to a nicety how many murders, suicides, robberies, there will be in a year.

“Et l’homme assassinera, il se suicidera, il volera, pour ne pas faire mentir mes affirmations. Bien loin d’être une force indépendante, l’homme est réglé jusque dans ses caprices et dans ses fantaisies; dans toutes ses actions il obéit à des influences qu’il n’est pas maître de suivre ou de repousser.”

Thus “Derrière l’individu s’agitent des influences toutes puissantes, qui, à son insu, déterminent ses idées, conduisent ses pas, dirigent toutes ses actions. L’homme s’agite, le milieu le même.” Of course the principle of heredity is fully recognized. “Nous ne sommes le produit du milieu qu’à travers les influences ancestrales.” M. Mougeolle, however, in this work, is engaged, as he tells us, in the study not of man, but of his work, civilization and “la civilization est fonction du milieu.” He, therefore, passes on to consider “la fonction.” Here he quotes Herbert Spencer, to the effect that societies are organisms, and “les sociétés étant des organismes, elles ont dû s’élever à la civilisation, absolument comme les êtres vivants se sont élevés vers la perfection.” Mr. Spencer, however, admits, as Mr. Ward points out, that “the analogies between society and organic beings possess no further significance than that of showing the mutual dependence of parts displayed by both.” Considering “le milieu,” under the head of “la variable,” M. Mougeolle reduces it for his purpose to two factors, “la terre qui nous porte, et le soleil qui nous éclaire.” We must, however, refer our readers to his own pages if they wish to follow him in his discussion of the “Influences solaires,” and “Influences terrestres.” It will be seen that he agrees with Mr. Ward in considering society to be governed by forces which are capable of reduction to the exact laws of science.

The science of Jurisprudence has made considerable advances in this country since the days of Austin, for which we are chiefly indebted to the historical investigations of Sir Henry Maine; while here, too, modern students, beginning to appreciate the advantages of the comparative method, have wisely turned their attention to the very valuable works of the German jurists. Mr. Lightwood,³ writing in the light of these contemporaneous authorities, tells us that “it has now in several

³ “The Nature of Positive Law.” By John M. Lightwood, M.A., Fellow of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and of Lincoln’s Inn, Barrister-at-Law. London: Macmillan & Co. 1883.

ways become evident that the idea of law upon which Austin founded his system of jurisprudence cannot be accepted as final, but must be treated as only a first approximation, valuable, indeed, but defective, and therefore requiring to be supplemented by further inquiry." This work, therefore, may be regarded as a modern exposition of the "idea of law"—that is, "Positive Law"—involving a criticism of Austin, although Mr. Lightwood is careful to express his high sense of the obligations which we are under to one who may contest with Bentham the honour of having founded whatever of scientific jurisprudence we possess. Now, Austin's explanation of positive law was this: A law, he said, is a command proceeding from the sovereign power in a political society, and enforced upon the subjects by means of a sanction, "by the threat, that is, of some evil which the sovereign, in virtue of his superior power, intends to inflict in case of disobedience." A law thus defined he calls a *positive* law, to distinguish it from what are known in popular language as the laws of God, moral laws, and natural laws, which he says are improperly called laws. "A positive law is said to impose a duty upon the persons to whom it is addressed as a command, and it may confer a right upon some other person or persons in whose favour it is issued." Mr. Lightwood refuses to adopt the "sovereign" and "sanction" theory. He sees not only indignity, but also "a grave political danger" in resting jurisprudence as a science "upon a temporary and unworthy basis." "It may," he says, "be impossible ever to separate it (Law) from that physical force which supplies its sanction, but this is no reason for making law in its purest form dependent on that force." Accordingly he takes us to Primitive Society, as revealed by the investigations of Sir Henry Maine among village communities, in order to see "whether the idea of a sovereign and of force are elements of the first order in the idea of law." Here we must, in passing, express our dissent from the view that "recent investigations lead us to regard the *primitive man* as a member of an organization which, however hostile may have been its relations to other similar organizations, was yet internally in a condition of settled peace and order." We have already more than once touched upon Sir Henry Maine's theory of the origin of society, and we will not dispute his position that primitive *society* is to be found in the "Patriarchal" system (though we do not yet accept it as an absolutely established hypothesis), but we hold it quite erroneous to speak of primitive *man* as a member of such "an organization." If we adopt the theory of the evolution of man through *anthropoid* apes, we must certainly suppose that he passed through many stages before he reached the comparatively high one which we call the patriarchal. We have said thus much because this patriarchal theory, with all its merits, is, we conceive, in danger of being pushed too far by its too enthusiastic admirers. In the village community, however, which grew out of the patriarchal system, we have, it is very plausibly said, the origin of customary law. But this law arises from an unconscious adaptation of man to his surroundings. It is, as Mr. Lester Ward would say, *genetic*, and not *teleological*, as is man's

conscious adaptation in an advanced state of society, which is the source of scientific Statute Law. Now to this customary law it is said the Austinian analysis is not applicable. Such law does not emanate from a sovereign; it confers, it is said, no rights, though it may impose duties, and "more than all," says Sir Henry Maine, "customary law is not enforced by a sanction. In the almost inconceivable case of disobedience to the award of the village council, the sole punishment, or the sole certain punishment, would appear to be universal disapprobation." Now, as Mr. Lightwood points out, Austin clearly separates legal from moral rules. "The legal rule is imposed by a human sovereign, and is enforced by a legal sanction." Then he asks, is there anything in this customary system, as we have just described it, which corresponds to our modern ideas of law? "If so," he says, "it is clear that we must seek elsewhere for the distinction between law and morality than in their source and in their sanction." We think the advocates of Mr. Austin might answer that law, as he understood it—law according to "our modern ideas"—is *not* to be found in this customary system, or only to be found so far as the people collectively, or their heads, constitute a sovereign power, and so far as the fear of "universal disapprobation" constitutes a sanction. Mr. Lightwood, however, differs altogether from Austin's grounds of distinction between law and morality. He contends that "the distinction is to be sought not in the source or the sanction of the rule, but in its subject matter; the rule of law is merely appendant and supplementary to the rule of morality." This idea he subsequently enlarges upon:—

"The rules of law," he says, "are intended to supply that information which is essential to be known before the rules of morality can be observed. When we say, generally, that theft is forbidden, and contracts are to be fulfilled, we by no means make the path of duty clear. The questions arising from the complicated division of property, and from the different degrees of strength attributed to agreements, as well as from other matters connected with them call for some definite regulation. . . . Hence we see that to each of the great rules of morality which protect the person, the property, and the contracts of the individual, we have a whole department of positive law added in order to supplement them and make their performance possible."

And, further,

"So long as the various influences that work upon the individual are such as to incline him to keep all the moral rules, he will keep all the legal rules as well, provided, that is, that he has confidence that those who enact the legal rules are fitted to do so. In this case, we have morality and law existing side by side, and their domains are perfectly distinct."

He claims, therefore, to have defined the province of Law, and divided it into various departments, without adverting to the ideas of command and sanction, the only idea which he has introduced being that the affairs of society require, in many parts, regulation. In place of Austin's explanation he suggests "that a law is a rule explanatory of a rule of morality, ascertained by a proper authority, and resting upon the assent of the community." We are not quite prepared to give an

unqualified assent to all this. To take an instance supplied by Mr. Lightwood: "A rule of morality says, 'Thou shalt not steal;' the rule of law draws the line between my property and yours in order that we may know how to observe the rule of morality." Now the ordinary idea is that while morality limits itself to saying, "Thou shalt not steal," law goes on to say, according to the vulgar rhyme,

"He that steals what isn't hisn,
When he's cotched he's put in prison!"

or, to speak more seriously, the law of larceny adopts the precept of morality, and enforces it by a sanction. But what is the true basis of all morality and of all law? We answer utility—"the greatest happiness of the greatest number." And this is equally true of those subsidiary rules, explanatory of and auxiliary to morality, to which Mr. Lightwood limits the sphere of law. If these laws are truly based upon the interests of the community, it is immoral to infringe them. Nay, it is in the great majority of cases immoral to break a law, however ill-advised, because it is the interest of the community that all its laws should be obeyed. Holding that there is no absolute right and wrong, or, what is the same thing, that these absolutes exist only in the sphere of the unknowable, we shall see that the distinction between *mala prohibita* and *mala per se*, is merely superficial. If it is against the interests of the community to land spirits without paying duty, it is *qualitatively* just as much an evil—*i.e.*, an immoral act—to smuggle as to steal or murder. In each case the evil is the same in *kind*. Now, in order to protect its own interests society, through those whom it delegates to act on its behalf, decrees that those rules of morality—*i.e.*, of utility—which it deems most necessary for its own security, order, and well-being, shall be enforced by pains and penalties. When it is said that "no sovereign in a modern community is able to enforce his commands if the sanction has to be called in to his assistance frequently; if, that is, the number of people who only obey his command through fear of the sanction, form a considerable portion of his subjects," the answer is that the real sovereign power is the people, and if the commands of law are found not to be in harmony with the will of the people, they, in the exercise of their sovereign power, must alter the law. This, too, answers another objection. The people collectively are above the law, but individually they are subservient to it. All this points to the conclusion that the subject-matter of law and morality is the same; each seeks the same thing—*viz.*, the happiness of the community, although morality concerns itself with much that law regards as beyond its sphere; and whilst morality seeks to secure obedience by teaching men that their own happiness is therein involved, law depends for its enforcement upon the force to which it can in the ultimate resort appeal, though as Sir Henry Maine says, that force is latent because it has been transformed into law-abiding habit. Mr. Lightwood would rest law not upon force, but upon "the assent of the community," or as he elsewhere puts it, "upon the sense of right which resides in the

people at large—in other words, the national conscience.” But it seems to us that it is not upon this basis that the *Science* of Jurisprudence must rest. Practical legislators may be guided by that varying factor, public opinion, but the Science of Jurisprudence must be set upon the permanent basis of utility. As for those subsidiary rules of which Mr. Lightwood speaks, since they too must have nothing but utility for their basis, they also enter into the field of morals (since to disregard them is to run counter to the interests of society), but in so far as they are enforced by a sanction they are rules of law. As to International Law, perhaps that can never have its proper place in the system until the fourth stage of Society, anticipated, as above mentioned, by Mr. Lester Ward, is at length attained to. These remarks are intended to be suggestive only of considerations upon which we have not space to enter. We must not be understood as implying that Mr. Lightwood falls short in his appreciation of the principle of utility; on the contrary, he states this as broadly as we could desire. Thus: “the ultimate object of all rules is to secure to each individual the largest amount of pleasure.” Further, we cordially agree with his criticism of Austin’s *deus ex machinâ*—“the law of God;” and with his reflections upon the shortcomings of Austin’s “Sovereign,” we have much sympathy. We have only to say in conclusion that, although Mr. Lightwood modestly disclaims originality, the book is nevertheless replete with vigorous and original thought, and we hail it with pleasure as an additional testimony to the strong vitality which now prevails in the once despised domain of English Jurisprudence.

If there is a field in which, what Mr. Lester Ward would call, the “ameliorating” functions of Government might be exercised with the utmost profit to society, it is the field of land law reform. We have, indeed, just passed an Agricultural Holdings Act, which will do much towards putting the relations of landlord and tenant upon a better footing; but assuredly much still remains to be done. Land in this country is still burdened by settlements and entails, and so long as this is the case, there can be no free land market, and that great *desideratum*, a rational mode of transfer by means of registration of title, is an impossibility. Now upon all those who wish to form sound opinions as to what ought to be done in England with reference to our land laws, we strongly urge the necessity of making themselves acquainted with the land systems of other countries, for here especially is the comparative system most valuable in removing narrow and insular prejudices. We, therefore, cordially welcome Mr. Justice Field’s contribution to the literature of this question.⁴ Mr. Justice Field (who must not be confounded with the English Judge of the same name) passes in review the various tenures and systems of landholding that prevail throughout Europe (including European Turkey),

⁴ “Landholding and the Relation of Landlord and Tenant in various Countries.” By C. D. Field, M.A., LL.D. Of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-law, and of Her Majesty’s Bengal Civil Service. A Judge of the High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal. Formerly Scholar of Trinity College, Dublin. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co. 1883.

in Asiatic Turkey, in the United States of America, in Australia, and in New Zealand. He is, of course, obliged to limit his observations in consideration of the wide field which he traverses, and his essays are, therefore, somewhat curtailed. With regard to France, for example, his chapter is compressed to the "irreducible minimum." There are, however, two notable exceptions to this perhaps salutary rule of brevity. A late scholar of Trinity College, Dublin, and, if we mistake not, a native of that country, Mr. Field has devoted a large share of his work to Ireland. We are certainly not disposed to regret that he has done so, and we should recommend all who have not yet studied the vexed Irish land question as a whole, to read Mr. Field's *resumé* of the history of that question from the earliest times to the present day. The second exception relates to India. About half of the bulky volume before us relates to that country, and it is here that the really important part of Mr. Field's work is to be found. The writer's long experience in India, the active and various services which he has performed in Lower Bengal, the great interest which he has taken in the land question, the fact that he was (as he tells us in his preface) appointed in 1879, by the Bengal Government, to prepare a Digest of the Law of Landlord and Tenant in the Provinces under the administration of that Government, and that it devolved upon him, as a member of the Bengal Rent Commission, to draw up the report of the Commission, and prepare the Consolidating and Amending Bill, which has, since 1880, been under the consideration of Government, and which, in a somewhat modified form, but based to a considerable extent on the draft and report of the Rent Commission, has been lately introduced into the Legislative Council of India—all these things testify to the high qualifications which Mr. Field (who has now been for some three years a Judge of the highest Court in India) possesses as a writer upon the land systems of India, and especially that of Bengal. At the present time, too, when the relations that subsist between the *zemindars* and the *raiyats* are attracting so much attention in this country, his really valuable chapters will be especially welcome. It is now generally admitted that in the "Permanent Settlement" of 1793, we were guilty in India of the kind of error of which so many examples are unfortunately afforded by the history of Ireland—viz., the error of trying to "govern according to English ideas," in a country to which such ideas are eminently unsuited, and in ignorance or disregard of the habits, customs and prejudices of the people. The Permanent Settlement was, as Mr. Justice Field says, "a mistaken attempt to introduce into India the English system of land-holding." When we came to the country we found the *raiyats*, the cultivators of the soil, paying a proportion of the produce to the Mahomedan Government. The *zemindars* collected this revenue from the cultivators, and were responsible for paying it to the Government. That they had "vested interests," that their office had become hereditary, is not disputed. No doubt also the task of defining the respective rights of the two classes was one of some difficulty. But how did we solve the problem? By declaring the *zemindars*, the middle men

between the Government and the cultivators, to be proprietors of the soil. In this way we at once created a class of "landowners" according to the most approved English ideas, and then, under our English notions and our English law, it followed as a natural consequence that the *raiyats* came to be looked upon as the tenants of these landowners, and that the payments made by them came to be regarded as rent. It was, indeed, acknowledged that the *raiyats* had some rights, but these were left uncertain and indefinite, and Mr. Justice Field quotes Sir Edward Colebrooke to the effect that "The errors of the Permanent Settlement in Bengal were twofold: first, in the sacrifice of what may be denominated the yeomanry, by merging all village rights, whether of property or occupancy, in the all-devouring recognition of the *zemindars'* paramount property in the soil; and, secondly, in the sacrifice of the peasantry by one sweeping enactment, which left the *zemindar* to make his settlement with them on such terms as he might choose to require." In fact, our statesmen fondly hoped that the two classes would, like landlords and tenants in England, adjust all matters in dispute between them by contract! The *raiyat's* share of the contract was to accept the *zemindar's* terms or starve—possibly to do both—while the "landowners," armed now with the powers of distress and eviction, in further pursuance of our admirable English system, proceeded to raise their rents, and otherwise to oppress their unfortunate "tenants," exactly as they saw fit. As in Ireland by the Landlord and Tenant Act, 1860, we enacted that "contract" should thenceforth prevail as between the owners and the tillers of the soil (as though the word of the Legislature was quite sufficient to create contract in a country where the relations of these two classes are, and always have been, really regulated not by contract, but by *status*), so to India we brought our commercial land-system, presupposing capitalist farming conducted with a view to "the normal rate of profit," and actually thought that the relations of *zemindar* and *raiyat* would adjust themselves according to Ricardo's theory of rent! But though the Government in 1793 did not ascertain or define the rights of the *raiyats*, "it saved these rights," says Mr. Justice Field (quoting from the valuable report of the Bengal Rent Commission) "in express terms, and reserved to itself the power to ascertain and settle them at any future time at which it saw fit to do so." And now, when the Government are at length tardily preparing to act upon this saving clause, and to listen to the recommendation of the Commission, who say that whether with reference to the ancient constitutional law of the country, or to the high duty devolving upon Government to promote the happiness and prosperity of the people, the conclusion is the same—namely, that the ruling power ought to determine the rents payable by the *raiyats* to the *zemindars*—now when there is a hope of securing something like justice, something to make life tolerable to the miserable, impoverished cultivator, what is the outcry of the Tory Press? That the Government is about to attempt in India experiments of the same spoliatory and confiscatory description as they have already introduced into Ireland! We trust that this balderdash

is the result of crass ignorance and nothing worse. Meantime, we recommend the writers of such stuff to study side by side the cases of Ireland and Bengal in the pages of Mr. Justice Field, and if they do not benefit by the perusal, they can at least be assured of our sincere commiseration.

Professor Nicholson⁵ offers as an apology for adding to the number of books on the Land Question "the hope that the application of some leading principles of Political Economy to the subject may be of service." "The vitality of popular fallacies," he says, "is remarkable, and the old mercantile notion of trade that one man's gain is necessarily another man's loss still prevails as regards compensation for agricultural improvements. The exposure of this and other fallacies is one of the principal aims of this volume." Assuredly no apology is needed for the publication of this little book, which, though small in size, contains much useful matter. At a time when much wild talk on the Land Question is indulged in by certain persons, whose scorn for political economy seems to rise in direct proportion to their ignorance of its principles, a discussion of some of the aspects of that question, conducted in a calm and judicial spirit by one whose training and position so well qualify him to view it in a true economic light, cannot fail to be of service. Dealing with the subject of Government interference, which some so constantly invoke, others as constantly denounce, Professor Nicholson tells us that, according to the teaching of the best English political economists, the presumption is always against such interference, and in favour of *laissez faire*. "The doctrine of *laissez faire*," he says, "has in recent times obtained a more scientific basis in the theory of development, a theory which has revolutionized the study of history, whether social, economic, or legal." It is very curious to read this sentence after having recently laid down the work of Mr. Lester Ward, who, from the standpoint of an enthusiastic advocate of "development," is never tired of inveighing against this same doctrine of *laissez faire*. Yet, after all, there is not perhaps so much difference between the American Sociologist and the Scotch Professor as at first sight would appear. Mr. Ward would have Government consist of what might be called a committee of society, authorized by its members to do all things necessary and possible for its security and amelioration. Professor Nicholson, if he sees an argument for *laissez faire* in the theory of development, places it on this ground, that "it is now clearly seen that the mere antiquity of an institution is no proof of its expediency in the modern world, it may be simply a survival from the past, a functionless organ that is only an encumbrance. It is seen that a society is progressive in proportion as it casts off the laws, customs, and institutions which are not adapted to its new environment, and substitutes those which are." Hence he subsequently lays down the proposition

⁵ "Tenant's Gain not Landlord's Loss, and some other Economic Aspects of the Land Question." By Joseph Shield Nicholson, M.A., Professor of Commercial and Political Economy and Mercantile Law in the University of Edinburgh. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1883.

that, since the progress of civilization continually imposes new functions upon Government, relief should be sought in the abandonment of functions of relatively less importance. In all this we see abundant reason for getting rid of useless and antiquated laws, but not so much in favour of the doctrine of *laissez faire*. The truth seems to be that safety is to be found half-way between the extremes of both theories. Not only does Professor Nicholson admit that there must be many and important exceptions to the general rule of *laissez faire*, such as the Factory and Sanitary Laws, but, further, it appears to be one of the main objects of his book to show that the principles which amply justify these exceptions are applicable also, under certain conditions, to the relations which exist between landlord and tenant; for instance, in the case of crofters (upon whom, writing in Edinburgh, he naturally bestows much attention), "there seems to be no reason why the principle of factory legislation should not be applied, and the landlord, if he lets his land to crofters at all, be compelled to let it in such portions that an average industrious man may make a livelihood;" a position which he sustains by argument. The case of crofters and agricultural labourers presents a side of the Land Question which we regard as one of the very greatest importance, and at the same time of the very greatest difficulty. "The power of a great landowner is extreme—*e.g.*, as the law stands he can depopulate whole districts, he may evict on social, religious, or political grounds, and, especially in the case of crofter holdings, by means of factors and ground officers, exercise a petty tyranny in the smallest affairs of life." These words contain abundant food for reflection. It is, however, unnecessary to say that Professor Nicholson has no sympathy with extravagant proposals intended to remedy these and other evils. As to Mr. George's Land Nationalization Scheme he has no difficulty in showing that "it rests upon a misapprehension and perversion of economic doctrine, and that practically the proposals which it advocates would do nothing towards effecting the end in view." To demonstrate this, however, he regards as insufficient. The success which has attended the work "points to the fact that private property in land creates a strong though ill-defined sense of injustice in the mass of society, and the sentiment is to be largely attributed to the doubtful privileges accorded by the law to a particular class. The abolition of the laws which give rise to the abuses of nominal ownership, and prevent the simple transfer of landed property, would at the same time allay the popular discontent, and place the present system of ownership on a firmer basis." We believe this to be in great measure true, and that if landowners understood their true interests they would cease to obstruct the progress of land law reform. Professor Nicholson makes some instructive remarks on the principles which ought to govern tenants' compensation for improvements, but they have been deprived of some of their interest by the passing of the Agricultural Holding Act, 1883, which has settled that question at any rate for some time to come.

Mr. Brownbill⁶ informs us that, "some painful events which have happened in the last few years, have made many ask if there is no more satisfactory law for English Christians than that which is provided for them by a Parliament which does not pretend to be Christian." Apparently the "more satisfactory" substitute for Parliament is to be found in the Canon Law, to a study of which Mr. Brownbill invites us. We are to take for our authorities such books as the "Manuale Compendium," of Lequeux, whose statements Mr. Brownbill takes without alteration, "for although some rest on authority not now generally recognized in England, yet they are useful as indicating the direction in which legislation must take place amongst us when the Church regains the use of its legislative powers." And who is to exercise that power? "The legislative power of the Church," we read, "is confided to the bishops, and is exercised in the fullest manner in a general council of the bishops of the universal Church. The laws of a general council are called *canons*, hence the term canon law; the laws of a diocese are called *statutes*." And what of the State? "What then is the force of the laws of the civil magistrate respecting the Church? It is evident that they have, of themselves, *no force whatever*, as regards the Church, even if the civil ruler be a Christian. . . . The State can make laws for Christians only in their relation of citizen, and if its laws contradict those of the Church, they are of no authority as regards Christians." Further, "all laws have a general limit; they are for the public good, and if they are found to be injurious to it, all obligation to obey them at once ceases." Who is to decide whether a law is or is not for the public good does not clearly appear. We presume "the Bishops." The Pope, as the successor of St. Peter, "has inherited the primacy of jurisdiction and honour." He is "the supreme judge of Christendom in matters both of doctrine and discipline," and his words are "infallible," in this sense, at any rate, that there is no appeal from them. As for the laity, "it is their duty to obey, without the responsibility of ruling. They are subject to the general laws of the Church, and are bound to supply the temporal needs of the Church." We do not fancy that many of these principles will be made applicable to the Church of England, "when the Church regains the use of its legislative power." To an Established Church they are clearly inapplicable; and as to the effects of Disestablishment, especially with regard to the position of the laity, we recommend Mr. Brownbill to study Mr. Albert Dicey's article, "The Legal Aspect of Disestablishment," in the *Fortnightly* for last June. For the rest we must refuse to follow Mr. Brownbill through the "weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable" waste of the Canon Law. It is curious, amid the blaze of the nineteenth century, the contemplation of a Divinity student gravely meditating, in collegiate seclusion, how he may bring the world back to the very dim, if very religious, light of the Middle Ages.

⁶ "Principles of English Canon Law." By John Brownbill, M.A., Naden Divinity Student of St. John's College, Cambridge. Part I. General Introduction. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1883.

A new volume of the "English Citizen" Series' treats of the "rights and responsibilities" of Englishmen in connection with India and the Colonies. The difficulties of selection and compression to be encountered when subjects of such magnitude are to be dealt with within the limits of some 160 pages are by no means inconsiderable; but Messrs. Cotton and Payne seem to have not unsuccessfully grappled with the task of extracting from the mass of materials before them those things whereof it is particularly desirable that the "English Citizen" should not be ignorant. As an introduction to further study of the great questions involved, this little volume will be especially useful, though, considered in this light, it would be improved by further references to larger works. Each of the two parts into which it is divided commences with a short historical sketch. This necessarily consists of the barest outline; indeed, in the case of India it has, we think, been compressed to an irreducible *minimum*; but here Mr. Cotton has wisely referred his readers to the short histories of Mr. Talboys Wheeler and Dr. Hunter, the only reference, if we mistake not, that the book contains. It was very necessary, however, to commence with a few pages of history, for history we know is only "past politics," and it may be safely said that no man is qualified to form an opinion upon any question whether of home, foreign, or colonial politics, who has not taken the trouble to study those past events which have led the people under consideration to the position in which he finds them at the present day. With regard to the Colonies, we are accustomed to pride ourselves upon the ties of loyalty and affection which bind them to the mother country, and upon the wisdom of English statesmen which has secured such happy results; yet a very short study of Colonial history will very seriously modify these complacent feelings, and, it is to be hoped, teach us wisdom for the future. We shall see, for instance, how entirely lost was the lesson of the American War of Independence upon some of our wisacres at the Colonial Office, and how nearly those bitter experiences were repeated in the case of other Colonies. Take Canada, for example. What colony could have better relations with the mother country, or be more closely attached to the throne, and how few reflect that when *Te Deums* were sung in the churches on the St. Lawrence in honour of the accession of Queen Victoria the congregations quitted their seats and walked out, and that "before the end of the year several bodies of insurgents were in arms in different parts of the province!" The British Parliament replied to the "Ninety-two Resolutions" by suspending the Canada Act, and placing the country under military rule. "The situation was the same as the situation had been in New England sixty years before." The ignorance of the English people, and the folly of their statesmen, might have once more led to the most lamentable results, had not a

7 "The English Citizen: Colonies and Dependencies." Part I. India. By T. S. Cotton, late Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. Part II. The Colonies. By R. T. Payne, Fellow of University College, Oxford. London: Macmillan & Co. 1883.

fortunate accident revealed to the nation something of the true state of affairs; till at last public opinion was brought to bear upon wrong-headed officials, and the Union-Act, "the principal event in our modern colonial history," was the result. With regard to India, its peoples and its history, it is especially important at the present time that the people of this country should not remain in ignorance, and we are glad to see that Mr. Cotton takes what we conceive to be the true view of the policy which England should pursue in her dealings with the natives. "The Royal Proclamation of November 1, 1858, issued by Lord Canning before the Mutiny was entirely quelled, has always been regarded by the Indians as the charter of their rights." The policy of Lord Ripon, proceeding upon the lines laid down by Lord Lawrence and Lord Mayo, is but the natural development of the principles therein enunciated, and is the necessary result of the changed positions of both the governed and the governing people.

If we wish to amplify these considerations, and to enforce the lessons therein contained, we cannot do better than turn to the pages of Mr. Rowe,⁵ which are indeed calculated to "pour contempt on all our pride." The facts set forth by Mr. Rowe are, he says, "proofs of an apathetic indifference to colonial interests on the part of England's people in times past, and of the unavoidable tendency of colonial government from a distant centre to produce the rapid severance of the tie by which it was sought to bind the colonies in subjection to an English Government department." His remarks are particularly addressed to the advocates of an "Imperial Federation." This, he says, is in fact no new policy, but one which has been pertinaciously tried, and which has always ignominiously failed; "for if there is one broad result that stands out marked as the indisputable outcome of the happily superseded experiment, it is that the more tightly each legislative tie was drawn between England and her colonies, the greater became the enfeebling strain upon it." As an answer, indeed, if any such were required, to those who preach impracticable schemes of Imperial centralization, Mr. Rowe's volume is, we think, complete and crushing; and we cordially agree with him that "only by leaving the free colonies alone to work out their own destinies can we expect to retain them in permanent union with ourselves." Imperial Misrule in Canada; Maladministration of Canadian Land; Transportation to New South Wales; Injurious Emigration Schemes; Denationalization of the Land in Victoria; these are some of the heads under which the author considers those political measures "which, while intended to weld the empire into one harmonious whole, whereof each part should derive its laws from a common centre, were, and under any circumstances would be, so many centrifugal forces tending to disunion between England and her colonies." His remarks on the land question have particular interest. He laments that the English nation, just at the time when it had begun to acquire a certain amount of

⁵ "Bond of Disunion; or, English Misrule in the Colonies." By C. T. Rowe, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1883.

control over its former rulers, the landowners, deemed it wise "to impose upon the Australian colonies measures for the encouragement of a greater and more injurious monopoly of landowning than England herself had been called upon to grapple with. The curse of England, landowning monopoly, was at a penstroke transplanted to the soil of the antipodes. There, alas! it has struck deep root, and may in time furnish, in the sad consequences of an embittered struggle between the aced few and the landless many, the most fitting tribute to the iniquitous folly of English colonial rulers." It is to the land monopoly that Mr. Rowe ascribes the fact that Victoria, though still prosperous, is "relatively to the other colonies less prosperous than she was." Now we should be the last to underrate the evils inherent in a bad land system, but we think in treating of Victoria it is only fair to bear in mind that there are other monopolies in this colony, the monopolies of Protection, and that Free-traders have frequently compared the relative prosperity of Victoria and New South Wales in illustration of the evil results of the Protective system. Mr. Rowe points out that in Victoria—the large landowner and the working man stand face to face. "Each has to oppose the other, and each strives to do his best for himself and his worst for his opponent." This is certainly a bad state of things; but we trust Mr. Rowe indulges in the language of hyperbole when he declares that "The flame may lull for awhile, but it may one day burst forth into fiercer volume, which in its spread may involve the *universe* (*sic*) in vast disturbance!" We should add, in conclusion, that the chapter on "Payment of Members and Colonial Corruption" appeared in the Independent section of our last (July) number.

Mr. Connell's volume⁹ on the "Economic Revolution of India" continues the train of thought which we have just been pursuing. Mr. Connell quotes Burke's famous *dictum* that "the temper of the people amongst whom he resides ought to be the first study of a statesman." We have seen, in discussing Mr. Justice Field's account of the Permanent Settlement, one example of how the customs and prejudices of the people have been ignored by their English rulers. Mr. Connell speaks of the ceaseless activity which pervades all the State departments "in their desire to convert the country to the English gospel of material progress." In acting on English ideas, regardless of the habits, traditions, and ancient institutions of the natives, we are repeating in India (says Mr. Connell) the experiment which has proved such a disastrous failure in Ireland. "Are we willing to run the risk of having another Ireland on our hands—an Ireland of two hundred and fifty millions?" It is from the policy of General Richard and Sir John Strachey—the "Productive Public Works" policy—that Mr. Connell is especially apprehensive of evil. "Utterly regardless of the great gulf fixed between what the late Mr. Bagehot called 'a society of grown-up competitive commerce,' such as

⁹ "The Economic Revolution of India and the Public Works Policy." By A. K. Connell, M.A., Author of "Discontent and Danger in India." London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1883.

that in England, and a society of customary commerce such as that in India, they have transferred 'economical' theories to 'uneconomical' societies, and, instead of establishing free-trade, they have built up the most oppressive monopolies." They have forgotten Lord Lawrence's excellent advice, "Light taxation is to my mind the panacea for foreign rule in India." Free-trade and railways, say politicians of this stamp, have brought England to prosperity; let India, therefore, also have free-trade and railways. But, says Mr. Connell, they have not really given her free-trade, and railways, constructed by English capital, are very different things to railways constructed by the voluntary effort of the people. "If the indebtedness of the agricultural classes is on the increase, if the public revenues are collapsing from loss by exchange and a diminishing opium trade, if public works entail local cesses and famine insurance funds to pay their incidental charges, it would certainly appear to be the height of folly to go on adding to the public debt." As to the land question—

"Anglo-Indians often speak of India's peasant proprietors, but they are a mere fiction of their imagination. In no part of India have the actual cultivators that security which is implied in the idea of peasant proprietorship, though in some parts they may have something approaching to it. Mr. George's scheme for the naturalization of the land is there to a great extent realized, but as the Government is not itself national, and spends a large portion of its revenues outside the country, and must pay its English debts with unvarying punctuality, the interests of the Indian rent-payers are often sacrificed to those of the English rent-receivers."

Unless the Government reverses its present principles of action "India will sink into the condition of a gigantic pauper-warren." Mr. Connell advocates an alternative policy. The Government "must cease to regard its own energy as a substitute for the energy of the people. It must direct all its efforts towards encouraging the self-help and self-restraint of the better class of peasantry, by making the most potent and palpable appeals to the most ordinary principles of self-interest." It must breathe fresh life into the old village system by giving over to local bodies the control of local affairs. Mr. Caird is quoted to the effect that the decadence of the village system is at the root of many of the evils from which India is suffering; and Mr. Hunter is rebuked for his too optimistic eulogy of the newly-formed "municipalities."

"It may be true that we have called into life a thousand municipalities as commercial centres, but on how many of the nearly half-million village communities—the agricultural centres scattered all over India—have we passed a sentence of death? The native population is becoming more and more engaged in agriculture; is it losing the capacity for joint action? Is it invisibly passing into a stage below that of the village—that of competitive animalism?"

We hold that it is good for Englishmen to read and consider all criticisms of the system pursued by our Government in India, and certainly those of Mr. Connell may be pursued with advantage. It is good sometimes to listen to the cries even of "those birds of evil presage" (to quote the words of Sir John Strachey) "which have at

all times grated our ears with their melancholy song." Any position is better than that of complacent ignorance.

Those who desire to acquaint themselves with the arguments of the Bimetallists will find them clearly stated by Mr. Leighton Jordan.¹⁰ We have not space here to enter into a discussion of the question, and shall content ourselves with pointing out the line of argument pursued. "The abolition of the silver standard," says Mr. Jordan, "has raised the value of the standard unit, the pound sterling, thus increasing the value and the burden of the National Debt whilst leaving its nominal amount unaltered." The double standard of gold and silver was practically the standard of value throughout the civilized world from time immemorial to the year 1873.

"All the enormous national debts now existing have been borrowed under that double standard, and for the governments of the world to legislate in such a manner as to establish a gold standard instead of that double standard, constitutes the most gigantic injustice towards the labouring classes, who are burdened with those debts, that has ever been recorded throughout the history of the world."

England inaugurated this legislation in 1816, "just after our immense debt of £850,000,000 had been borrowed under the legal establishment of the double standard," and Germany and the United States have followed our lead. The result is said to be that the gold sovereign is at present worth 15 or 20 per cent. more than the market value of the silver pound, in which the debt could be discharged but for the adoption of Lord Liverpool's system, so that 15 or 20 per cent. higher taxation is required to meet the interest on the National Debt than would be required if that system had not been established.

"The British Parliament first create an immense amount of debt under a certain standard of value; then, in a perfectly arbitrary manner, they change that standard of value. This change brings about an obvious and serious injustice to the British nation to the benefit of the British bondholder, and acknowledged embarrassment and heavy loss to the Indian Government."

To the increase of the value of the pound sterling, so effected, Mr. Jordan attributes, among other evils, the difficulties that have arisen between landlord and tenant. The tenants have not contracted to pay more than their lands are worth, but "the value of their contracts have been increased by the increase of the value of the pound sterling." It is curious that a writer so solicitous for the interests of the tenant and working man, should see "a great confiscation of property" in a measure designed to protect from confiscation the property of the Irish tenant. We fail to see that Mr. Jordan has, as he contends, indisputably proved that the pound sterling has risen 15 or 20 per cent. in value as the result of Lord Liverpool's system. However, the question of the "depreciation of gold since 1840" (which Mr. Giffen has so ably handled), and the causes of its appreciation, which it is said has already set in, with its attendant fall in prices, are matters which would take us far beyond our limits. For some brief but

¹⁰ "The Standard of Value." By William Leighton Jordan, F.R.G.S. Third Edition. London: David Bogue. 1883.

suggestive remarks on this subject we may refer our readers to Professor Nicholson's chapter on the appreciation of gold in connection with the "Landlord and Tenant Question" in his work which we have noticed above.

Among all the questions which distract society there is perhaps none of deeper or more painful interest than that which deals with the treatment of those unhappy beings, the lunatic and the insane. Mrs. Lowe¹¹ has long been known as an ardent and indefatigable assailant of the present Lunacy Laws, and she now comes forward with an indictment, not only of the system, but also of those who are principally concerned with its administration, which, were it only for its startling emphasis and the evident sincerity of the authoress, can hardly fail to attract attention. It cannot be said that Mrs. Lowe has not the courage of her convictions. In this volume, with full knowledge of the serious consequences which may ensue to herself, she accuses, individually and by name, certain of the present Lunacy Commissioners and keepers of asylums (not to mention private persons), not merely of negligence and incompetence, but of the most corrupt and infamous misconduct. "There lies my gage! Let him take it up who dares." Such is her challenge. We certainly hope it will be accepted. Nobody has a right to bring such charges as these against public officers unless he or she is prepared to support them by the strictest legal evidence. This Mrs. Lowe professes her ability to do. If she can make good her professions she will have performed a public service. If not, she should be called to account, and those whom she assails should be vindicated from the very grave accusations which she has made against them. As between the accused and their accuser we will not attempt to pass a verdict. It would be most improper to do so without far ampler materials than are at present before us. As regards the Lunacy Laws, however, we have no hesitation in expressing our opinion. We have long regarded the present system as a disgrace alike to our common sense and to our civilization. We say it is simply monstrous that any man or woman should be liable to incarceration, possibly for life, in a lunatic asylum, upon the certificates of any two out of our 20,000 registered medical practitioners, who may be bribed or deceived, coupled with an order from some third person who may be acting from the most infamous motives. People who think that these powers are not abused merely live in that fool's paradise of ignorance wherein so many good folk, who hate to think of unpleasant things, do delight to ensconce themselves. We must, we fear, own it with shame to be an established fact that sane persons are not unfrequently consigned to the *oubliettes* of our asylums, public and private. As to the Commissioners "merely to catalogue their duties" says Mrs. Lowe (and we think with reason), "is to show the utter improbability of their being efficiently performed even in the limited area of 'the immediate jurisdiction,' and

¹¹ "The Bastilles of England; or, The Lunacy Laws at Work." By Louisa Lowe, late Hon. Secretary of the Lunacy Laws Reform Association. Vol. I. London: Crookenden & Co. 1883.

it is probable that much of the perfunctoriness and the gross abuses that characterize Lunacy Law administration, have sprung from, or been aggravated by, that impossibility." Mrs. Lowe regards their inspection of licensed houses as little better than a farce, and charges them with acting with a view to the interest of the private asylum keeper—"the licensed victualler of the insane" rather than that of the unhappy inmates. There is, too, no personal responsibility upon the Commissioner, all whose acts are shielded by the incorporate "we," and who finds refuge in a report signed vicariously by a chairman who has no personal knowledge of the alleged facts which he authenticates with his signature. Then consider the position of a patient in one of these private houses:—

"In this case alone," says the *Standard* (quoted by Mrs. Lowe)—"the one case in which the prisoner is arrested without public authority—is he imprisoned, not under public supervision, but in the hands and at the mercy of a private gaoler, who receives a large avowed fee, and may—probably does—in all dubious cases, receive a far larger bribe to detain his captive? Such a combination is hardly to be found in the worst police regulations of the worst despotism."

Then we have a picture of houses in the vilest insanitary condition; of patients suffering from all the horrors of sewer-gas; of lady inmates subjected to gross indignities at the hands of male attendants; of letters addressed to trusty friends intercepted and sent to the person who signed the order for admittance, the very person who is too often most interested in preventing these appeals for help reaching their destination. And why, it is asked, have the Commissioners never put in force the penal clauses of the Acts to punish those who to their knowledge (as they confess) have been guilty of these abuses? As Mr. Charles Reade has said, "In England, Justice is the daughter of Publicity," and until the full light of public opinion is turned upon the office in Whitehall, we cannot expect satisfactory results from officials whose proceedings are now enshrouded in a secrecy which is fatal to the public interests. Such is Mrs. Lowe's contention, in support of which she gives details of many typical cases to which we may refer our readers. We have already said that in attacking the Lunacy Laws she strikes, as we conceive, in the name of Right and Justice. We regret, therefore, that she should at times injure a good cause both by ill-advised vehemence of expression, and by arguments of the flimsiest character. Take, for instance, the following:—Mrs. Lowe contends, in opposition to medical opinion, that to make "hearing of voices" a presumption of insanity is illogical and inconsistent with the law of England. People "in the Bible" (to put her contention shortly) constantly "heard voices;" and to deny the truth of the Bible is blasphemous, and therefore contrary to law. *Ergo*, to deny that people "hear voices" now (*i.e.*, real spiritual voices) is contrary to law. "Unqualified reception of the Bible as the pure Word of God is essential to the legal exercise of the rights of British citizenship. He who denies, or even doubts and expresses that doubt 'in the most private conversation,' is by law disfranchised of all except

the right to live." Now anything quite so monstrous as this can hardly be said to have been the law even in the darkest days of blasphemy prosecutions. It certainly is not so now that we have passed special statutes to enable atheists to give evidence in a Court of Justice, and when "Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics" may sit in Parliament; to say nothing of the ruling of the Lord Chief Justice that anybody may publish arguments against the Bible so long as they are *bonâ fide* and couched in decent language. But here is bad logic, as well as bad law. For a man may believe that Balaam's ass spoke, and yet think his neighbour mad for asserting that his own nineteenth century jackass spoke! To say "all spiritualists are mad" may be foolish, but, surely, it is at least equally foolish to say that "so broad a negation of spiritualism is obviously tantamount to a profession of Atheism." We, therefore, venture to advise Mrs. Lowe to give up quoting "Barnwell Creswell" (*sic*) and "Barnett's Alderson" (*sic*), and confine herself to the subject in hand. The Lunacy Laws must be assailed not by such arguments as these, but by the evidence of actual facts, and so far as Mrs. Lowe can adduce and substantiate these, she may count upon public sympathy in the cause which she has so much at heart.

The *Wanderer*, R.Y.S.,¹² sailed from Cowes on August 5, 1880, and returned on July 19, 1882, having been absent 1 year and 348 days, of which she was in harbours 1 year and 68 days, and 280 days at sea. A glance at the chart of the world which is appended to this volume will show that in the course of their voyage round the world Mr. and Mrs. Lambert and their party pursued a track which led them to all those places which, for their beauty or interest, are usually esteemed the goals of the traveller's hope. Lisbon, Madeira, Bahia, Rio, the Straits of Magellan, Coquimbo, the Marquesas, Society, Fiji, and Sandwich Islands, Yokohama, Canton, the Straits of Malacca, Ceylon, Egypt, Cyprus, Rhodes, Constantinople, Athens, Malta, Sicily, Naples, Rome; these are only *some* of the bright spots of the world to which the *Wanderer* carried the white ensign of the "R.Y.S." It must not be supposed, however, that this book is a repetition of the voyage of the *Sunbeam*. In his preface the editor, Mr. Gerald Young (who has compiled these pages mainly from Mr. Lambert's diary, and the letters written by Mrs. Lambert to friends at home), tells us that "the journal is a perfectly simple one, pretending to no literary merit or to any competition with successful publications of a somewhat similar character." It is, in fact, "a record of two very happy years spent afloat, which cannot fail to interest the relations and friends of the 'Wanderers,'" and which will certainly be consulted by any intending traveller who is so exceptionally fortunate as to be able to contemplate a voyage round the world in his own "floating castle." No elaborate scene-painting is here attempted, but the reader is rather referred, where places of special interest are reached,

¹² "The Voyage of the *Wanderer*," from the Journals and Letters of C. and S. Lambert. Edited by Gerald Young. Illustrated by R. T. Pritchett and others. London: Macmillan & Co. 1883.

to the pages of Lady Brassey, Miss Bird, or other recent publications. As to the style of narrative it is, as the editor intimates, for the most part colloquial and quite unpretentious—indeed, rather careless in places. The result of this is at times a little comic. For instance, the following:—“Anchored here we found the yacht *Marquesa* with the owner, Mr. Kittlewell, and *his bride* on board. *She is a nice-looking vessel of 400 tons!*” But since the book aims at being little more than a sort of expanded “log,” we have nothing to complain of. Occasionally, too, we have very pretty pieces of description woven into the thread of what might otherwise be a somewhat monotonous narrative. Here, for instance, is a little picture at the Society Islands:—“We sat in the open air under a verandah close to the pale green sea, with its fringe of white foam, and looked out to the deeper blue of the ocean beyond, and the beautiful mountain peaks of the island of Morca in the far distance. Around us the luxuriant foliage of the palms and many other lovely trees, kept the air cool and fresh, and the white coral beach sparkled in the sunlight.” To us, indeed, the interest of this volume centres in these lovely tropical islands of the South Pacific. Who that had the power (alas! how few have it) would not wish to study life and nature at Fatu Hiva, which seems to be the most interesting island of the Marquesas group? Here we find that “most of the men were naked, some sported a loose fluttering shirt, but to make up for deficiency of clothing they were most beautifully tattooed from head to foot. The women and elder girls wore long, bright-coloured cotton dresses, but no other garment. They had good features, and bright cheerful expressions, and fine agile figures, with dark olive skins. Some of the women had very pretty and delicately-formed hands and feet.” The main produce of the islands, we read—

“consists of dried cocoa-nuts, called copra, edible fungus, and rough cotton, which grows very luxuriantly, and yields, it is said, three to four crops a year. In such a climate, however, with food in abundance, and fruits growing in wanton luxuriance, waiting to be picked and eaten, work seems to have no object; consequently, not the hundredth part of what these islands might produce is grown, the little cultivation that there is being the result of the uncertain efforts of a few runaway European or Yankee sailors, who, mated to native women, and free from trouble or care, live to a great age in these lovely islands, where disease of any kind seems almost unknown. The general impression that we got of the natives was a pleasant one. Seeing them sitting hand in hand, clasping arms in chattering laughing groups, on the look-out for our landing, we felt as if we were going to play with a pack of children, whose gentle gaze seemed to tell us of no anxiety, or of any thought to give intensity to their character.”

“Ancestor worship” is found amongst them apparently (as with most other so-called “savage” tribes), for we find that in their places of burial “bowls for holding food for the corpses lay about, a flask made from a gourd hung from a branch, and two roughly-carved wooden gods surveyed the scene with a sort of drunken solemnity.”

“They seem to have no religion, although gods in stone and wood abound, but

they appear to have no special respect or veneration for them, except when they take them out on a fishing or warlike expedition, when, if successful, the god is made a great deal of, offerings of food being placed by his side, which the priests take good care (like those of Baal) to eat up shortly after; but if the expedition turns out a failure, the god is beaten to pieces with clubs and stones."

As to their conceptions of property and marriage, "their life seems as near an approach to communism as it is possible to conceive, the communistic principle being apparently carried into their marriage customs." It is very painful to read that these interesting races are suffering such ill-treatment at the hands of the French. In the Marquesas, and in Tahiti and *Morea* of the Society Islands, it appears that "annexation and French protection is complete—the consequence being that disease, drunkenness, and immorality are rampant. The land, much of which was once under cultivation, is now abandoned for want of labour, the importation of coolies being prohibited" (we are not sure that *this* is an evil), "or subject to such endless restrictions that no one will run the risk and annoyance; in a word, the islands under French rule are falling from bad to worse. The natives have lost all respect for their own chiefs, who are powerless either to protect or punish them, and cannot but hate their French protector—invader (?)" Mr. Lambert (who is the speaker throughout the narrative) censures the English for having let the Society Islands slip from their grasp, and accuses the French of having broken the convention with this country, whereby the independence of this group, with the exception of Tahiti, was reserved. Under French rule, he says, where the selfish and vicious practices of white men have gone on unchecked, and nothing has been done to stop the feuds and evil habits of the people, "the native population is being rapidly reduced in numbers—so rapidly, that one can easily foresee that in a few years hence their beautiful island homes will know them no more." Far otherwise is it with Fiji under the rule of England. Here, in pursuance of the system inaugurated by Sir Arthur Gordon, "the whole tendency of legislation is to protect the native, the original owner of the soil, and try and civilize him." Yet Mr. Lambert writes, "there is not a single European soldier, except the two or three officers; neither is there any ship of war stationed here." Of the people of Fiji, of their Queen Emma, and of the working of British rule among them, these pages, we are glad to find, present a very bright picture indeed. Cannibalism has yielded to European influences, though of the ex-King Thakombau it is said that he "has eaten hundreds of human beings, and the only favour he now asks of the governor is to be allowed to eat one more man before he dies." Another interesting part of this diary is that which gives some account of that comparatively little known part of the world, Corea. The *Wanderer* steamed down the western channel between Corea and Tsu Sima, "through lovely scenery of a smiling varied nature, wooded hills, with trees that had leaves of scarlet and yellow, past little villages nestling in their shadow, amidst sampans and junks, by rocks with trees that clung to them and seemed to thrive without any nourishing soil, under

a brilliant sun and sky, and sea calm as a lake . . . and all agreed that we had seen nothing in Japan to equal the beauties of this day's scenery." The work is very well and profusely illustrated with coloured plates and wood engravings from the originals of Mr. R. T. Pritchett, the artist of the party. Some may consider the plates a little too gaudy; but we own to a weakness for them, and consider this style of illustration very well adapted for such subjects as are here depicted.

As *Times* correspondent, Mr. Gallenga¹³ has already given the world no little information concerning men and manners in Spain, and he has now published his reminiscences of fifteen years travelling in the Iberian Peninsula.

"My only object" (he tells us) "is to give sketches of the country; to blend the description of localities with remarks on national peculiarities; to bring men and things of Spain before English readers. There is nothing appertaining to that country that may properly be considered extraneous to my subject, nothing, perhaps, excepting Spanish politics; and even these only in so far as it may be possible to dissociate the life of any country from its history, cause from effect, the past from the present."

Although, however, Mr. Gallenga does not attempt to pursue the tangled threads of Spanish politics, it will be found that he has not a little to say of political personages—of Queen Isabella, who seems to have resembled Catherine of Russia,—“whom posterity adores”—in one characteristic only, and yet did receive as a reward from the Vatican the “Golden Rose”—the Pope’s label for women of immaculate virtue—and who soon after appeared as a refugee before the French Emperor, with her father confessor on one side, and her latest favourite on the other: “on the right, her besetting sin; on the left, the easy atonement!”—of Prim, that one figure of real interest, “the man who alone was equal to the task of ruling Spain,” about whom we would gladly have heard more; of Serrano, of Don Carlos, of Amadeo, the King whom the Spaniards found “too respectable” for them; of the Duke of Montpensier, of the young King Alphonso, and others of whom most English readers know the names and little more. Nevertheless the book is, as its author says, “merely a traveller’s book; a companion to those who wish to go abroad; a pastime to those who prefer staying at home.” Light sketches of the country and of its people, such are the contents, wherein, although there is much to please, there is but little, we think, to enable us satisfactorily to answer the question propounded in the preface, “Has Spain really turned over a new leaf?” What there is, however, seems intended to suggest a negative reply. In a country where it has to be asked “what opening can there be for freedom where every path is closed against justice;” where there is no decent criminal system; where the administration is described as “hopelessly rotten” and pervaded by corruption, “which old despotism ushered in, but which has been getting worse and worse

¹³ “Iberian Reminiscences.” By A. Gallenga. Two Vols. London: Chapman & Hall. 1883.

under every form of representative government," and which no new ruler, however upright and well-meaning, can attempt to reform; where there are no men fitted to govern, but swarms of place-hunters; where "the State has no friends;" where "there is no constitution and no statesman, no principle and no person, that has not been tried and always with the same result;" and where the populace has been from childhood degraded by the combined action of priests and bull-fights—degrading cruelty and bigotry still more degrading—in such a country what hope can there be for real serious improvement? "In those priests, and in those soldiers," says Mr. Gallenga, "has been at all times, and, I fear, will for ever be, the bane of Spain." One is reminded of Moore's lines:—

"Then here's your health, my bold hussar,
My exquisite old fighter;
Success to bigotry and war,
The musket and the mitre."

The believer in human progress must simply fold his arms and wait. Meantime we are told that, in spite of all this, "Spain is growing rich; extending her trade, reviving her traffic, sounding the depth of that bottomless pit of her debt. She is at work, and enjoying the fruit of her work." Of the Spaniards, that emotional, excitable people, like woman, *varium et mutabile semper*, now licking the dust beneath the feet of tyranny and bigotry, now driving despots and priests from their shores, with execration and derision; with their lofty dignity, their easy grace and courtesy, their abstemiousness, their pride and vain-gloriousness, their sensuous, superstitious religion, almost too extreme for Rome itself, their indifference to animal suffering, their craving for excitement and amusement, their manifold exaggerations, "all beneath the outward polish of the most consummate civilization," Mr. Gallenga has given us many an interesting picture, and his book may well be recommended to those who would learn something more of this country, so comparatively unknown even to our own nation of travellers.

Mrs. Scott-Stevenson¹⁴ pilots us pleasantly enough through her "Summer Seas," which include the Mediterranean, the Ægean, the Ionian, the Adriatic, and the Euxine. When we have said that this book is as agreeably written as her two former volumes, we have given the authoress no inconsiderable meed of praise. If the readers of these journals find entertainment we think they ought to be therewith content. They have no right to expect profundity of observation. We will, therefore, pass lightly over some remarks where, as it seems to us, light thought goes hand in hand with light reading. For instance, Mrs. Scott-Stevenson found the Greek boatmen extortionate, whereas a certain "old Turk who rowed us to the Galata shore" demanded no more than was his due. "So when people travel in so-called Turkish lands, let them first find out who the people are that cheat them before they cry out against the misrule of the Turk." Now what possible bearing has the relative honesty of Greek and Turkish boat-

¹⁴ "On Summer Seas." By Mrs. Scott-Stevenson. London: Chapman & Hall, 1883.

men upon the question whether the Turkish official classes are fit to be entrusted with the government of Christians, Greek or Slav? While nobody denies the virtues of the common Turk, few will dispute that the vices of those European races that have been under Turkish government (if such it can be called) are the natural result of centuries of a degrading subjection to a semi-organized brigandage. This ought always to be remembered in favour of the Greeks, to whom even yet Europe has never given a fair trial. We are no enthusiastic worshippers of Hellenism; but we are constrained to say that to this people (with all their faults, which are doubtless many) Mrs. Scott-Stevenson seems not a little unjust; as, for example, when she sees a mark of their extraordinary "self-assurance and conceit" in the fact that certain young men—"young counter-jumpers, redolent with musk, and gorgeous in false studs and sham cuffs and collars—would speak familiarly of all the statesmen in Europe by name, without any prefix, and 'Bismarck,' 'Gambetta,' and 'Dilke' would be discussed, condemned, and dictated to as though they were so many Yorghis, Dimitris, and Yannis, and the speaker himself alone worthy of a voice in European affairs." The writer should know that the highest title of all is the absence of any. An ordinary statesman is spoken of as "Mr."; but to be simple "Gladstone" implies a distinction too universal to require the prefix, in the neglect of which Mrs. Scott-Stevenson saw symptoms of Greek absurdity and presumption. Our authoress is at her best when she gives us a description of some "Eden of the Eastern wave" like Corfu. As for Venice, she was altogether disappointed with it. The gondola reminded her of a coffin—by the way, Byron speaks of it as "just like a coffin clapt in a canoe," and saw recommendation in the fact that "none could make out what you say or do." But, at any rate, *barcos* are plentiful, and the *felze* is by no means indispensable. However, Mrs. Scott-Stevenson would have none of it; nor of "the ugly Venetian masts that have been so strangely over-praised." The whole place gave her an impression of "general dinginess," though she learned to appreciate its beauties later on. These are not our reminiscences of Venice; but *quot homines tot sententiæ*. Nobody writes about this "glorious city in the sea" without quoting Rogers' well-known lines; but if Mrs. Scott-Stevenson cannot escape that fatality, why does she make poor Rogers say "the salt sea-mud clings to the marble of her palaces?" It may be true, but it is a little hard on the poet. In conclusion, we must enter our protest against the modern fashion of inflating the "table of contents." Thus, Mrs. Scott-Stevenson tells us that her party "were waiting in Larnaca for the arrival of the Austrian-Lloyd steamer to take us to Smyrna, and on through summer-seas to Venice. The day passed, but our ship never came. On the afternoon of the next day, however, it was signalled." These not intensely exciting events appear at the head of the chapter as "Waiting for the steamer—nearly disappointed!"

Mr. Jarves¹⁵ has published a charming little volume of "Italian

¹⁵ "Italian Rambles." By James Jackson Jarves. New York: J. P. Putnam's Sons. 1883.

Rambles," the fruit, as he tells us, of a long experience of Old and New Italy. Coming from a lover of art as well as of Nature, a venerator of antiquity, and a student of Ruskin, Mr. Jarves's nicely got-up *opusculum* (which is anything but a "guide-book") may be safely recommended to that *rara avis in terris*, the æsthetic tourist. Art, as we know "emollit mores nec sinit esse ferus," and the observations in the last chapter on "New and Old World Manners" may be profitably studied both by the author's own countrymen, and those whom he designates as (*pace* Mr. Freeman) "Anglo-Saxons."

Three pamphlets are before us. In the first, Mr. Dicey¹⁶ shows that, although the apprenticeship in chambers is indispensable for the student who aspires to practice at the Bar, this course should be preceded by a study of scientific law, which can be, and ought to be, taught at the Universities, where also the reform of legal literature can, as nowhere else, be stimulated. In the second¹⁷ the author of "The Evolution of Christianity" has no difficulty in demonstrating the folly of the recent prosecutions for blasphemy, and the retrograde stupidity of those legislators who threw out the Affirmation Bill. In the last,¹⁸ Mr. Longe has a not much harder task in exposing some of Mr. George's economical fallacies. In a second part, however, containing a criticism of Mr. Mill's much discussed Wage Fund doctrine, Mr. Longe is in the main at harmony with the theory adopted by Mr. George, and stigmatizes Mr. Mill's statement of the law of wages as "a confusion of misconceptions."

We regret that the exigencies of space allow us to do no more than notice the following:—"Authors and Publishers; a Manual of Suggestions for Beginners in Literature" (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1883). "The Educational Chart, being a Comparative Abstract of two Antagonistic Systems of Education, the Mathematical and the Æsthetic," by Angus Dallas (Toronto: Hunter Rose & Co. 1881). "The Louvre, a Complete and Concise Handbook to all the Collections of the Museum; being an Abridgment of the French Official Catalogues," arranged by S. Sophia Beale (London: Harrison, Pall Mall; Paris, the Galignani Library. 1883). Two Volumes of the "Thorough Guide Series"—viz., "The Eastern Counties," by C. S. Ward, M.A., Maps and Plans, by Bartholomew; and "The Northern Highlands and Islands," by Mr. T. B. Baddeley, B.A., Maps by Bartholomew (London: Dulau & Co. 1883). "The Yellowstone National Park, a Manual for Tourists." With twenty-four Illustrations, a Plan of the Upper Geyser Basin, and Route Maps, by Henry J. Winsor (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1883). "Education Report of the Minister of

¹⁶ "Can English Law be taught at the Universities?" An Inaugural Lecture, delivered at All Souls' College, April 21, 1883. By A. V. Dicey, B.C.L., LL.D., Barrister-at-Law, Vinerian Professor of English Law in the University of Oxford. London: Macmillan & Co. 1883.

¹⁷ "The Recent Prosecutions for Blasphemy, and the Debate in the House of Commons on the Affirmation Bill." By the Author of "The Evolution of Christianity." Williams & Norgate. 1883.

¹⁸ "A Critical Examination of Mr. George's Progress and Poverty, and Mr. Mill's Theory of Wages." By Francis D. Longe. London: Simpkin & Marshall.

Public Instruction, Victoria, for the Year 1881-2." By authority (John Ferres, Government Printer, Melbourne). "Handbook of Jamaica for 1883," published by authority, by A. C. Sinclair and Laurence R. Fyfe (London and Jamaica. 1883). "Le Vade Mécum de la Politique Française," par le Docteur Bodichon (Alger. 1883).

SCIENCE.

HERMANN MÜLLER'S "Die Befruchtung der Blumen," published in 1873, has long been known as the most valuable systematic treatise on the relation of insects to the fertilization of plants; and now that it is translated and edited by Mr. D'Arcy Thompson, Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, we have no doubt that the "Fertilization of Flowers" will at once be accepted as a classic, and exercise an important influence on the studies of succeeding generations of naturalists. The late Mr. Charles Darwin contributed a prefatory notice, written so late as February, 1882, which sets forth his warm appreciation of the fruitful labours which are here systematically detailed. The book is divided into four parts, termed historical introduction; insects which visit flowers; the mechanisms of flowers; and general retrospect. The historical introduction is an article of 29 pages, which details the observations of Christian Conrad Sprengel on the relations of insects to flowers, the discoveries of Andrew Knight on the necessity for cross-fertilization, and the relations of these earlier writers to Mr. Darwin, with some account of the many admirable researches on this subject with which the great master's name is associated. These plants are classified according to the system of Delpino as they are fertilized by birds, insects, or mollusca. And among those fertilized by insects Delpino's strictly entomological classification is set out; and so, sketching researches in which the spirit of evolution is exemplified, the way is cleared for Part II. This is an article of 33 pages on the insects which visit flowers, and discusses in general terms, and with the aid of figures, the organs of the several natural orders of insects which fit them for the fertilizing function, and for a floral diet. The third part is substantially the book, extending over 500 pages. Though entitled the mechanisms of flowers, it considers the insects by which they are visited, the object of the insect-visit, the mode of transference of the pollen, the attractive peculiarities of the flowers, and other questions of a like character. It would be difficult to convey any conception of the great research which is here recorded. The part commences with the *Ranunculaceæ*, and successively reviews all the available species, and so treats of order after order, giving a summary at the end of each of the more important groups. Many questions of great interest come incidentally

¹ "The Fertilization of Flowers." By Professor Hermann Müller. Translated and edited by D'Arcy W. Thompson, B.A., with a Preface by Charles Darwin. With illustrations. London: Macmillan & Co. 1883.

under discussion, such as the development of colour in different species of plants. The number of insect-visitors to many species is as extraordinary as the paucity of visitors to others. Every page is a record of multitudinous observations, and is a model to the student of brevity in recording natural-history facts. The general retrospect reviews the structures of flowers in general terms. First, among the characters which induce insects to visit them, conspicuousness is obviously important; but odour often compensates for size, since the *Convolvulus arvensis* is more visited than the scentless *Convolvulus sepium*, and the violet is more visited than the scentless pansy. The food-supply which the plant furnishes is also an attraction: pollen and honey, and the sap of succulent tissues, are all sought after, so far indeed that in some cases delicate parts of flowers are devoured. The males of many bees pass the night within flowers of campanula, or take shelter therefrom the rain and wind; just as small *Diptera* seek the flowers of arum. Secondly, the structures of some flowers are adapted to exclude certain insects and to admit others. The great majority of flowers possess contrivances which are adapted to govern the visits of insects. Colour appeals to beetles in a remarkable way, since all the dull yellow flowers are almost entirely avoided by them, while similar flowers with white blossoms, or brightly coloured, are attractive; and it is notable that the dull yellow colours only occur in flowers with the honey exposed. Several bright species of *Dianthus* are so largely visited by butterflies that the honey would be used up by them, even if it were so placed that other insects could obtain it, and the situation of the honey in the flower would seem to be the most important influence in determining the species which is to take it. Odour is another powerful influence. Flowers with a putrid odour attract carrion-flies and meat-flies, but repel other insects. Bees of the genus *Prosopis*, which emit strong odours, are chiefly found in strongly scented flowers, though ordinary bees are chiefly attracted by sweet aromatic perfumes. The scantiness of food, or the way in which the honey is concealed, may restrict the visits of insects to flowers, though beetles and sand-wasps devour the pollen of flowers which have no honey. The nectary protects the honey from rain, and allows a supply to be accumulated; the more the honey is preserved, however, the more difficult it is to find; but when animals with tongues of sufficient length are abundant the plant is at no disadvantage. Coloured spots or lines on the flower point towards the honey, and enable intelligent visitors to find it at once; and the form of the nectary determines the kind of insect by which the plant is visited. Concealment of the pollen would appear to have resulted as a protection from rain, but most of the flowers so formed expose their pollen to a definite group of insects. The concealment is often a protection against the rapacity of beetles and flies, and we find that the honey in flowers with hidden nectaries is usually shared between bees and *Lepidoptera*. It has been concluded by Delpino that the geographical range of many flowers is limited by the range of insects which are suitable for their fertilization. The author next notices those modifications in the structure of

flowers which aid fertilization. The pollen in plants visited by insects is usually such as sticks to the bodies of insects, but such families as scatter their pollen have it smooth and loose, though when the insect's head is moistened with honey, or viscid matter from the stigma, the pollen adheres. Insects in cross-fertilizing flowers, says the author, endow them with offspring which in the struggle for existence vanquish individuals of the same species which are the offspring of self-fertilization.

Different insects have produced the odours, colours and forms of flowers by their own sense of taste, colour and length of tongue. The translator has added a valuable bibliography of some 800 memoirs, to which there is an index. There is an index of insects with references to the plants they visit, and these comprise 843 species of insects which make 5,231 visits to plants. There is also an index of plants with the number of insect-visitors to the species.

Colonel Beddome's "Handbook of Indian Ferns"² is of the nature of a text-book, digested from his own previous works, and the writings of Hooker, Smith and Clarke. His experiences as Conservator of Forests for Madras, and subsequent comparison of the collections made in India with the types in the herbaria of this country, laid an excellent foundation for a work of this kind. The descriptions are ample yet brief, give references to the literature, mention localities, with the height above the sea at which the species grow, and also give the geographical distribution of species and varieties which range beyond the Indian Empire. Illustrations of the genera and of a large number of species are shown in the 299 woodcut plates or groups of figures printed in the text. The figures are among the clearest and best illustrations of ferns that we remember, and add greatly to the value of a work, which is not only necessary to the botanist, but will appeal to numbers of lovers of plants in India who only need such a guide to make their knowledge systematic. The work commences with an analytical table, which sets forth the characters of the orders, tribes, and genera of ferns,* which are adopted, and it concludes with an index to the plates, and a copious index of species and synonyms. It is well printed.

Professor Bentley places before us a structural and physiological botany, based upon the matter of his Manual of Botany,³ and designed as an introduction for less-advanced pupils. It forms a small compact volume of 480 pages, with 660 woodcuts. The matter is well classified, first into the structures of plants, and secondly into their physiology, each of these books being subdivided so as to treat in detail of the several structures of a plant and their life history. The book is clearly written, and calculated to meet the wants of those who need to work systematically through this department of botany.

² "Handbook to the Ferns of British India, Ceylon and the Malay Peninsula." By Col. R. H. Beddome, F.L.S. With 300 illustrations. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co.; Bombay: Thacker & Co.; Madras: Higginbotham & Co.; London: W. Thacker & Co. 1883.

³ "The Student's Guide to Structural, Morphological and Physiological Botany." By Robert Bentley, F.L.S., M.R.C.S. London: J. & A. Churchill. 1883.

Professor Tanner has written a Third Reading Book to aid elementary education in agriculture.⁴ It is a sort of primer of sixty-seven pages, divided into twenty chapters with twelve questions to each. Black type is used to emphasize words in sentences. It is professedly written to complete the range of study appointed under the Education Code in 1882, and is a valuable little handbook from which many older readers than the children for whom it is written may learn much. Like the author's previous works, it gives an account of the soil, the influence of water on organic matter, and the importance of drainage and irrigation, the conditions under which crops are grown, their feeding power and ripening. This thoroughly readable little work is likely to advance knowledge of the theory of agriculture, and we have no doubt it will be acceptable to the general public.

The late Mr. A. A. Vansittart endowed the University of Cambridge with a sum of money to form the Sedgwick Prize, given for an essay on some more or less controverted geological question. Among the many such which the neighbourhood of Cambridge affords, the deposits found at Upware (famous in the memory of all University fishermen) were the subject of the award for the year 1879, gained by Mr. Walter Keeping.⁵ These deposits came to be largely explored owing to the circumstance that certain beds resting upon the Kimmeridge clay were abundantly charged with nodules of phosphate of lime, valuable for the manufacture of artificial manures. Similar beds were found by Mr. Keeping at Brickhill, near Bletchley, and in the memoir before us a detailed description is given of the deposit and its fossils. The work is divided into two parts. The first part, which is geological, describes the sections, the indigenous fauna, the derived fossils, and the relations of the Cambridge and Bedford deposits to other British and foreign formations. The second part of the book is purely palæontological, and gives descriptive notes of the fossils and describes many new species which are figured in the eight well-drawn octavo plates, which accompany the memoir.

The author has taken great pains in the preparation of his work, and has written a valuable geological memoir, giving a useful account of the formation and its fossils, such as might have been printed by a learned society. But whether the age of the deposits is satisfactorily determined as Neocomian, is a problem on which geologists who know the deposit may be left to form their own judgment. We may, however, say that the author's geological principles are those of the pre-Darwinian period. Prior to that time it was excusable to believe in the identification of strata by fossils in the simple form in

⁴ "Elementary School Readings on the Principles of Agriculture for the Third Stage." By Professor Henry Tanner, M.R.A.C., F.C.S. London: Macmillan & Co. 1883.

⁵ "The Fossils and Palæontological Affinities of the Neocomian Deposits of Upware and Brickhill (Cambridgeshire and Bedfordshire)." With eight plates. Being the Sedgwick Prize for the year 1879. By Walter Keeping, M.A., F.G.S. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1883.

which the doctrine was first enunciated by William Smith. But after the continuity of existing and extinct species had been established by Mr. Darwin's work, the migration of life over the earth in past ages and its division into natural history provinces of relatively small area, which change their characters with the succession of geological time, became the inevitable basis of future geological work. Fossils could no longer be used to fix the age of strata, until they had first been used to discover the physical conditions under which the deposits came into existence. But of such philosophical use of his materials we find no indication in the author's work. With him Neocomian is not a name for a life province, which under various forms extended through successive periods of time, but is a name for an age as fixed and definite as a king's reign in history. In adhering to such views the author is in harmony with the majority of British geologists; and, whether the beds be Neocomian or older, the work is one to be commended to all who are interested in the technical questions which it examines.

The second part of the first half of the third volume of Professor Mousson's *Manual of Physics*,⁶ is devoted to the galvanic current. The author divides galvanism into two principal manifestations, the first embracing the conditions incident to the existence of the current, and the laws of its origin, action, and conversion into mechanical, thermal, chemical, and other forms of force. Secondly, there is the external or inductive action; but the present publication is, but for the last few pages, entirely devoted to the first part of the investigation. In discussing the galvanic current, the work is divided into short chapters, which are subdivided into numbered paragraphs. Among the subjects treated of are the open pile, meaning such structures as the voltaic pile; the closed pile, meaning a pile of cells with liquid, the strength of the current, the laws of currents, the resistance of conductors and of fluids, the electro-motor force, and the origin of currents. The second section, termed chemical relations, treats of electrolysis, the movement of fluids, galvanic endosmose, galvanic polarization, and various other matters of practical or theoretical interest. The third section is devoted to the relation of electricity to heat, and among other subjects discusses thermo-electricity, the development of heat, electric light, electric lamps, and the theory of the current.

There are only eight pages comprising the first chapter of the second division, or inductive portion of the subject. The work maintains, in all respects, the characteristics which we have had to admire in noticing earlier portions, and although electricity is a branch of physics, in which the work has many competitors, we can recommend it as the briefest mathematical treatise, as admirably arranged, and expounding the most modern facts and theories.

⁶ "Die Physik auf Grundlage der Erfahrung." Von Dr. Alb. Mousson, Professor an der schweizerischen polytechnischen Schule. Dritter Band. Zweite Lieferung (Erste Hälfte). Die Lehre vom Galvanismus. Mit 158 eingedruckten Figuren. Dritte umgearbeitete und vermehrte Auflage. Zürich: Friedrich Schulthess. 1883. London: Trübner & Co.

Professor Sylvanus Thompson has devoted himself to gathering up and setting forth an account of the life and labours of the late Philipp Reis,⁷ who, while acting as a schoolmaster, invented the telephone in 1860. He failed, however, to get his account of the invention published by Professor Poggenorff, but exhibited the instrument on many occasions in public, when it was lectured upon by himself and many competent physicists. The instrument became distributed over various parts of Germany, and sent to London, Dublin and Manchester. The inventor died in January, 1874, and when, in 1877, Graham Bell's telephones were brought to Europe, the scientific men of Frankfort began to recognize the merit of their late colleague, and in the following year erected a public monument to his memory. Dr. Thompson here presents an elaborate history of the discovery, with sketches of the successive forms of apparatus which Reis used, which leaves no doubt whatever that the instrument was used for transmission of speech. The author refers to Edison's statement of the influence which a translation of a report on Reis's telephone had upon him, and obviously infers that the American modifications of the telephone are built upon Reis's discovery, and Professor Graham Bell acknowledges his obligations to Reis. Many contemporary documents of great interest are here brought together, which help to elucidate the true nature of the discovery and its history. An appendix compares Reis's transmitters and receivers with more recent instruments, and the descriptions of Reis and Bell are finally printed side by side, to show how similar are the claims of the inventors, as well as the language in which the invention is set forth. It would thus appear that to Reis belongs the honour of this remarkable discovery. But it must be conceded that Bell succeeded in enlisting the sympathies of all civilized peoples in favour of his instrument, which has made him a benefactor to mankind, none the less to be honoured because the invention of Reis failed to secure the same happy reception. The book is an interesting chapter of scientific biography, and the writer has abundantly justified the title of his work.

The science of medicine is exceptionally conservative, and it has been rare for any great discoverer to have his merits recognized during the years when his energies could have been used by the public with the greatest advantage to themselves. The conservative tendency is probably the outcome of our constitutional energy, and constitutional vitality counts for so much in the contest with disease, that it is naturally relied upon as not inferior to professed remedies, when happily it is available. A remarkable instance of failure of a remedy to secure universal acceptance is furnished by Dr. Chapman's method of treating cholera,⁸ and

⁷ "Philipp Reis: Inventor of the Telephone: a Biographical Sketch, with Documentary Testimony, translations of the Original Papers of the Inventor, and Contemporary Publications." By Sylvanus P. Thompson, B.A., D.Sc., Professor of Experimental Physics in University College, Bristol. London and New York: E. & F. N. Spon. 1883.

⁸ "Cholera: a disease of the Nervous System." By John Chapman, M.D., &c. London: J. & A. Churchill. 1883.

"Le Cholera: une maladie du Système Nerveux." Par M. le Dr. John Chapman, M.D., M.R.C.S., &c. Paris: Librairie Galignani. 1883.

although fortunately this disease does not constantly force itself upon the attention of practitioners in Europe, it afflicts so large a portion of mankind as imperatively to demand the consideration of many peoples and governments. If, as Dr. Chapman maintains, the international regulations by which governments attempt to resist invasions of cholera are necessarily no defence against its attacks, because the disease is neither infectious nor contagious, then the laws of quarantine enforced against cholera are not only barbarous but involve commercial loss which deserves consideration. Now that the ports of France and other Mediterranean countries have been closed to vessels coming from Egypt, Dr. Chapman has drawn public attention in the *Journal de Médecine de Paris* to his views on the true nature of cholera. These views deserve alike the serious consideration of political economists and the profession, as well as of the general public. If cholera is, as Dr. Chapman maintains, a disease of the nervous system consequent on hyperæmia, induced by climatic conditions, then there is no doubt that Dr. Chapman's treatment will effect a cure. But during the recent epidemic in Egypt we have heard nothing of the ice-bag treatment on the part of our own Government, notwithstanding that some of the leading medical authorities fully recognize its merits. The review of Dr. Chapman's book on Cholera, written by Sir Andrew Clark, which is appended to the letter here reprinted, would alone go far to justify the author in again drawing attention to a theory which is most philosophical, and a practice which is practical physiology. The objection that the number of cases actually treated by the author was too small to justify the acceptance of his conclusions, is met by the fact that the number of persons who die from cholera without having the advantage of the treatment, is enormous. No other remedy can claim a like success with the hot and cold treatment, which consists essentially in the application of heat to the general surface of the body, simultaneously with cold to the spine by means of a spinal ice-bag full of ice; for no other treatment removes the vomiting, purging, cramps and coldness, and other characteristics of cholera. The circumstance that the surgeons and medical officers of Southampton, where his treatment was first tried in 1865, stated that if attacked with cholera they would desire to be treated by Dr. Chapman's method, is strong testimony that it was admittedly more efficacious than anything then within their knowledge. No subsequent discoveries have tended to overthrow this verdict, and although, after nearly twenty years, it was to have been anticipated that a mass of evidence would long since have settled the question, our national interest in overcoming the disease may result at length in Dr. Chapman's views obtaining the consideration which their strictly scientific character should have secured long since.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

MR. SEEBOHM'S¹ insistence on "the importance of a sound understanding of English economic history as the true basis of much of the practical politics of the future," will be agreed with even by those who think that his attempt to set economic history upon right lines is a mistaken one. The point which he has set himself to investigate is this, whether the occupants of the country in the earliest English times were free communities, or communities of serfs; and with this end in view, he has examined the old English open-field system of agriculture with great minuteness. In most parts this has been destroyed by Enclosure Acts, but at Hitchin, a royal manor (at which place the author himself resides), the old ways were kept up till recent times, and the fields were lotted out in strips, each holding consisting of many detached pieces, often as many as thirty or forty. Originally these strips were annually redistributed, and by a process of reasoning from minute facts and indications which it is impossible to reproduce here, Mr. Seebohm concludes that the strips were allotted in proportion to the oxen contributed to the manorial plough team.

"The hide or carucate seems to be the holding corresponding with the possession of a full plough team of eight oxen. The half hide corresponds with the possession of one of the two yokes of four abreast; the virgate with the possession of a pair of oxen, and the half virgate or bovate with the possession of a single ox, all having their fixed relations to the full manorial plough team of eight oxen."

Then the small number of *liberi homines*, or *libere tenentes*, mentioned in Domesday, who are practically non-existent, except in the east, and the more unlimited character of the services in Saxon times, in such manors as he has been able to investigate, are further steps in the argument to show that "however many exceptional instances there may have been of settlements in tribal households, or even free village communities, it seems to be almost certain that these *hams* and *tuns* were, generally speaking, and for the most part from the first, practically *manors* with communities in *serfdom* upon them." Then the Roman *villa* is examined, and found to be practically a manor worked by slaves and *coloni*, and therefore "the most reasonable hypothesis, in the absence of direct evidence, appears to be that the manorial system grew up in Britain as it grew up in Gaul and Germany, as the compound product of barbarian and Roman institutions, mixing together during the periods first of Roman provincial rule, and secondly of German Conquest."

Now that Mr. Coote has taken our municipal institutions and guilds and labelled them Roman, and Mr. Seebohm is doing the same for our agriculture, the "English" school of history will have no place for the

¹ "The English Village Communities." By Frederick Seebohm. Longmans, Green & Co. 1883.

sole of its foot. The theories advocated by the author will require a great deal of confirmation before they will be generally accepted. There is too much tendency to assume that circumstances, throughout the whole of the island, were alike, but the vast number of facts collected, and the suggestions which throw light on obscure points, are extremely valuable for their own sake.

"The history of Scotland," says an English Jesuit of great historical learning, "will always recommend itself as a favourite study to those inquirers who seek to understand the full meaning of the Utopia contemplated by the religious and political reformers of the sixteenth century." As interpreted by the Scotch politicians, such as Murray and Maitland, Utopia seems to have been "the lust of gain in the spirit of Cain," a state of "each land lusting for all that is not its own." And this impression is not weakened by Mr. Stevenson's recent contribution to the immense mass of materials which are connected with the biography of Mary Stewart.

Among the papers which Sir Robert Cotton "acquired" from public repositories (thereby not only destroying their value as legal evidence, but causing indirectly the destruction of many valuable documents which would have been preserved if they had been in charge of their proper custodians), is a fragment of a draft in French of the history of Mary Stewart. Mr. Stevenson, whose work as editor of the "Calendar of Foreign State Papers" has made him thoroughly acquainted with Elizabethan hands, recognized this, in spite of the insufficient description, as the work of Claude Nau, who succeeded Raullet as Mary's secretary in 1575, and continued with her till his arrest a short time before her execution in 1587. It begins abruptly in the middle of a sentence, with an account of a conference between Rizzio's murderers in 1566, and ends as abruptly after the flight of Mary to England in 1568. It is not at all an improbable hypothesis that it was written at Mary's suggestion, if not dictation, to beguile the weary monotony of her captivity, and it certainly shows a most intimate acquaintance with facts and details of events in Scotland, of which Nau must have been personally ignorant. Some specimens of Darnley's faithlessness and brutality to his wife, and the account of the Queen's symptoms when she was apparently poisoned, must have been supplied either by her or by some one in her confidence. That the memoir was written after her death is very unlikely. One fact not mentioned in the correspondence of the period is Mary's giving birth to stillborn twins at Lochleven. This is far more probable than Castelnau's story of her having a daughter by Bothwell, who grew up and took the veil at Soissons. Of course no one will expect impartiality. Charges of conspiring to put the Queen to death are made against Murray and others, and the actions of the reforming party are set out in the worst possible light; but allowing for all this, the new facts and the new details of facts are such that the book cannot be safely neglected by any one working at the period. A translation is printed

² "The History of Mary Stewart." By Claude Nau, her Secretary. Edited by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, S.J. William Paterson. 1883.

as well as the original French, and not always faultless, so that the reader should not omit to look at the original now and then. "Une porte qui fust rompue de la largeur suffisante pour y passer la teste," does not mean that the door was that width, but the fracture. *Bagues* are not exclusively rings, but jewels generally. The following passage is rather long, but as the mistranslation entirely perverts the fact, it is worth quoting. The Queen and her ladies had a game at follow-my-leader to test their power of jumping down a wall, when planning the escape from Lochleven, and then

"l'une de ses femmes de chambre ayant ja saulté, quand sa majesté fust sur la muraille pour sauter après elle, elle eust crainte de se blesser. Ce néantmoins forçant ses forces en cela par la nécessité ou elle se voyoit, elle saulta. Mais ores qu' à demysault elle fust reccue par un des gentilzhommes de la Maison qui la receust, elle se blessa fort à une des jointures des pieds, qu'elle a fort faibles, de sorte que doubtant qu'il ne luy advint en saultant la muraille appoinctée de se blesser de sorte qu' on ne la peust enlever, elle feist advertyr ceulx," &c.

There can be no doubt, we think, that the person hurt was the Queen herself in following her leader, but Mr. Stevenson renders it that the attendant who had already leapt, leapt again and hurt herself. This seems to satisfy the requirements neither of grammar nor of logic, as the last words quoted show.

Besides Nau's narrative, Mr. Stevenson has printed one or two important documents from libraries at Rome bearing on the same subject.

A new and cheaper edition of Gilbert Burnet's "History of His Own Times"³ has recently been brought out, in one volume, a useful book, for nothing will do so much for increasing the study of history as rendering original works of this kind accessible. Unluckily the editor has "altered the spelling and grammatical construction according to more modern usage." The spelling does not matter much, but further alteration is a mistake, as one cannot tell how far it has gone, and surely as the English of James I.'s time is perfectly familiar even to children, there can be no grammatical constructions in the bishop's writing (which is very plain and straightforward) which would offer any difficulty. The editor has appended explanatory notes when necessary, and notices the errors pointed out by Bevil Higgons, and other critics, so that the edition is a very complete one.

We are glad to see also that Mr. Rawson Gardiner,⁴ is republishing his great work, and that two volumes of the new edition are already out. To say anything in its praise is superfluous. Every one who studies history knows how thoroughly Mr. Gardiner has made himself master of his period; how conscientious and how accurate his work; how impartial and how clearheaded his judgment of men and things. Some corrections have been made, and part has been rewritten, in consequence of new sources of information having been brought to light;

³ "Burnet's History of his own Time." Reeves & Turner. 1883.

⁴ "History of England, 1603-1642." By S. R. Gardiner. Vol. I. 1603-1607. Vol. II. 1607-1616. Longmans, Green & Co. 1883.

so that this edition will be much more valuable than its predecessor, and, what is of some consequence, rather a more convenient size for reading.

Mr. Freeman^b has republished several of those papers on English topography which many readers of the *Saturday Review* have been in the habit of putting by as companions for a tramp through the shires; not that they serve the purpose of a guide-book, but that they stimulate the interest in and revive the historical associations which cluster round even our less known towns and villages. The history of our country can never be thoroughly grasped by any one who only knows it as a whole, and is ignorant of the growth of its component parts and their relation to the national life. Knowledge of this kind is best acquired by personal acquaintance with the physical aspect, and the architectural features of different parts of the country, and of the distinctive peculiarities of the corporate or social life in the towns, founded on information which, if Mr. Freeman cannot always give in such short articles as the present, he suggests to those who know where to look for it. There are a few architectural illustrations, slight, but clear and accurate. That of Bradford Bridge, over the Avon, one of the few bridges which retains its chapel, is particularly good. Mr. Freeman need express no surprise at the index to the *Codex Diplomaticus*, confusing two places of the same name; but he need not blame Kemble for it; it is perfectly clear that the compiler of the index was not familiar with the text of the work, and the identifications of names of places are often mere guesses. For instance, one well-known charter about Malmesbury (Meldunum) is referred to Melbourne, in Cambridgeshire.

The "allusive" style in such papers seems rather out of place. Why give average readers the trouble of turning to an architectural work to find out what "the great invention of Spalato" was, in the middle of a paper on Silchester? "The Lion of Justice" is not a recognized name for any English king, nor will it be found in any ordinary English history. This anxiety to find abstruse circumlocutions is like the extempore praying of a Methodist preacher, who, to profanely minded hearers, often appears to be engaged in asking conundrums of the Almighty. The article on Merton Abbey will call attention to the nearest monastic remains to London, outside the town. The Church, too, is said to be the only one in the county with Norman work. Mr. Freeman speaks of it throughout as Merton Priory, an unnecessary antiquarian accuracy, for the present name has more than 300 years of common usage to sanction it.

The "allusive" style of historical writing which has been referred to above is not quite as bad as the "non sequitur" style, of which the following is an example, from what professes to be a local history:—

"Previous to reviewing the old time, I would seek attention to its outcome—that is the customs of all races who, not dying out, become a great tax on the workers, unless they are taught a trade in conjunction with a School Board

^b "English Towns and Districts." By E. A. Freeman, M.A. Macmillan & Co. 1883.

education. In bringing the records of a castle from the time of the Romans to the year 1883, the question cannot be laid aside as to what is a tramp, and the cause which makes him one—a sorrow to himself—a great tax to us all.”

And again: “Cæsar said the population was numerous, 30,000 in 1080, but chiefly Danes.” The only portion of the book which is of any real value, and that is by no means pleasant reading, is the account of the criminals who have suffered at York during the last few centuries, mostly for highway robbery and murder, and some most painful cases of child murder. Captain Twyford speaks of the skin of a murderess being tanned and given away in small pieces, “in compliance with a custom then prevalent in Yorkshire.” Was this allowed by the authorities, or done by the medical men who dissected the body? One would like to know more about the custom, whether these objects were desired merely as curiosities or as charms. There is a plentiful crop of mistakes. Some, like the account of Edwin “appearing in public with the Roman tufa,” being probably due to careless correction of the press; but others, such as ascribing the suppression of the monasteries to the son of the king whose army was victorious at Flodden, are of a deeper tint, mistakes ingrain. Jonathan Martin’s confession of how he set fire to York Minster shows how carelessly public buildings were watched, and perhaps are still. No motive appears in his confession, but his letters to the bishops show an animus against the forms of religion which may have incited him to the deed. It was not theft evidently, though he did take some things he found there. “My God gave me that for my hire, He gave me the silk to make a robe of, like that of David the king; He gave me the velvet to make a cap of, and the tassels to hang down over the right and left ear.” On the verdict being pronounced, he said, “I’m thinking that God ha’ used me very badly.”

Londoners who have had to entertain American friends know how they want to see all kinds of places which the average resident knows little about, and Lambeth Palace is one of them. Students of course know it well, and prefer the quiet of Juxon’s Hall, and the ever-ready assistance and cordial welcome of the accomplished librarian, to the bustle of the British Museum, if the books they want to consult can be found there; but comparatively few, except the foresaid Americans, go to see the house from interest in its associations or its architecture, though Cardinal Morton’s gateway and Chicheley’s water tower must be familiar enough, as some of the few remaining specimens of mediæval domestic architecture in the metropolis. As to the water tower, Mr. Cave-Browne⁶ shows that its common name of Lollard’s tower is not much more than a century old, and that the real Lollard’s tower was at St. Paul’s, as might be expected, as most of the prosecutions for heresy were in the diocese of London. The whipping-post, too, in the “Post Room” is “nothing more than a stay for a failing beam of unusual

⁶ “York and York Castle.” An Appendix to “Records of York Castle.” By Capt. A. W. Twyford, F.R.G.S. Griffith & Farran.

⁷ “Lambeth Palace and its Associations.” By J. Cave-Browne, M.A. Second Edition. Blackwood & Sons. 1883.

span," and the inscriptions and names which are looked on with pious reverence by the faithful Protestant appear, from the style of the letters, to be the work of profane cavaliers and Fifth Monarchy men, who were shut up in "Lambeth House" after the Commonwealth had got rid of its lawful occupant. "Lambeth House" it was called then, for a bishop's palace is properly the residence in his Cathedral town, but since the palace at Canterbury no longer exists, the "Manor at Lambeth" may fairly assume the title.

The Chapel, which has a five-light lancet window of the thirteenth century at the east end, has not been improved in appearance by the ambitious frescoes which have recently been introduced. Their effect is rather to bring down the ceiling than to raise and lighten it. From an architectural point of view, there is nothing in the building to equal the library, originally Juxon's Great Hall, in which the incongruous mixture of ill-understood Gothic forms and Renaissance ornament is compensated for by the magnificence of the open timber roof. The long collection of portraits are well and critically described. Of these Holbein's Warham is the gem, and that of Archbishop Potter, as a child, the most curious in its history. A century after his death, it was in the possession of a Northamptonshire farmer, who only knew by tradition that it represented a boy of six who could read the Greek Testament, and afterwards became Archbishop. This led to its identification, and it was added to the gallery by Archbishop Howley.

As to the so-called Katherine Parr portrait, the resemblance suggested by Mr. Browne to the brass of Lady Howard does not go much further than the head-dress.

The notes at the end of the book about the other archiepiscopal palaces are of great interest and value. One chronological error calls for correction. Elizabeth Barton, the Nun of Kent, was not executed in 1528, but six years later.

"When men continue here long," said a member of Parliament, in 1692, "they alter. They come up hither free men, but here they are made bondmen." Bondmen to Court and party influence, that is, and perhaps short Parliaments would only alter instead of removing the bondage, and make members of Parliament slaves to their constituents and afraid of acting on their own responsibility and according to their own conscience. Then the constant visits of members to their constituencies and the free circulation of political information and ideas keeps the member and his constituents much more *en rapport* than was formerly the case. But still there is no doubt that the general feeling of the country always has been in favour of short Parliaments, and against a practice which came into vogue when the English monarchy became nearly absolute, and was not fixed until it was necessary to protect a new dynasty against a rebellion in which a great proportion of the populace sympathized. Mr. Paul⁸ has worked up the history of the debates in parliament which refer to this subject in a very readable

⁸ "Short Parliaments: a History of the National demand for frequent General Elections." By Alex. Paul. Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1883.

form, which will stimulate thought and suggest the possibility of an improvement to many people who take the seven years' duration of Parliament to be almost a fixed law of nature, like the duration of the year, instead of being, as it in truth was, a temporary device contrary to the old lines of the Constitution, adopted for a special purpose after strong opposition, not much more than 150 years ago.

Mr. Lupton⁹ has supplemented his edition of Dean Colet's works by publishing a translation of Erasmus's letter, in which he compares him to Jehan Vitrier, the Warden of the Franciscans at St. Omer's, a friar, who having entered the order at an early age, and disapproving of the numbing and cramping influence of a life by rule, adhered to it throughout his life, for fear of being a stumbling-block to others, though his sermons breathed a higher religion and a higher morality than that of the convent. Colet, on the other hand, was a secular priest with a large fortune, who despised the religious orders, as they were in fact, though he would have joined one if he had found any "fraternity really bound together for a Gospel life." He appears to have had some sympathy with Groot's Brethren of the Common Life, at Deventer, if Mr. Lupton's interpretation of an obscure allusion be correct, no doubt on account of their educational views as well as their religious principles.

Paulines will be glad to know that Erasmus's story of a brutal schoolmaster, which Knight and Bishop Kennett both refer to Colet, cannot possibly be meant for him, for one reason, among others, that the flogging scene took place in the dining hall, a room which St. Paul's, as a day school, did not possess. Friar Bricot, Colet's opponent, whom Mr. Lupton cannot identify, was Edmund Birkhead, or Bryket, a Franciscan of Norwich, who frequently preached before Henry VIII. and his Court, and became Bishop of St. Asaph in the spring of 1513, and was succeeded in 1518 by Standish, who is mentioned in the same connection.

There are not many of the Norman families who originally settled in England who now possess undoubted male descendants of the same name; but this distinction is claimed for the House of Glanville, a family whose talents have chiefly been exercised in the province of law, though Chief Justice Ranulph de Glanville also won honour as a soldier by his defeat and capture of William the Lion at Alnwick. Mr. Glanville Richards¹⁰ asserts also that the families "flourished in England before the Conquest;" but by comparison with another passage this appears to be a mistake. At all events, the ancestor "who came in with the Conqueror" hailed from Pont l'Eveque, and settled down in Suffolk and Norfolk, where his grandson founded the monasteries of Leiston and Bromholm. Complete tabular pedigrees of the family are given, with biographies of many of the individuals, such as the Lord Chief Justice and the

⁹ "The Lives of Jehan Vitrier and John Colet." Written in Latin by Erasmus. Translated by J. H. Lupton, M.A. Bell & Sons. 1883.

¹⁰ "Records of the Anglo-Norman House of Glanville." By W. Urmston S. Glanville Richards. Mitchell & Hughes. 1882.

Speaker of the House of Commons after the Restoration. Another member of the family was the rector of Wimbish, known for his treatise on "Witches." He, perhaps, was devoid of the hereditary judicial faculty. His account of the spirit-rapping in a neighbour's house is given in full, and shows that there is nothing new under the sun. The pedigree appears to be honestly and carefully compiled. There is, perhaps, a little assumption, though not improbable, in the earlier portion; but there is not half so much exercise of the imaginative faculties as is usual in such works. Unfortunately, the records adduced in evidence are not very correctly quoted, and in many cases no hint, or very inadequate ones, given as to their abiding-place. "Ex Registro Prioratus de Leiston in Bibl. Col." is not very intelligible. It is rather rough on a friendly clergyman to formally thank him, and thus make him responsible for the copy of a Latin inscription which contains eighteen mistakes in eleven lines, of which *Equitis Amanti*, for *Aurati*, is one, and which ends with the line "Magorem Sat erit progenuisse Pasem." If the local stone-cutter is to blame, he ought to bear it.

This year, being the bi-centenary of the great defeat of the Turks at Vienna¹¹ by John Sobieski, Mr. Malden has taken the opportunity to publish the story of a battle worthy to be ranked with Marathon, Salamis, and Tours; as the triumph of Western civilization over Eastern barbarism, a triumph which was rendered more difficult by the unity of Islam and the discord of Christians. Like his predecessor Francis I., Louis XIV., though posing as a Christian and Catholic king, was secretly backing up the Turk and Hungarian rebels against the empire; and the advantage to France of the extension of their power at the cost of the emperor was so great that so sagacious a politician as Sir William Temple was half inclined to think they would for that reason stop short. But confidence in numbers and Mahommedan valour, animated the Sultan to attempt the conquest of Europe, thinking, no doubt, that when he had broken the power of the empire, France would fall an easy prey; and so he was led on to a disaster which, fortunately for Europe, his successors have never been able to repair. The tale of the siege and relief of Vienna is exceedingly well told, detail enough to follow every movement, but not the dry precision of a military history; and the character of the Polish king, a crusading knight who seems out of place among artillery, is skilfully brought out by means of passages from his letters. There is at the end of the book a facsimile of a map, executed only a few years after the battle, which shows the physical aspect of the country and the positions of the towns and villages, better than a modern one could do.

A hard-working banker, who spent his leisure in deciphering hieroglyphics and translating the Bible, is a sufficiently rare phenomenon to deserve a record; but Samuel Sharpe's¹² biography is more than

¹¹ "Vienna, 1683." By Henry Elliot Malden. Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1883.

¹² "Samuel Sharpe: Egyptologist, and Translator of the Bible." By P. W. Clayden. Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1883.

that. It is a picture of a character distinguished by qualities not very common, and without much preaching, it has a distinctly bracing moral effect. Brought up in the best school of Dissent, among that sect which, more than any other, rests public spirit on a basis of religious duty, and has the strongest hatred of superstition, one of his principal aims was to undermine and destroy orthodoxy—superstition—not by argument, but by simple statement of fact, by publishing, for instance, critical notes explanatory of the obscure passages and allusions in the Old and New Testaments, or by showing the Egyptian origin of the doctrine of the Trinity. And that he was perfectly impartial was acknowledged by the best orthodox religious reviews.

There is no more potent weapon than this; though it moves slowly, its work is never undone again. Then, Mr. Sharpe's love of learning, and his ardent devotion to truth, were coupled with an absence of desire for fame or any other reward than his own satisfied sense of duty. The work was useful: it must be done, and he would do it, not caring how soon its value was known, but satisfied that, as Mrs. Clifford says in one of her charming stories, "Good work lives on for ever." Then he felt, as all do who work in the more laborious paths of literature, that "the author himself gets the chief benefit of his labour and outlay." How true this is. In the field of Egyptian antiquities he was as heretical as in theological matters. He refused to be tied down by the then accepted principle that old guesses were to be taken as the basis of interpretation of new documents, and had the courage to differ from those who were considered better authorities than himself.

The same principle of using facts, not arguments, was turned by him to a political purpose. One of his contributions to the discussion on the Dissenters' Marriage Act and Dissenters' Chapel Act was the publication of a pamphlet giving an account of how the Mansion House was built from fines levied on forty Dissenters, who were successively elected as sheriffs of London, and refused to serve, it being an office which they were disqualified from holding without taking the sacrament. But bigotry is not all on one side, and this book gives proofs of it. The orthodox Dissenters, who cry out against Anglican intolerance, refused to allow Mr. Sharpe's translation of the New Testament to be in their libraries, though the accuracy of the work allowed no trace of sectarianism to be visible. What an outcry they would have made if books by their leading writers had been similarly treated! Mr. Sharpe's brother William was a well-known solicitor, who had a good deal to do with the preparation of the Judicature Act, but that his advice, however good, was not always taken, the following story will show:—

"He had given much attention to the Bankruptcy Laws, and on one occasion was consulted by the Lord Chancellor as to a Bill which was next day to be introduced into Parliament. He sat over the Bill a good part of the night, and hurried off early the next morning to make prompt report that the scheme was impracticable. 'You are quite right,' said the Lord Chancellor, with a characteristic frown and smile; 'the Bill won't work, but it must pass, for we have promised the places.' The Bill was passed, and, as he expected, it did

not work. But the places had been given, and when very shortly afterwards a change was made, the placemen were compensated."

The late Director of the Geological Survey of Canada has found an apt biographer in the person of Mr. Harrington,¹³ who was employed under him as chemist and mineralogist. Sir William Logan was a Canadian by birth, his grandfather having gone thither from Stirling, about 1784, and set up a bakehouse at Montreal, in which his son, Sir William's father, succeeded him. He was sent over to Edinburgh to be educated, where he and his brothers distinguished themselves for their industry, and after a brief interval of commercial life in London, went to superintend the financial affairs of some copper works at Swansea; but having a strong taste for science and desire to know and understand everything, he soon made himself master of the processes used and took a general superintendence of the concern. His amusement consisted in making a geological map of the district, which, though the 'prentice work of an amateur, was adopted and acknowledged by Sir Henry de la Beche as a basis for the maps of the Government Survey. Then, after a visit to Spain, and gaining some scientific distinction by his investigation of the strata of clay which underlie coal-beds, and the plants (*Stigmariu*) which are found there, he was chosen by the Canadian Parliament to commence what became the principal object in his life, the geological survey of the Province. Much of this work was done in birch-bark canoes, with Indians as guides, "living the life of a savage, inhabiting an open tent, sleeping on the beach in a blanket-sack with my feet to the fire, seldom taking my clothes off, eating salt pork and ship's biscuit, occasionally tormented by mosquitoes, I dialled the whole of the coast surveyed, and counted my paces from morning to night for three months." Rather dull work this last, but sometimes relieved by incidents like this:—

"As I paced across a field for the purpose, counting my steps as I went, I heard footsteps coming behind me. At length, when I arrived at rather a boggy spot, a voice at my heels exclaimed, 'I say, Sir, this is not the road!' I went on counting my steps, and to keep the number in my mind, I counted aloud, '110, 111, 112,' &c. 'I say, Sir, this is not the road!' again exclaimed the voice. '117, 118—it's my road—119, 120,' &c., said I. 'It's a wet place, Sir.' '123, 124—it does not require a Solomon to tell me that—125, 126,' &c. 'You'll get wet, Sir.' '128, 129—don't bother me—130, 131,' &c. Here a young man went by me, and kept right in front of me to impede my progress. This made me somewhat angry, and coming up to the stump of a tree, which would do for a mark, I freely gave him a piece of my mind for interrupting me in my occupations. He seemed rather startled, and stared at me as if he thought I certainly must be mad."

And on several other occasions he was followed and stopped under the same idea.

One of his colleagues was a Polish chemist, the type of what a travelling companion ought not to be. "De Rotterdam seems to be the most uncomfortable one among us, but instead of attributing his

¹³ "Life of Sir William E. Logan." By Bernard J. Harrington. Sampson Low & Co. 1883.

great discomfort to some quality within himself, he seems to imagine that it always arises from something peculiar to his place in the tent. Either there is more smoke where he is than anywhere else, or the fire is further from him than from anybody else, or the ground is wetter where he is, or there is some chink in the tent which lets in the wind where he is, or the flies bite most where he is." Logan himself seems to have been exceptionally enduring, and to have considered that to be lost and have to pass a rainy night alone in a wood with no food was not a very grievous hardship. There are some good stories about his detection of "salted" mines, of which this is not the worst:—

"During the time of the gold excitement in the province of Quebec, he was not unfrequently urged to give his opinion on goldbearing quartz. On one occasion a number of specimens were shown to him by some speculators in the presence of intending purchasers of the property. Sir William's opinion was asked whether the glittering metal visible at the bottom of the little cavities in the quartz were really gold. 'No doubt of it,' said the unmoved critic, after eyeing it closely with a pocket-magnifier. 'No doubt of it, and with this glass you can see the marks of the punch perfectly.'"

The chief object aimed at in forest legislation and management in the early times of England was the protection of the king's game, a purely selfish consideration; but the extension of the Royal Navy by the Tudor sovereigns led to greater regard being paid to public utility—to the preservation of the timber as well as the deer. Even in the time of Elizabeth, Harrison (misprinted "Hamsen") in his "Description of Britain,"¹⁴ complains bitterly of the waste of wood, and suggests that every landholder should be bound to plant some of his farm. And even now Dr. Brown thinks that the management of forests all over the world suffers from ignorance of the historic and scientific aspects of the question. In France, it was Colbert who woke up to the fact that matters were becoming serious—"France perira faute des bois."¹⁵ A most searching commission was issued, which found it necessary even to hang one or two officials for speculation. The final result was the celebrated Ordinances of 1669, which not only laid down a more systematic and scientific method of "cropping" forests, but also asserted the right of the State to interfere in their administration, whether royal or private, for the public good. The Ordinances contain minute regulations as to the duties of officers; the processes employed in felling wood, rights of pasturage, &c. Dr. Brown has printed a translation of it, with a few preliminary remarks. His book on English forests is a tolerably complete repertory of all that is known on such matters, including a description of all our existing and extinct forests and chases. The author is led to publish these works from public spirit; and having been assisted by friends in bringing out the first of the series, he expresses his intention of employing whatever amount is realized by the sale of each volume in bringing out some

¹⁴ "The Forests of England, and the Management of them in Bygone Times." By John Croumbie Brown, LL.D., formerly Government Botanist at the Cape of Good Hope.

¹⁵ "French Forest Ordinances of 1699." By the same Author. Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 1883.

similar work, which will be useful, but not likely to command a remunerative sale. When he does this, it would be advisable for him to have the correction of the press more carefully attended to. Scholars, and even ordinary readers, have their prejudices, and to see the word "Arboretum" spelt in two different ways, and both wrong, on the first page of a book, is apt, though perhaps unjustly, to shake the reader's confidence in his accuracy of statement. With such a slip before him, can any one believe in "an ancient map of Dartmoor of the year 1241?" Another such blunder is "Hampshire Court" for "Hampton Court," and the common mistake, "*feræ naturæ*," occurs more than once.

The American caves seem to contain very little human or even animal remains compared to those in England. A recent book on the subject¹⁶ mentions but few specimens, and those of no greater antiquity than a few centuries, though some are covered with dripstone; nothing to compare with the cave at Murcielagos, in Andalusia, where a circle of skeletons was found sitting round one which was crowned with a coronet of gold. In a small cave near the Mammoth, a female body was found, together with a woven bag, strings of beads, and other objects similar to those recently used by Indians; and one of the chambers of the Mammoth caves is filled with half-burnt cane-torches, which must have accumulated for centuries. But with these, and few other exceptions, the interest is, as far as science goes, purely geological, and with regard to most of the visitors, purely curiosity. There are, of course, plenty of traces of the saltpetre miners who worked there before they were made a show.

Mr. Hovey is as enthusiastic about caves as a member of the Alpine Club about mountains; and some of the illustrations of the "Corkscrew" and the "Bottomless pit," and other strange places, look almost as imposing and as dangerous as the scenes which Albert Smith used to exhibit at the Egyptian Hall. Plans and dimensions are also given, correcting some of the exaggerations of guide-books and popular journals, which describe avenues of a dozen and more miles in length to a cave that is known to be less than 2,000 feet long. The true dimensions of the Mammoth cave are startling enough, without the help of fiction—223 known avenues, whose united length is 150 miles. Luray cave is now lighted by electricity, which would have been a great comfort to the Scotchman who came over the Atlantic on purpose to see it, and then would not go in because it was dark.

We have heard it proclaimed that superficiality and slippancy are the two elements of literary composition which in our day secure success. We would not point to the new and cheaper edition of Mr. Escott's "England"¹⁷ as an illustration of this cynical principle; the success of his book is not due to these qualities. Mr. Escott claims to have "honestly attempted a comprehensive and faithful picture of the social and political condition of modern England," and he has at any rate

¹⁶ "Celebrated American Caverns." By Horace C. Hovey. R. Clarke & Co., Cincinnati. 1882.

¹⁷ "England." By T. H. S. Escott. Cassell & Co. 1883.

succeeded in producing a series of essays which will convey amusement to some and instruction to not a few. Mr. Escott, however, if we may apply to him his own words concerning Trollope, "does not represent any great force in literature, and his ambition has rather been to give hundreds and thousands of men and women, of all ages and all ranks, exactly what they want—light easy reading, that requires no special thought, that is at once a pure recreation, and that presents to them, as if reflected in mirror, the society in which they live." This was no very exalted task. And if the *Fortnightly Review* will pardon us, we did not find it "impossible to close this volume without a certain sense of that exaltation which is the mind's response to an adequate presentment of any kind of greatness"—as the critic of our contemporary expressed himself. Possibly to produce any such effect, a work must be undertaken with genuinely exalted enthusiasm, such as Gibbon gave to his "Decline and Fall," and such as Mr. Lecky, though with the force of a lesser spirit, has given to his "History of the Eighteenth Century," which treats of many topics sketched in Mr. Escott's "England." Readers who do not think that authors are always competent to judge of "exactly what they want," and we fear their number is large, will at times feel angry that the style of magazine-articles should be introduced into books, and they will resent the dictum that "the first consideration in every department of intellectual industry and activity is not to fly too high for the public." The law of supply and demand is held by the large class of rapid generalizers to apply to literary composition. The plea that a book is required to satisfy a want is considered an all-sufficient reason, and consequently much vain lore is multiplied, and our shelves groan with compilations; but it is one of the glories of one genuine work of literature to render them all useless. It would be ungenerously severe to say that Mr. Escott's work is destined shortly to become useless. For although it is a compilation of second-hand information, it is information which everybody should possess. It most resembles an echo of the dinner-table conversation of well-informed people, from which inaccuracies have been eliminated—ranging from the price of nails to the last new poem or picture, from the calisthenics and deportment of Black Rod to the outlook of Imperial England. The aspirant to conversational honours should make it his own. It will supply him with a Ciceronian range of topics, which may be hackneyed, but of which he will learn to speak to the point. The opportunity should have been taken in this new edition to re-cast chapter iv., on "Rural Administration," which is rather confused, and presumes too much knowledge, at any rate in the London-bred reader. A foreigner would find some difficulty in following several chapters. A more straightforward method would have been better suited to the subject, but Mr. Escott perversely wished to be lively and engaging, in a magazine-like style, and important points come to be mentioned in an incidental manner. We hope Mr. Escott will in the future learn to have a higher opinion of his public, which is not so contemptible as to be incessantly demanding "easy reading, where no special thought is required." Good

sense, however, and practical sagacity are solid qualities; and we have in this book the most interesting topics of the day echoed by a writer who possesses these qualities in an eminent degree, and who no doubt moves in a busy active sphere where they are much discussed and commented upon, especially in their practical bearing. Mr. Escott starts the first chapters with a certain entrain, but, as the book proceeds, he seems to have wearied, and the attempt at sparkle evanesces, so that by the time he comes to his notices on contemporary literature, he has sunk to plain categorical enumeration—devoid of praise or blame, or any other expression of feeling,—with one astounding exception. After dismissing Browning as a “pathologist in metre,” Swinburne as a poet who has derived his inspiration from the French and Italian writers of the sixteenth century, and Tennyson as a “melodiously whispering zephyr,” we light upon this amazing appreciation: “The poems of Mr. Matthew Arnold occupy a distinct place of their own. They are the distilled and luminous essence of metrical thought, exquisite in idea, and masterpieces of expression.” It would be erroneous, however, to conclude that all his remarks on this topic are equally jejune. It is a pity also that four chapters have been contributed by friends, which tends to increase the impression which the book leaves on the mind, of a disjointed series of essays. Nevertheless, in spite of all defects, let us hope that the book will find numberless readers. The connected presentment of the main questions of so many phases of English life will go far to help men, who are compelled by the principle of the division of labour to absorb themselves in one restricted pursuit, to realize the working of the rest of the parts of our immense and complex social machine. An acquaintance with it will counteract the influence of the pragmatic theories with which the atmosphere of the masses is at present laden. Particularly those chapters on local and municipal administration will be read with interest, and we regret that more care has not been spent upon them. Exact knowledge of how large an amount of such work is performed without immediate reward in this country will fire many who are now apathetic with an ambition to become good citizens, although there will always remain a large residuum, especially in London, who will not see that institutions have anything to do with them, so long, as they express it, “as they have to work so jolly hard for their living.”

Though bristling with Germanisms and un-English inversions, such as might well make Landor shudder in his grave, Miss Thomas's “George Sand”¹⁸ is well conceived. No length of residence, however, in an adopted country can give writers the same command over a foreign language as they may possess over their own. Miss Thomas herself will begrudge no one a fastidious taste in literary style, and she must regret that she was called upon to express herself in an idiom which is apparently foreign to her. Had she possessed true English literary instinct, she would have produced an uncommonly good book. As it is, her native wisdom, liberality of thought, and generous enthu-

¹⁸ “George Sand.” By Bertha Thomas. Eminent Women Series. Allen & Co. 1883.

siasm for her heroine have made her book not only readable, but delightful. English prejudice, not in this case unfounded, will note with some dismay that, of the five monographs of this series already announced or published, three have been placed in the hands of ladies of German origin. As these monographs are intended to serve a popular want, it is to be regretted that they should be disfigured by un-English turns of phrase, which the ordinary public are as quick to feel as scholars. On the other hand, Miss Thomas's conception and treatment of the subject are admirable. The ordinary reader who approaches a book always asks, as Audrey did of "the poetical," "Is it honest in deed and word? Is it a true thing?" and his nervous sensibilities are particularly aroused in the case of a woman, of whom the most he has probably heard has been her notorious social irregularities. Miss Thomas has not disdained to consider the timidity of such simple-minded readers, who, we are fain to believe, are still the large majority in this country, especially when her heroine is descended in an almost unbroken line from illegitimate ancestors, and was brought up by an illegitimate grandmother, her brother and sister being illegitimate, and herself having a narrow escape from the same fate, and her subsequent career being anything but reassuring on the surface. Still fact is fact, and whether for good or for evil, cannot be glozed over with impunity. From the way in which Miss Thomas mentions George Sand's liaisons with Jules Sandeau, Alfred de Musset, Franz Liszt, Chopin, and others, no one would suspect George Sand was the woman of whom Sandeau said: "*voilà une femme qui a été le tombeau de bien des amours.*" But perhaps people may rightly be left to discover for themselves the defects of great characters: what is so difficult for ordinary people to realize is how the great have achieved their greatness, and this Miss Thomas will help them to do. They will understand that George Sand was neither dissolute nor unprincipled, but guided throughout her life, in the midst of error and illusion, by noble enthusiasm and devotion to high aims. Out of a multitude of things evil, she extracted a core of good. Out of an appalling complexity of experiences, and in the midst of unceasing social, political and religious revolution, she evolved an ideal of life which ever commanded her unswerving loyalty, unvitiated by the error and falsity which was everywhere around her. Readers will rise from Miss Thomas's book subdued by the conviction that there was in George Sand much that was "honest, both in deed and word," much that was even sublime, and that the picture they have hitherto had in their minds was a gross caricature and misrepresentation. Familiarity with the highest types of foreign nations will do much to enable the general public to conceive of new ideals, to widen its sympathies and to subdue their much-combated philistinism, without, at the same time, destroying their faith in our own high ideals, or impairing the exquisite modesty and delicacy of English womanhood, which still remains unique in the world. George Sand was occasionally guilty of shocking coarseness, but that is a trifle compared with the gross apprehension of a public to whom we fear she still appears in the

light of a licentious writer ; just as Rossetti was popularly held, until recently, at least, to be a sensual painter and poet. Miss Thomas's criticisms of George Sand's works are wise and penetrating, and her eleventh chapter, in which she summarizes her estimate of George Sand, is perhaps the best in the book.

What with the Bradlaugh affair in Parliament, the Phoenix Park murders in Ireland, and the Egyptian war, the "Annual Register"¹⁹ for last year has plenty of subjects of interest. The Parliamentary history is very full and fairly written, and the Chronicle of Events contains references to nearly everything that has happened of public consequence; while Literature, Science, and Art are not overlooked. In some cases the impressions given by accounts written at the time is at variance with what we know now to be the case. For instance, the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish is spoken of as having been planned, and that of Mr. Burke accidental, or unpremeditated, the reverse of what the trial showed to be the case.

The anonymous writer of Blackwood's "Historical Readers"²⁰ has managed to attain perfect simplicity and clearness without the use of childish language. The incidents are well selected, and graphically, sometimes even dramatically told, and not without a touch of humour, which even children can appreciate. The chronological arrangement is curious—as the acts of a king are given by themselves, and then, after his death, an account of the chief events of his reign. It will want care on the part of the teacher to counteract this. The tone is throughout most laudably impartial. Teaching party politics in a school should be as rigidly prohibited as teaching sectarian religion. The closing chapter contains a useful sketch of the constitution as it is at present, and an exhortation to the children to do what they can for England as the great men of whom they have read have done before them.

There are a few inaccuracies here and there, which should be corrected in a future edition. The children won't find "Domesday Book" at the British Museum when they go there on their holidays. Any one who writes about history might be expected to know that so valuable a record would never have been allowed to go out of its proper custody, by which it would at once lose its value as legal evidence. Then, Wolsey was by no means the last clerical Lord Chancellor, as he was succeeded by Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Heath, Archbishop of York. Passages of poetry are interspersed with the prose, and are generally well selected. But Kingsley's fine poem about William Rufus might well take the place of Thornbury's tame ballad. The illustrations are of very unequal merit. Some, like that of the Finding of Harold's Body, and the Storming of Badajoz, are really striking drawings, but others are very poor. One of Queen Mary is too repulsive for a child's book. The portraits of the earlier

¹⁹ "The Annual Register for the Year 1882." Rivingtons. 1883.

²⁰ "Blackwood's Educational Series." Edited by Professor Meiklejohn. I., II., and III. Historical Readers. England: Blackwood & Sons. 1883.

sovereigns are imaginative, and might have been dispensed with; and the later ones, often taken from well-known portraits, are so carelessly executed that the expression, and sometimes the features, are quite disguised.

Miss Finch's "Lives of the Princesses of Wales"²¹ has evidently been suggested by Miss Strickland's well-known work. The number of biographies is, however, much smaller, for in five centuries and a half only six ladies have borne the title; and among those six there are only three types of life. "Joan of Kent and Augusta of Saxe-Gotha were alike bereaved by the premature death of their lords, and were alike entrusted with the charge of the infant heir. Anne Neville and Caroline of Anspach alike wore a crown, and found it but weary work; and Katharine of Aragon and Caroline of Brunswick alike tasted bitterest woe at their husbands' hands, and died worn out in the strife."

A great part of the book is between quotation marks—Hepworth Dixon, Miss Strickland, and C. M. Yonge figuring as if of equal authority with contemporary writers. The last volume is enlivened by chatty letters, full of gossip, about Caroline of Anspach, Augusta of Saxe-Gotha, and Caroline of Brunswick. There are a few sayings of Caroline of Brunswick when a child, quoted from Dr. Doran, of which one, at least, will bear quoting. "How would you define time and space?" said her father once to Mirabeau. The Princess Caroline, then twelve years old, anticipated the witty Frenchman's answer, by replying, "Space is in the mouth of Madam von L——, and time is in her face!" When told that it was not fitting for so young a lady to have an opinion of her own, she observed, correctly enough, "People without opinions of their own are like barren tracts, which will not bear grass."

It is interesting to note the change which came over the lives of those Princesses of Wales who were not English, when they came to live in England. They all had peculiarly sorrowful lives, and we hope that now the spell is broken, and that from the time of the present Princess—whose life is not given in these pages—a happier lot awaits the wife of England's heir.

Mrs. Oliphant's *Life of Sheridan*²² shows the artist's hand throughout, and is one of the best of the series of "English Men of Letters." The style is charming, reminding us often of Thackeray's lectures on the English humorists.

Mrs. Oliphant does not mention Sheridan's first dramatic attempt, which it is interesting to know was a version of the "Vicar of Wakefield," written at Harrow, where, marvellous to relate, he was as exempt from the rod as a cherub. We wish Mrs. Oliphant had given some more stories of Sheridan's colloquial wit, and some notice of the first actors in the "School for Scandal." Charles Lamb says that for

²¹ "Lives of the Princesses of Wales." By Barbara Clay Finch. Three vols. Remington & Co.

²² "English Men of Letters: Sheridan." By Mrs. Oliphant. London: Macmillan & Co. 1883.

long Joseph Surface was the most interesting character in the play, owing to the inimitable acting of "plausible Jack Palmer." In our time Mr. Chippendale's "Sir Peter" stands out as the best representation within ordinary memory. In his first words, "When an old bachelor marries a young wife, what is he to expect?" he evidently came fresh from some source of irritation, but in his most exasperated moments he was still the "rococo" gentleman of the last century, and made the audience feel there was more in his regard for his wife than mere admiration for the "elegant turn of her head," which Mrs. Oliphant thinks shows shallowness of character. Nothing, however, can be better than her remarks on the Screen scene, in which "the succession of interviews has not a word too much; nor could the most impatient audience find any sameness or repetition in the successive arrivals, each one of which adds an embarrassment to the dilemma of Joseph Surface, and helps to clear up those of his victims." Justice is, however, scarcely done to the satire of the little French milliner, and Sir Peter's absence of feeling for those who may care for so obscure a person, or for herself, contrasted with his own *amour propre*.

Sheridan wrote "The Rivals" in his twenty-fourth year, at the same age that Dickens produced "Pickwick." The "School for Scandal" was written in his twenty-sixth year. Congreve had written his best works by twenty-eight; but we think Sheridan's insight into the ways of the world was the most remarkable of the three. Indeed, he evidently knew his powers earlier, though no man was ever less of a prig, and we cannot agree with Mrs. Oliphant that when he married at twenty-one, with his genius and three thousand pounds, his sweet wife's fortune, that "the condition of the young pair was as little hopeful as can be conceived." We wish everybody married with equally good stock-in-trade. Passing Sheridan's political career, in the main creditable, we come to the sad end, after the death of his dearly-loved wife and little girl. Mrs. Oliphant tells all with true feeling and pathos, and shows that, with the trials of his age and surroundings, and with all his faults, this great man bears the test that we know we could have loved him.

Biographies of living persons are not altogether desirable, as they can seldom contain more than the subject desires to be known. *De mortuis nil nisi bonum* is a common saying, but, in spite of it, it is easier to speak the truth about a man when his work and life are complete, and personal feeling is not so keen. However, Mr. Headingley's life of Bradlaugh²³ has evidently been popular, as it has already reached a second edition. It is written of course from the point of view of a disciple and an admirer—a point of view which always challenges criticism and opposition; but, in spite of that, it will probably convince most of those who read it of the honesty of a man who has suffered more for his opinions and done more to propagate them than most people in England, and who has a claim to public respect

²³ "The Biography of Charles Bradlaugh." By Adolphe S. Headingley. Second Edition. Freethought Publishing Co. 1883.

for his attempt to discuss matters and assert principles of the greatest importance, especially to the poorer classes, while those who have a better social position and more knowledge than himself are content to leave their fellow-creatures in ignorance. His knowledge of the forms of law, for instance, acquired at first in a solicitor's office, and no doubt improved by subsequent study, has materially helped the working classes in acquiring a knowledge of what their legal rights are, and how to assert them—a knowledge which it is to be hoped will some day result in the demand for cheap law, so that tenants will no longer be afraid of resisting the extortion of their landlord, or labourers of their employers.

Mr. Adams,²⁴ in the preface to this formidable work, makes some sort of apology for his book being only a "compilation."

It certainly would have been better if he had not compiled quite so much under one cover; books on such varied subjects as "Work and Workers in the Educational Field," "Work on Behalf of the Slave," "Work and Workers in the Mission Field," "Prison Reform," and, lastly, "The Poor are always with us," would doubtless be acceptable to many if they were in separate volumes and in a readable form; but when all five are presented to us bound together, with the compiler's kind assurance that, by studying the same, "This will lead us to do each in his own little circle what it may be in our power to do for the ignorant and the afflicted," even the most enduring of readers of biographical sketches must feel a little shy of undertaking such a task, especially as one cannot but help feeling, at the close, that one has read it all before.

It is to be feared that the "general reader," whom Mr. Adams hopes will find some interest and attraction in this "compilation," will have his pleasure to some extent sobered down by the want of anything like a sufficient index. Book I., for instance, dealing with education from Dean Colet to Dr. Arnold and Mary Carpenter, is all grouped together under pages 11 to 147.

In this Book I. our author blows his trumpet with no uncertain sound:—

"We find the principals of our high-class establishments boasting, not that they have educated their pupils in the honour of the Queen and the love of God; not that they have made them good citizens and good Christians . . . but that so many have passed at this or that examination. We hold that in our higher schools, as in our lower, the education given is too pretentious, and therefore too superficial . . . that it is worldly in tone and worldly in object, and, above all, that it is wholly and completely a failure, when and so far as it is not based upon religion and inspired with a religious spirit."

Too pretentious! are we to have every teacher in the School Board passing an examination with a view to discovering the soundness of his political opinions and the thoroughness of his belief in the Thirty-nine Articles?

Mr. Adams evidently intends to impute something very dreadful

²⁴ "Good Samaritans." By W. H. Davenport Adams. W. Swan Sonnenschein & Co., London. 1883.

to our schools when he says that the education given is worldly in tone and worldly in object. Surely compulsory education by the State can hardly be expected to be Heavenly in tone or object, and one cannot but wonder how long some of the pupils would be passing through the required standards if obtaining certificates was dependent upon their accepting and appreciating religious truths.

Amongst the numerous memorial sketches in this first book, perhaps the most interesting are those of Robert Raikes, John Frederick Oberlin, and Mary Carpenter. The account of Dr. Arnold's work is also very well written, though we think Mr. Adams need not have entered into such full particulars of his sad and painful end.

William Wilberforce, Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Henry Martyn, John Williams, "The Martyr of Erromanga," and Mrs. Elizabeth Fry, are with many others given a place amongst the goodly company of "Good Samaritans," with whom also is named, rather curiously, Lady Mary Wortley Montague. Mr. Adams concludes his work with particulars of Sister Dora's life and labours in Walsall. She indeed was one of those who dedicate their lives to the great work of "making their fellow-creatures better, purer, and happier."

BELLES LETTRES.

MEN of letters have always found a congenial task in writing about the sonnet. To define its nature has been a labour of love, and to describe its excellence at once a duty and a pleasure. But sometimes "The Thing" (we have Wordsworth's authority for calling the sonnet "The Thing") has become a missile in their hands and they have hurled it at the non-vocal throng.

"Does it not please you, then you at least have no soul for poetry!" In an age of criticism, when not to be an adept is to be an ignorant, there is at once an immense supply of fresh sonnets, and a certain demand for well-informed eulogy of the great sonnets of the past. The parchment library edition of Milton's Sonnets, with preface and notes by Mr. Mark Pattison,¹ has already won, and will doubtless retain, the approbation of students of literature and of book collectors. Whatever modern skill and modern taste can achieve in the way of binding, of type and paper, has been bestowed on this fair volume.

We have been at some pains to compare the print with that of the elder Pickering and of Edward Moxon's earlier editions, and although we confess that the blacker ink and smoother paper is pleasanter to the eye and easier to read, the modern book makes good its pretension of excellence.

Mr. Pattison's preface is an exhaustive essay on the nature of the sonnet. Ten formal and nine material rules are given for its construction. The question is discussed whether the sonnet is a work of

¹ "The Sonnets of John Milton." Edited by Mark Pattison. London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Co., 1, Paternoster Square. 1883.

art, the fond invention of men's device, or whether it proceeds from a pre-determining necessity in the nature of things. The preface also contains a brief history of the English sonnets and an introductory criticism of Milton's sonnets in particular. Mr. Pattison, although he contends for a severe attention to rule in the composition of the sonnet even to the, as we think, doubtfully wise exclusion of double rhymes (Mr. Pattison, with unpleasing correctness, spells the word "rimes") is constrained to admit that great poets are a law unto themselves, and that the best sonnet is the most beautiful sonnet. We are inclined to think that the existence of the sonnet, as a distinct species of verse, depends somewhat on association, and that it is unnecessary to regard it either as a conscious device of art or as a logical or metrical necessity. It is enough that great poets have accidentally consecrated a particular form of verse to give that form a life of its own with "its seed within itself." In the following reflection Mr. Pattison adopts the opinion of Landor, who, in one of his imaginary conversations, speaks of "the poems of Shakspeare which are printed as sonnets": "If it had been recognized that the so-called sonnets of Shakspeare are not sonnets at all, any more than those of Lord Brooke, but a continuous poem, or poems, written in fourteen-line stanzas, as Tennyson's 'In Memoriam' is, largely, in sixteen-line stanzas, how much misplaced skill would have been saved!" And in claiming for Milton's sonnets the note of reality as distinguished from simulation and artifice, he has, perhaps, unconsciously followed a passage of Macaulay which we may be pardoned for quoting—the subject is Milton's sonnets:—

"They are simple but majestic records of the feelings of the poet, as little tricked out for the poet's eye as his diary would have been. A victory, an unexpected attack upon the city, a momentary fit of depression or exultation, a jest thrown out against one of his books, a dream, which for a short time restored to him that beautiful face over which the grave had closed for ever, led him to musings which without effort shaped themselves in verse."

On two points of criticism we ventured to differ from the editor. In sonnet 19, "Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints," Mr. Pattison finds an instance of poetic inspiration, "the poetry of a poem" being "lodged somewhere else than in its matter, or its thoughts, or its imagery, or its words." We hold to the doctrine, but deny its application. "Our heart is here taken by storm," not only by the poetry of the poem, but by the marvellous alternations and combinations of the several sounds of the vowels. Nor can we admit that the "diction is almost below ordinary," and we are half inclined to throw back the imputation on Mr. Pattison himself when he speaks of the "hackneyed biblical phrases of which it is composed." Rather is this grand sonnet, which Wordsworth loved to declaim, an instance of the law that the fuller the inspiration the more finished the art. Nature holds the pen, and the poet writes as he is bidden, whether in the body or out of the body he cannot tell. Again, in the notes to Sonnet 1, Mr. Pattison complains of the baldness of the opening. "O Nightingale!" "Perhaps," he says, "we may say that the exclamatory particle falling on the ear first raises the

expectation of a burst of emotion, which is rudely checked when we find it leads to nothing, but only serves as grammarians call the sign of the vocative." To our ears, the word nightingale in this place is itself the "burst of emotion." No sooner has the poet opened his lips than we hear the tumultuous melody of the bird of poets; and we can see him too on the "bloomy spray"—"the finer terminal twigs into which the bough or branch spreads itself;" for that is just where he would have perched of his own accord, if he resembled nineteenth-century nightingales, and by no means, as Mr. Pattison implies, in obedience to the suggestion of Chaucer's wood-pigeon. The six Italian sonnets are printed together with a literal translation in prose, and metrical translations by Langhorne and Cowper. The tone of the portrait is rich and delicate.

If Lord Rosslyn's Sonnets^d do not fulfil all the nineteen conditions which Mr. Pattison imposes on the perfect "Sonneteer," they are pleasing and elegant compositions, full of noble and kindly sentiment, and not without a certain measure of poetical fervour. Among the collection two or three stand out as remarkable, and prove that the author has faculty as well as taste, and that he can express the beautiful thought which prompts him to break silence at all. Some of Lord Rosslyn's sonnets are of a domestic character, and these we could certainly spare; but he is guilty neither of folly nor affectation, and in the expression of political or religious opinion he commands our respect if he does not win our assent. Many of them are addressed to great people, and speak of great events, and it is worth our while to regard the one and the other from the point of view of this courtly and chivalrous nature. Kings and Queens suffer many things in these days from special correspondents and the illustrated papers, but the pageantry of royalty, thanks it may be to fitter presentation and nobler recountal, was not always ludicrous or vulgar. The sonnet "To an Infant whose Mother died at its Birth," is by far the best of the collection; but as that has been, we believe, already published, and may be familiar to our readers, we have selected for quotation the first of two sonnets addressed to the throstle:—

"The throstle sang his loudest song to-day;
 Though the bleak north-wind grasped his joyous throat,
 It could not check the clear courageous note,
 That welcomed March as cheerily as May.
 'Tis surely wise to be thus early gay,
 Nor wait for calms before we go aloft,
 But bravely launch from shore our little boat,
 And sing in hope our spring-tide roundelay;
 Such trust will be repaid: for they who wait
 For summer, wait, and fearing, wait in vain:
 They who dare nothing, and restrain their song
 Till the hour suits them, never can be great;
 But will, with troublous care and frequent pain,
 Make evil choice at last and take the wrong."

^d "Sonnets." By the Earl of Rosslyn. William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1883.

An historical play should present the persons and events of actual history so visibly and so forcibly as to transport the spectator into the past and bring him face to face with the mighty dead. It is not enough to place well-known characters on the stage and to inform the audience as to a certain course of events. No doubt it is possible to convey instruction in this manner, and perhaps the ratepayers of another generation will submit to English History being taught in a series of histrionic model lessons. It might be expensive, but it would amuse the children, and prevent those distressing confusions between sacred and profane history which will take place when a retentive memory for names and a limited stock of ideas are united in the same person. Such a histrionic model lesson is "Julian the Apostate," a Tragedy,³ in two parts, by Christopher James Reithmüller. It is a chapter of ancient history pleasantly and lucidly told in blank verse. Sometimes the verse is hardly to be distinguished from prose, but, on the whole, if never rising to splendour or beauty, it is easy and agreeable. The narrative, we cannot call it a drama, is free from all defect of obscurity, and it is neither foolish nor unclean. To parents and guardians who wish their young folk to become acquainted with the history of Julian otherwise than through the pages of the immortal but uncelestial Gibbon, this tragedy will be invaluable. The following lines, taken from a speech of the heathen philosopher Maximus, albeit they recall a famous passage in Coleridge's "Wallenstein," deserve quotation:—

"We lift our eyes to yon resplendent Moon,
And call her Isis, Artemis, Diana;
For she who kissed Endymion in his sleep
Is the swift huntress of the woods and hills;
And she who wears the lotus of the Nile
Is the same goddess of the silver car
That nightly sheds abroad her genial light.
And so with all. Amid their shifting shapes,
Their essence lasts. While beauty charms the sense,
Or wisdom brings sweet solace to the mind,
Will Aphrodite and Athena reign.
And still Jove thunders from the heights of heaven,
And Neptune wakes the fury of the seas;
While Ceres on the golden harvest smiles,
And Bacchus trains the tendrils of the vine,
And Pan is piping to the flocks and herds."

It would be impossible to do full justice to "Poems,"⁴ by J. B. Selkirk, except at considerable length and by the help of numerous quotations. The author has the gift of writing pleasant verses, echoing, of course, the ideas and repeating the phrases of the day, but not markedly imitative of any particular poet. He can write a pretty song, a melodious and thoughtful hymn. Like most of his kind, he is

³ "Julian the Apostate;" a Tragedy, in Two Parts. By Christopher James Reithmüller. London: J. S. Virtue & Co., Limited, 26, Ivy Lane, Paternoster Row. 1883.

⁴ "Poems." By J. B. Selkirk, Author of "Ethics and Aesthetics of Modern Poetry," &c. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1, Paternoster Square. 1883.

religious, but by no means orthodox, and proclaims his gospel of the superiority of vagueness with no little spiritual pride. Bishops and other commonplace people are treated with the ignominy which they deserve. Nor are we spared the humorous and realistic love poem, in which the playful and the colloquial tremble on the verge of the ludicrous and the vulgar. The great defect in these poems, and in countless others of the present day, is that the author is not afraid of being careless. He who can write such charming verses as these—

“How is it, growing old, that what we’ve seen
 In earliest days should cling to memory yet,
 When all the interval of life between,
 Compared to *that* seems easy to forget ?
 How life, in which we’ve fought, and fagged, and striven,
 Looked back upon, should be but empty noise ;
 While far behind it, like the hills of heaven,
 Stand out the days when we were girls and boys ?”

ought to be ashamed of himself for condescending to write this one :—

“Well ! well ! I will be quiet,—calm your fears,
 ’Tis doctor’s orders, and I must agree.
 Good-night, my darling, kiss me—What ? in tears ?
 You too have loved the fields beside the sea.”

And still more astonishing is it that a man of cultivation and refinement, who can write the sonnet on Carlyle, or indeed the greater portion of the poems in this volume, can bring himself to write, not to say publish, such a verse as this :—

“Things are not with you and me
 What they were at twenty-three ;
 I’m now thirty (*entre-nous*, you’re twenty-nine) ;
 And you know as hearts grow older
 They will sometimes too grow colder
 And in short, run out of solder,
 Caroline.”

Or, again, it does not make a man a poet to be able to write as follows :—

“But out in mid-ocean, miles from the shore,
 It is still as still can be,
 Leagues upon leagues, an opal floor,
 Of the great unbroken sea.”

But it should make it impossible for him to write such a verse as this :—

“I lie full length on a tiger skin—
 With a skin of my *own* well browned—
 The palms of my hands tucked under my chin,
 And my elbows stuck in the ground.”

If Mr. Selkirk should ever publish another volume of poetry let him stick to sentiment and greatly dare not to be silly.

In "The Lay of the Lady Ida, and other Poems,"⁵ Mr. J. J. Britton has achieved a certain measure of success. His verses are agreeable and entertaining, and if they do not require study, they will repay perusal. The longest poem, "The Lay of the Lady Ida," is written in the style and manner of Mr. Browning. We are reminded of that great master's handiwork in the choice of subject—the love-story of an Italian artist—and, perhaps, we may say, in almost every line of the poem. But the imitation is not a slavish one, and there is no reproduction of the obscurity or eccentricity of the original. Lady Ida's love is a charming idyll, but who will not recognize the source of the following lines?—

"Yet pompous Dummerkoft and Krankheit there
Were glum and jealous as two grey tom-cats
At his preferment, then my lady smiled
With pleasure on him—at his presence there.
Yet look, he sits; shall I turn back and rouse?
No, where's the good, let be. Ah, here she comes,
My Mousie, true as ever to her time."

The tomb of Demos has a pleasant lilt of its own and a somewhat original turn of expression. There is some play of fancy in "Hesperas,"⁶ by E. M. Edmonds, and here and there the verse is melodious. Many of the pieces are a little dull, but only one, "Elfie's Doll," is careless and foolish. There is dignity in the conception of "Vashti," and the tone is sustained throughout the poem. The sentiment of "Poppies," and "Dora, or Last Words," is overstrained, but we read both pieces with pleasure. Mr. Edmonds' style is laboured, and he does not appear to write from any inner compulsion.

"Theodora and other Poems,"⁷ by George F. E. Scott, is admittedly the work of a very young man. At least the author admits that he was very young in 1881. At that distant period he might have pleaded youth as an excuse for the subjective character of his verses. Now he is aware that young people are fond of dwelling upon their own emotions, and that great poetry is made of sterner stuff. Be that as it may, he rhymes prettily, if somewhat monotonously, on Thought, and Love, and Sympathy, and Maidenhood, and other novel and daring themes. Perhaps he is a little too anxious to improve the occasion, and we should like to see him more cheerful. But he escapes the charge of folly and affectation. We applaud the sentiment and admire the construction of these lines from his introductory sonnet:—

"And ye, young hearts, who honour Love's sweet name,
Believing that she liveth pure and free,
Thy kindred thought shall be my dearest fame,
And God shall judge between the world and me:

⁵ "The Lay of the Lady Ida, and other Poems." By J. J. Britton, Author of "Carrel's," &c. London: Remington & Co., 134, New Bond Street. 1883.

⁶ "Hesperas, Rhythm and Rhyme." By E. M. Edmonds. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1, Paternoster Square. 1883.

⁷ "Theodora, and other Poems." By George F. E. Scott. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1, Paternoster Square. 1883.

I am content to bear its certain blame
That, in my darkness, I have dared to see! ”

It would not be fair to say that “Voices in Solitude,”⁸ which have spoken to R. G. H., have brought no messages of interest or beauty; but we advise him to close his ears, or rush into the “Maddling Crowd,” when they whisper to him such lines as these. He is addressing the sea—

“Thy belly’s bloated with a wealth of woe;”

He is appealing to some young ladies—

“Oh, swirl me suavely in the giddy dance.”

He is describing an eagle—

“He passes the pastures, the forests, the brooks,
And casts on their comeliness casual looks.”

Poetry has been defined as the best possible thoughts in the best possible words, but the stuff which we have quoted is an abuse, not only of the poetic faculty, but of the gift of language itself.

Of “Versicles,”⁹ by Isaac Flagg, there are fortunately but few. We do not say that the Paraphrase of the Adonizusæ is a wrong done to the shade of Theocritus. It is an insult to the genius of American slang. In “Hylethen,” on the other hand, the author displays a genuine love of Nature and some faculty of composing melodious verse. But the hideous vulgarity of the humorous pieces, if we may borrow a phrase from Mr. Flagg, is a “sticker.”

We do not understand how an agnostic can reconcile it to “Himself” to allow his “Songs by the Wayside”¹⁰ to be bordered by red lines designed after the pattern of an Oxford frame. And yet, perhaps, there is a justification. For it is not the pages only, but that which is written upon them, which has a close resemblance to a second-rate hymnal. *Cælum non animam mutant*; and although the writer may have discarded religion, he has by no means emancipated himself from superstition. The proverbial infidel who prayed to a hypothetical God to save a possible soul had more to say for himself than our agnostic, who denies and prays, prays and denies, breathless with vacillation. There is some point and pathos in the first effusion and in the last; but the walls of orthodoxy will not fall at the sound of such uncertain trumpeting.

“Poems, Antique and Modern,”¹¹ by C. L. Moore, impose a severe task on the patience of the reader. The style is laboured, and the poems are extravagantly long. In “Herakles,” an epic in eight

⁸ “Voices in Solitude.” By R. G. H. Author’s Complete and Revised Edition. London: John & Robert Maxwell, Milton House, Shoe Lane, Fleet Street.

⁹ “Pedantic Versicles.” By Isaac Flagg. Boston: Published by Ginn, Heath & Co. 1883. London: Trübner & Co.

¹⁰ “Songs by the Wayside of an Agnostic’s Life.” By Himself. London: W. Stewart & Co., Holborn Viaduct Steps, E.C. Edinburgh and Glasgow: J. Menzies & Co.

¹¹ “Poems, Antique and Modern.” By Charles Leonard Moore. Philadelphia: John E. Potter & Co. 1883. London: Trübner & Co.

books, we came across many beautiful lines and many absurd ones. We will give specimens only of the former:—

“And like an eagle that long time has been
Discomforted with clouds, mewed up in mists,
Who, glad with promise of the coming day,
Invades the very palace of the sun,
And soars above his own accustomed haunts.”

Again, there is a genuine ring of poetry in the following:—

“Vague longings, and unfathomable hopes,
And ministry of unaccustomed tears.”

There is imagination and power in the conception of “Herakles,” and the author, though he has gone to Keats for some of his inspiration, is an eager student of classical models. If, as the metre in four or five places clearly demands, he regards the penultimate of *Omphale* as a long syllable, he is mistaken; and three double epithets on one page—“background-filling,” “halfway-hanging,” “smooth-enamelled”—are somewhat overwhelming. If, as we surmise, the author is young, and will restrain his *Pegasus* within reasonable bounds, he may make a name for himself. He has undoubted talent, but his classical studies have not hitherto convinced him that the half is more than the whole, or that there is danger in excess. It is of little avail to be able to write beautiful lines, or to abound in poetic imagery, if none the less the lengthy narrative is at once extravagant and dull. It is as well, too, in writing on classical subjects to avoid making false quantities, or indulging in such blunders as “Keiron” or “Crysclephantine.”

It is a pleasure to take up a modern school-book, in order to see how a difficult task may be performed with some approach to perfection. The “*Odes of Horace*,”¹² edited, with Introduction and Notes, by T. E. Page, M.A., is an excellent specimen of the modern school-book. The notes, which are printed in such a way that the dullest youth cannot help seeing that “there is a note,” give just what is wanted, and are free from that accumulation of useless erudition which is superfluous to the scholar, and bewildering to the student.

The “*Satires of Horace*,”¹³ edited, with Notes, by Arthur Palmer, M.A., contain an interesting and most instructive prefatory note. We cannot, however, agree with him that, but for *Mæccenas*, Horace might never have made himself immortal. The notes are all that can be desired. A third volume of the same series, by the Rev. Hubert Holden, contains Cicero’s oration, “*Pro Publio Sestio*,”¹⁴ with an introduction, explanatory notes, and critical index. This is an edition for

¹² “*Q. Horatii Flacci Carminum Libri IV.*” Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by T. E. Page, M.A., late Fellow of St. John’s, Camb., Assistant-Master at Charterhouse. London: Macmillan and Co. 1883.

¹³ “*The Satires of Horace.*” Edited, with Notes, by Arthur Palmer, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, and Professor of Latin in the University of Dublin; London: Macmillan & Co.

¹⁴ “*Pro Publio Sestio.*” With Introduction and Explanatory Notes. By the Rev. Hubert A. Holden, M.A., LL.D., sometime Fellow of Trinity College, Camb., London: Macmillan & Co. 1883.

scholars as well as students, and although the notes are suitable for schoolboys, the appendix on the text and the grammatical index belong to a higher range of scholarship.

In addition to their school and college series, Messrs. Macmillan continue to issue their series of elementary classics. We have before us Homer's "Odyssey,"¹⁵ by Rev. John Bond, M.A., and A. S. Walpole, M.A.; "Livy," Book I., by Rev. H. M. Stephenson, M.A. We have also received "Le Médecin Malgré Lui, of Molière,"¹⁶ and "La Mare au Diable,"¹⁷ of George Sand, with biographical notice and notes, by W. E. Russell, which are among the first instalments of Messrs. Macmillan's foreign school classics. We cannot speak too highly of this excellent series.

We have to acknowledge "Two Shakspeare Examinations,"¹⁸ with some remarks on the class room study of Shakspeare, by William Taylor Thom, M.A.; "Hat Francis Bacon die Dramen William Shakspeare's Geschrieben?" von Dr. Eduard Engel;¹⁹ and the tenth volume of the "Parchment Library Edition of Shakspeare."²⁰

"Le Secret de Sabine,"²¹ by M. Desnee, cannot be ranked very high among contemporary French romances. The scene is laid on the confines of France and Spain, and the action of the story turns upon the events of the Carlist war of 1873. Some of the scenes in the Carlist camp, and especially among the "Guerrilleros," are vividly painted, and bear the stamp of reality; but, generally speaking, the incidents are more suitable to an Opéra Comique, or a Porte St. Martin mélodrame, than to a novel. Improbabilities are heaped one upon another till all sense of reality is lost, and the personages who flit across the stage are more like the fantastic figures in a magic-lantern than creations of flesh and blood. Fantastic and unnatural beyond all the rest, is the figure (we cannot employ the word "character") of Cita, the Indian girl, who though described as *cuirée*, and constantly exhaling her hatred against the *blancs*, turns out to be the

¹⁵ Homer's "Odyssey." Book I. Edited for the Use of Schools. By the Rev. John Bond, M.A., Chaplain and Classical Instructor Royal Military Academy, Woolwich; and A. S. Walpole, M.A., late Scholar of Worcester College, Oxford. With Notes and Vocabulary. London: Macmillan & Co. "Titi Livi." Liber I. Edited with Notes and Vocabulary for the Use of Schools. By Rev. H. M. Stephenson, M.A., late Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge; Head Master of St. Peter's School, York. London: Macmillan & Co. 1883.

¹⁶ "Le Médecin Malgré Lui." Par J. B. Poquelin de Molière (1666). By G. Eugène Fasnacht. London: Macmillan & Co. 1883.

¹⁷ "La Mare au Diable." By George Sand (1846). With Biographical Notice and Notes by W. E. Russell, M.A., Assistant-Master in Haileybury College. London: Macmillan & Co. 1883.

¹⁸ "Two Shakspeare Examinations." By William Taylor Thom, M.A., Professor of English Literature in Hollins' Institute, Virginia. Boston: Ginn, Heath & Co. London: Trübner & Co.

¹⁹ "Hat Francis Bacon die Dramen William Shakspeare Geschrieben?" Von Dr. Eduard Engel. Leipzig, 1883. Verlag von Wilhelm Friedrich. London: Trübner & Co.

²⁰ "Shakspeare." Vol. X. Parchment Library Edition. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1, Paternoster Square. 1883.

²¹ "Le Secret de Sabine." Par H. Desnee. Trois Edition. Palais Royal, Paris. 1883.

sister of the heroine, Sabine, one being as much an "Indienne" as the other, as both are half-castes. Yet for the exigencies of the story, the two girls—daughters of the same French father, by Hindoo mothers—are made the types and representatives of two alien and antagonistic races. The "Secret de Sabine," too, is no secret to the reader, who guesses it from the opening chapters, though it seems to be impenetrable to the various actors in the story; among the rest, to the inevitable *juge d'instruction* and his *greffier*, who exercise their practised wits upon its discovery, but in vain. The one touch of nature in the book is the fanatic, fighting monk, Santa Maria. His character and motives are both skilfully and naturally delineated; if not historic and traditional, Santa Maria might almost be regarded as a creation.

"Mercedès Pepin"²² is a most disagreeable story, extremely well told. The heroine is a young and charming creole, married, some years before the opening of the tale, to the Comte Genevraye, a man of old family and moderate fortune, kind, just, and honourable, but not an enthusiastic or lover-like husband; for not only is he long past his youth, but mined by an inward disease, which must sooner or later end fatally. The ill-assorted pair have hitherto lived at M. De la Genevraye's château, but, in the opening chapter, the husband is absent in Paris, whither he is gone, at his wife's desire, to superintend the preparation of a town residence. He has been absent but three weeks, but the time has sufficed for Mercedès to contract a liaison with a stalwart young rustic, André Manchard by name, the superficially educated son of the Maire of the Commune, an ambitious and self-made man, who, born a peasant, and having raised himself to the class above him—the bourgeoisie—hopes to push his son still higher. The son is a musician of some proficiency, though without genius, and it is during his performance as organist in the village church that his *æillades* have won the heart of the too-susceptible châtelaine. When first we see her she is consulting the family doctor, who pronounces her to be *enceinte*. A painful doubt seizes her as to the paternity of the child, but she hopes for the best, dismisses her peasant lover with a half-promise for some future day, announces her condition to her husband, and lovingly meets him on his return. In due time a son is born; but, unfortunately, a certain mark on his leg proves to the mother that he owes his existence not to the Comte, but to André. She is overwhelmed with remorse, and regards her child as the living chastisement of her offence. She fears, too, that the inherited blemish may serve as a *pièce de conviction* to others besides herself. Fain would she cry, with Lady Macbeth, "Out, damned spot," but the "spot" will not "out." She consults the doctor on the subject of having it effaced, but secretly instigated by the doctor himself, the Comte interferes, and forbids the operation. From this period the life of Mercedès is one continued and fruitless struggle against the inexorable past. She

²² "Mercedès Pepin." Emmanuel Denvy. Calmann Lévy, Editeur. Paris. 1883.

feels it intolerably base that she should allow her bastard to usurp the ancient name and estates of the De la Genevraye; base, too, that she herself should live in luxury on the fortune of the husband she has so cruelly wronged; so she is constantly revolving hopelessly unpractical schemes of confession and restitution, not seeing, apparently, that, in her case, anything like confession, however relieving to herself, would be but a fresh wrong—another gratification of self, in fact, at the expense of those she has already injured. The rest of the story may be dismissed in a few lines. Her wild theories of reparation and restitution, together with her maternal affection, which gradually grows into an absorbing passion, drag down the unhappy *Mercedès* from one infamy to another. Her one desire is to marry her lover, in order that he may legally adopt their son; with this end in view, she watches with keen interest her husband's failing life, constantly looking forward to his death, if she does not actually desire it. She renews her guilty relations with *André*, this time without the excuse of passion, or even inclination, for his coarseness and vulgarity now disgust her; but to break off a marriage planned for him by his father. All her schemes fail. The father of *André*—one of the best-drawn characters in the book—surprises her secret, rescues his son from her toils, and marries him to the girl he had chosen for him. Soon after, *M. de la Genevraye* dies; at the last moment *Mercedès* makes her confession to him, and entreats his pardon. He tells her he has long known all she can tell him, and that he forgives her on condition that the secret of his paternity shall never be revealed to the boy. Such is, in briefest outline, the story of *Mercedès Pepin*; a more painful and unpleasant plot cannot well be imagined; yet the grace and cleverness with which it is told, the skilfully drawn characters and the telling situations, go far to redeem it. Nevertheless, we should be glad to see *M. Denvy's* able pen employed on a more agreeable and more wholesome theme.

Tastes vary in fiction as in everything else; and it is possible that some readers may derive entertainment from the perusal of "*Miss Beauchamp, a Philistine*."²³ For our own part, we must confess that we have found it simply unreadable. The style is flighty and pretentious, and the characters and conversations entirely unnatural.

"*Inchbracken*"²⁴ is a clever sketch of Scottish life and manners at the time of the "Disruption," or great secession from the Established Church of Scotland, which resulted in the formation of the Free Church. The scene of the story is a remote country parish in the North of Scotland, within a few miles of the highland line. The main interest centres in the young Free Church minister and his sister and their relations, on the one hand, with the enthusiastic supporters of the disruption movement, mostly of the peasant or small tradesmen class, with a sprinkling of the smaller landowners;

²³ "*Miss Beauchamp, a Philistine*." Three vols. By *Constance MacEwen*. Chapman & Hall, London. 1883.

²⁴ "*Inchbracken*:" a Novel. By *Robert Cleland*. One vol. Wilson & McCormack, Glasgow. 1883.

and, on the other hand, with the zealous supporters of the Established Church, represented by the Drysdales of Inchbracken, the great family of the neighbourhood. The story is well and simply told, with many a quiet touch of humour, founded on no inconsiderable knowledge of human nature.

"Loys Lord Beresford, and other Tales,"²⁵ is a collection of very short stories, one very much like another, and possessing the minimum of literary merit. They may fairly be compared to the feuilletons of the fashion-books, where they would undoubtedly be better placed than in the more pretentious ranks of three volume novels.

Whether "The Battle of the Moy"²⁶ is intended as a threat, or as a warning, or merely as a vain boast, necessarily placed in the future by those whose past contains nothing to boast of, is more than we can pretend to determine. In any case, it is an unsavoury and foolish little publication.

The story of "Clare Welsman"²⁷ is both unusual and original. There is material in it to fill creditably the regulation three vols.; but being condensed into one, the incidents are somewhat sketchily told. Very delicately and dexterously the author depicts the gentle and subdued emotions of Quaker life, and the innocent rebellion of the young heroine against the strait-laced tenets of her sect. All the figures in the story stand forth with distinctness, though few words are given to their description. The plot is a sad one. In early life fortune seemed to smile upon the youthful sculptor. He is successful in his art and in his love. But soon after reaching manhood, he accidentally makes the hideous discovery that both his father and his grandfather died mad, a ghastly fact hitherto carefully concealed from him. Feeling sure that he must inherit or transmit the taint of insanity, he renounces all thought of marriage, and gives himself up to his art. An early death, caused by a daring act of heroism, by which he saves the life of his friend, is, perhaps, the best sequel such a book could have.

When we read the little dedication to Mr. Walter Besant, by which Mr. Murray's "By the Gate of the Sea"²⁸ is prefaced, we felt hopeful as to the quality of the work to follow. Any young novelist who had tried to follow in the footsteps of Mr. Besant must at least have been working in a right direction. On perusal, "By the Gate of the Sea" has fully realized our anticipations. The style is unusually bright, and the manner of narration swift and direct. The general atmosphere of the book is gay and pleasant, notwithstanding much that is sad in the plot.

As far as we can judge through the medium of a translation, "The

²⁵ "Loys Lord Beresford, and other Tales." By the Author of "Molly Bawn," &c. Three vols. Smith, Elder & Co, Waterloo Place, London.

²⁶ "The Battle of the Moy: How Ireland gained her Independence in 1892-1894." Swan Sonnenschein & Co., London.

²⁷ "Clare Welsman." One vol. Remington & Co., New Bond Street, London. 1883.

²⁸ "By the Gate of the Sea." By David Christie Murray. Two vols. Chatto & Windus, Piccadilly, London. 1883.

"Adventures of Three Fugitives"²⁹ bears a considerable resemblance to some of Jules Verne's stories, but without the quasi-scientific marvels which form their especial attraction. We suspect, however, that the work of MM. Tissot and Améro has lost much of its charm and vivacity in assuming an English dress; the translation does not seem to us a very good one; one can never forget that it is a translation. Sometimes the translator has too closely followed the French idiom, as when he renders "*sans trop de difficulté*" by "without too much difficulty;" more frequently he Anglicizes too freely, often giving an English equivalent for expressions which might with advantage have remained in the original French. A glaring instance of this occurs so often as to be provoking. A typical Frenchman is made to exclaim on all occasions: "Hurrah for liberty!" which may be as near as we can come to *Vive la Liberté!* but is by no means the same thing, and is fatal to the *couleur locale* of the original words. Still, as it stands, "The Adventures of Three Fugitives" is a capital boy's book.

"A Search for a Soul; or, Sapphire Lights"³⁰ is what its title might lead one to expect, a silly and pretentious book. The author seems not to see the difference between originality and eccentricity. He says of one of his principal characters that he had "ideas" on the subject of the education of women, and that these ideas were "original;" whereas, to us it seems that these "original ideas" were nothing more than eccentric notions not worthy to be ranked as ideas, much less as original. The truth is that a man cannot be original at will, but any one who does not mind being ridiculous can put on the "trick of singularity" and set up for being eccentric. From the absurd and stilted phraseology in which Mr. Anstruther (the man with ideas) and his daughters give out their sophistical platitudes, one might imagine that the book was a satire on some new doctrinaire craze, in short, that the author was laughing at his own puppets; but this charitable supposition is precluded by the fact that his style, when he is writing in his own person, differs but slightly from that of his characters. So one is driven to the conclusion that either the author's ideas present themselves to him in a singularly uncouth and topsy-turvy form, or else that he affects an involved and archaic style in order to achieve a reputation for eccentricity, which, as we said before, he seems to think synonymous with originality.

"Through One Administration"³¹ is a delicate and subtle book. The story is told mainly by means of conversations between the various *dramatis personæ*, whose dispositions and peculiarities are thus gradually self-revealed, little by little, by small but clever touches, till at length the reader comes to regard them as real living people, whom he knows unusually well. This is, in our opinion, the most artistic manner which

²⁹ "Adventures of Three Fugitives in Siberia." By Messrs. Victor Tissot and Constant Améro. Translated from the fourth French edition, by S. Gale. One vol. Remington & Co., New Bond Street, London. 1883.

³⁰ "A Search for a Soul; or, Sapphire Lights." By O. Es. ienenham. One vol. Wyman & Sons, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, London. 1883.

³¹ "Through One Administration." By Francis Hodgson Burnett. Three vols. Frederick Warne & Co., Bedford Street, Strand. 1883.

the novelist has at his command of at once making known his personages and telling the story, but it is also assuredly the most difficult. In the present instance it somewhat unduly retards the action, and the talk, clever as it is, sometimes verges on prolixity. One of the characters, Colonel Tredennis, deserves especial mention as a noble and touching creation; he may be shortly described as a sort of glorified likeness of "Dobbin" in *Vanity Fair*. The *dénouement* is utterly sad—all the sadder because it is reached so slowly, and has so long been inevitable.

Evidently, "Pensam"³² is the work of an unpractised hand. The composition is faulty, and the plot inartistic. Nevertheless, the story is not without merit, nor the author without invention. These qualities excuse a certain clumsiness which pervades the book, but they are not sufficient to hide the vulgarity of the style and the social impossibilities of the *dénouement*. The "mysterious habit" is altogether an absurdity, whether in its origin, in its effects, or in its cure. We would mention with commendation the drowning of Hiatt. It is well and strikingly told.

In Parts II. and III. of "*Altiora Peto*"³³ the interest awakened by the first number is fairly well sustained. The author is quite in his element when he depicts English fashionable country-house life. His picture, no doubt, is satirical, and something of a caricature; but if not good-natured, neither is it unjust. The follies and vices he paints do exist, and his characters, situations, and dialogue are eminently realistic. But when we turn to the American damoiselles errant, who figure so prominently in the story, we feel that we abandon the solid ground of real life to float in the airy realms of fancy. Their sweet, unsophisticated innocence, combined as it is with so much practical business capacity, and such marvellous wide-awake acuteness, is altogether ideal. We concede at once that modern European society is corrupt, but we cannot so readily admit the Arcadian simplicity of New York or San Francisco.

Another personage, whom we cannot but regard as "high fantastical," is "Old Hannah," who acts as a sort of chaperon to the American heiress and her friend. She is not only too good to be true, but at once too illiterate, too vulgar, too wise, too powerful, too piercing in her insight, and too wide in her sympathies, not only to be true, but to be conceivable. Still she is amusing, taking indeed the low comedy rôle of the picce—and eminently useful to the development of the plot, inasmuch as she acts as a sort of providence *à petit pied*, or *Deus ex machinâ*. Nevertheless, her favourite formula, "It's old Hannah says so, and you'd better believe it!" does pall when it comes too often. As for the flimsy philosophy which is put into the mouth of the heroine, and one of the male characters, we know not whether the author himself takes it *au sérieux*; but we

³² "Pensam: His Mysterious Tribulation." By William Bolitho Ryall. One vol. Remington & Co., New Bond Street, London. 1883.

³³ "*Altiora Peto*." Parts II., III., and IV. By Laurence Oliphant. Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1883.

cannot pretend to do so, any more than we can the quasi-scientific speculations which place the moral sentiments—the real inner man—in the interstices between the physical molecules.

In the Fourth Part the marvels and improbabilities thicken, and never, up to the close, do we re-enter the domain of reality. People meet in the most impossibly opportune conjunctures. "Old Hannah," more providential than ever, turns out to be a sort of universal aunt, and receives a new accession of power and prestige from each newly found tie of kindred. All the several couples pair off delightfully; the good people are rewarded, and even the worst are but mildly dealt with. The union of the heroine with the man of her choice is reserved for the last chapter, and here we have a last glimpse of the mystical humanitarian sentimentalities to which we have before adverted. Altiora Peto and her lover cannot condescend to love each other in the ordinary old-fashioned way; their mutual attachment rests on the ground—much more solid and enduring, we are told—that each loves humanity far more. Indeed, so ethereal and exalted is their affection, that they feel no need of such a commonplace bond as marriage; but still, having carefully explained all this to each other, they do marry, and we may hope live happily ever after. But, after all our strictures, we should fail to give our true opinion of Mr. Oliphant's work if we did not add that if a larger proportion of modern novels were half as entertaining and well-written as "Altiora Peto," the critic's task would be singularly lightened.

From Mr. Douglas's charming pocket edition of American authors we have "One Summer,"³⁴ by Miss Blanche Willis Howard; it is a graceful and lively story, though it has not the fresh fund of whim and humour which characterized "Rudder Grange," nor the simple pathos of "Old Creole Days."

Of much finer texture is Mr. Howells' "Italian Journeys,"³⁵ from the same series, in which themes that might be deemed trite from long familiarity derive new freshness from the delicate and discriminating originality with which they are treated.

Still from the same series we have another volume by Mr. Howells, containing two stories. The first, "Out of the Question,"³⁶ is a clever satire, and goes to prove that free and democratic America is just as much under the tyranny of caste as aristocratic and "feudal" England. The story is eminently dramatic in form, so much so that a few slight changes and excisions are all that would be required to turn it into a good acting play. The remainder of the volume is occupied by "At the Sign of the Savage," a charming little tale brimming over with fun; French in its light-hearted gaiety, but with an under-current of sly humour essentially American.

³⁴ "One Summer." By Blanche Willis Howard. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1883.

³⁵ "Italian Journeys." By William D. Howells. Two vols. Edinburgh; David Douglas. 1883.

³⁶ "Out of the Question, and at the Sign of the Savage." By William D. Howells. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1883.

"X. Y. Z."³⁷ is a well-told detective story, with a strong transatlantic flavour about it. The detective himself is as unlike M. Lecocq or Inspector Bucket as the family, in whose affairs he interferes so unexpectedly and effectually, is unlike a gentleman's household on this side of the Atlantic. The story is short, but it contains more interesting incident than many a three-volume novel.

There is one radical defect in all novels which profess to lay bare the inner mysteries of Nihilism and other revolutionary societies—viz., that if the writers were now, or ever had been, members of the conspiracies of which they write, they would not dare to reveal their secrets; if, on the other hand, they are but "outsiders," their pretended revelations are simply vain imaginings. In the novel by which these remarks have been suggested, "*Aut Cæsar aut Nihil*,"³⁸ the imaginings are superlatively vain; the picture where meant to be most thrilling and terrific often touches closely on the ridiculous. But apart from Nihilism, which has been much better treated elsewhere, the story itself is a poor one; there is a crowd of characters, yet but little interest attaches to any of them. Throughout the whole book—and it is a very long one—the reader has an uneasy feeling that he is the victim of the author's desire to parade her familiarity with Thrones and Courts, and her profound knowledge of "all people, nations, and languages."

"*Mine Own People*"³⁹ is surely the longest one-volume novel that ever was printed. The few and unexciting incidents which it contains are not more than sufficient to furnish forth a short magazine story complete in one number, yet here they are made to occupy five hundred closely printed pages. It cannot be said that, with the exception of a few Scotticisms, such as "whenever" for "as soon as ever," "almost never" for "hardly ever," &c., the book is badly written, nor are the characters unskillfully drawn; certainly pains and minuteness of detail are not spared in their delineation. The radical fault is that the incidents are too slight, and the characters for the most part too dull and commonplace to bear the full and exhaustive treatment they receive. Probably the *raison d'être* of the work is to be found in the religious "experience" of the heroine, who after a prolonged period of wo-begone sentimental misery—which by the way is described and analyzed at most wearisome length—suddenly, one night (to borrow a transatlantic expression) "gets religion," and next morning, and ever after, is radiantly happy and touchingly good. This, one can hardly doubt, is the "little leaven" which Miss Louisa M. Gray has hidden, not in three measures of meal, but in five hundred and eighteen slightly vapid pages.

³⁷ "X. Y. Z." A Detective Story. By Anna Katherine Green. New York: G. P. Putnam & Sons. 1883.

³⁸ "*Aut Cæsar aut Nihil*." By the Countess M. Von Bothmer. Three vols. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1883.

³⁹ "*Mine Own People*." By Louisa M. Gray. One vol. Edinburgh: Macniven & Co. 1833.

"The Signora"⁴⁰ by Captain E. D. Lyon, is more like a French than an English novel, especially in the earlier chapters, which are the best. It has all the brightness and movement of a French novel, as likewise the startling adventures, improbable enough in themselves, but made to seem natural by the atmosphere of everyday life which is skilfully thrown over them. The style is occasionally careless, and there is a redundancy of plot which betrays inexperience in romance writing; nevertheless, "The Signora" is thoroughly pleasant, entertaining reading. We wish there were more like it.

In many respects "The Professor and His Daughters"⁴¹ is more than an average novel. The style, and what, for want of a better word, may be called the setting, are fairly good, but all these good qualities are neutralized by the lugubrious dreariness of the story. Never was a man, except perhaps in a Greek tragedy, the victim of such an unbroken series of calamities as the poor Professor. In steady succession he loses his professorship, his wife, the literary labour on which his life had been spent, his fortune, and his favourite daughter, who, passing by an abrupt and somewhat improbable transition from extreme innocence to the lowest depths of infamy and degradation, is finally brought home to die. Under this last and crowning grief the unhappy Professor succumbs; he and his daughter expire together just as he has, with much difficulty, induced her to repeat after him the Lord's Prayer. To make a good novel out of such materials is a task not much more hopeful than that of extracting "sunbeams from cucumbers."

In "The Romance of Combhurst"⁴² the plot turns on the not very novel incident of a great estate being inherited by the wrong people, while the rightful heir—in this case read heiress—is developing in obscurity and dependence all the virtues and accomplishments calculated to adorn the brilliant lot which is to be hers at last. It is a pretty little romance, though the materials out of which it is composed are somewhat stale. Its moral purpose seems to be to set forth the intrinsic merits of self-sacrifice. It contains one or two telling scenes and some well-drawn characters. The shop-boy Robin is especially good; his merry and unselfish personality serves like a ray of sunshine to brighten the picture which otherwise would be too sombre.

There is not very much to praise or to blame in "Under Sunny Skies."⁴³ It is fairly good, and no more. Perhaps the descriptions of the hunting-field are the best bits in the book; they are certainly the most amusing; but even they have been better done elsewhere. The story is not without merit, but much of its interest is lost from the very lukewarm sympathy which is all that any of the characters

⁴⁰ "The Signora." By Capt. E. D. Lyon, late 68th Light Infantry. Three vols. London: Remington & Co., New Bond Street. 1883.

⁴¹ "The Professor and His Daughters." By J. Meredith Thomas. Three vols. London: Remington & Co., New Bond Street. 1883.

⁴² "The Romance of Combhurst." By E. M. Alford. Two vols. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1883.

⁴³ "Under Sunny Skies." By the Author of "Robert Forrester." Two vols. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1883.

have the power to inspire. But a small portion of the two volumes is, however, devoted to the story; the rest consists of digressions—long descriptions of well-known places, moralizings, abstract disquisitions and political discussions, which do but retard the action, and have not sufficient eloquence, profundity, or novelty to excuse their interrupting presence.

“In *Thicker than Water*”⁴⁴ Mr. James Payn has favoured us with a better novel than many of his later productions. The plot is well-conceived, and carried out with much spirit and novelty. But somehow the atmosphere of the book is far from pleasant, and there are pages upon pages of dull, unreadable matter which, though evidently meant to be humorous, never call up a smile. Yet Mr. Payn is not without a good share of mother-wit. His people are always themselves, and there is in the present work a fine touch of humour where he describes the lachrymose widow who has been so long accustomed to calamity that, when she hears the unexpected news of her son’s wife having inherited a million of money, she looks upon it as having something of the nature of a final catastrophe. We could wish that the book contained more story and less “padding.”

“*Because of the Angels*”⁴⁵ is hardly a promising title, but the novel so named is an unusually good one. The angels alluded to are not Biblical or Miltonic angels, nor the “sweet little cherub” of Dibdin, but the dignitaries of the Irvingite Church who are known by that name. The formation and origin of that Church, and the passing of the great Reform Bill, are the two historical events upon which the incidents of Miss Hope’s story are grafted. Almost all the personages are Scotch, and the scene is laid sometimes in London, but oftener in Scotland. The descriptions of mountain scenery are unusually good, and never forced into unnatural prominence. Many of the conversations, too, are clever, and what is rarer, they almost invariably form an integral part of the work—that is, they either throw light on the idiosyncrasies of one or other of the *dramatis personæ*, or advance the development of the plot.

In the recently published volume entitled “*Tales, Sketches, and other Papers*,”⁴⁶ by Nathaniel Hawthorne, there is little that is capable of giving added lustre to the fame of the great American novelist. Many of the sketches were written early in life, before the genius of the writer had reached its full development; some were composed expressly for children, and in their didactic tone, are more suggestive of Sandford and Merton than of Hawthorne; others again were mere *pièces d’occasion*, whose interest is limited to the circumstances and time which called them forth. In fact, the only valid reason for reprinting the greater part of the contents of the volume seems to be

⁴⁴ “*Thicker than Water*.” By James Payn. Three vols. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1883.

⁴⁵ “*Because of the Angels*.” By M. Hope. Two vols. London: Longmans Green & Co. 1883.

⁴⁶ “*Tales, Sketches and Other Papers*.” By Nathaniel Hawthorne. With a Biographical Sketch, by George Parsons Lathrop. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Cambridge: The Riverside Press. 1883.

that it is, as we learn from the index, the twelfth volume of a complete edition of Hawthorne's works, edited by Mr. Lathrop. Such an edition is not complete unless it contains every recoverable scrap which the author has ever penned, together with his life. The life in the present instance is fairly well done, if we take into account the lack of salient interest which, as usual, forms the besetting difficulty of the biographer.

Mr. Lal Behari Day's volume of "Folk-Tales of Bengal"⁴⁷ is from all points of view one of the best contributions to folk-lore which we have seen. Not only are the tales unusually romantic and interesting, but they bear the unmistakable impress of authenticity, they have the genuine ring of antiquity and remoteness; the incidents and the accessories alike tell of scenes and manners essentially un-European. In fact, in all respects they more nearly approach the "Arabian Nights" than do any collection of Eastern tales which have come under our notice.

Birthday Books⁴⁸ may be all very well as gift-books, and they are certainly harmless, if not very useful. A telling sentence or an apt quotation may cause a pleasurable sensation on one's own birthday, or on that of one's friends, but we cannot see that extracts from John Bright's platform speeches, divorced from their context, form either apt or telling birthday mottoes. Mr. Langford tells us that his task of selecting and compiling has been a labour of love, and adds that "the labour we delight in physics pain." The quotation sounds well, but its application is rather bewildering. The labour we delight in can hardly physic the pain which consists in its performance, yet no other pain is here mentioned or even hinted at.

Now that we are at length beginning to assign due value to the study of modern languages, nothing can be regarded as unimportant which tends to lessen the difficulties of French grammar, by reducing to the simplicity of true science the arbitrary and conflicting rules with which successive grammarians have contrived to obscure and complicate it. These remarks have been suggested by two very able and lucid *brochures*, "La préposition et son complément," and "Des prépositions et des cas,"⁴⁹ by M. Charles Laroche, Professor of the *Athénée Royal*, at Ghent. Nowhere is tuition more scientifically and ably conducted than in the Government schools in Belgium. M. Laroche's brochures appeal more especially to professional teachers and students of comparative grammar, but they are far from being without interest for that large and increasing portion of English readers who occupy themselves with the niceties and technicalities

⁴⁷ "Folk-Tales of Bengal." By the Rev. Lal Behari Day. London: Macmillan & Co. 1883.

⁴⁸ "The Bright Birthday Book." Selected and arranged from the Speeches and Letters of the Right Hon. John Bright, M.P. By John Alfred Langford, LL.D. London: Simpkin & Marshall, Fleet Street.

⁴⁹ "La Préposition et son Complément." *Les Grammaires et la Logique.* Par Ch. Laroche, Professor D'Athénée à Gand. "Des Prépositions et des cas Examen critique de la Grammaire Générale de P. Burggraff." Par Ch. Laroche, Hector Manceaux. Imprimeur Editeur à Mons.

of the French language. M. Laroche's contention is that, contrary to the generally received opinion of grammarians, the preposition has no complement—in other words, that in languages which have cases, it is not the preposition which determines the case, but the relation of ideas desired to be expressed which determines the case; and, in languages like the French, where there are no cases, determines the choice of the preposition. Thus, in *liber Petri*, it is the relation of possession between the antecedent (*liber*) and the consequent (*Petri*) which determines the use of the genitive. In the French version, *Le livre de Pierre*, the same thing holds good: *Pierre* is the complement—not of *de*, which is only the sign (like the Latin genitive) of possession, but of *livre*, the antecedent, or *sujet*, of which it literally completes the idea. M. Laroche further contends, and, as it seems to us, triumphantly proves, that where both cases and prepositions are employed, as in *Eo in Romam*, *Eo ad Romam*, &c., the function of the preposition is not to “govern,” as one used to be taught, the deflected case which follows it, but simply to define more accurately the relation between the antecedent and the consequent than the use of the case alone could define it. Prepositions are, in fact, says M. Laroche, to words what conjunctions are to phrases, simple links to unite in a determinate sense that which precedes to that which follows. It would be out of place here, even did our space permit it, to follow these technicalities into further detail. M. Laroche's little pamphlets are one long argument, most ably conducted; sometimes he exposes the errors of his adversaries out of their own mouths, by quoting their own conflicting statements; at others, by the use of a vigorous dialectic, illustrated by references to English, German, Flemish, and even Sanskrit and Turkish. Of the importance of the right understanding of French prepositions, no higher attestation can be adduced than the following quotation from Littré:—“Plus on étudiera notre langue, plus on admirera l'usage qu'elle sait faire de ses prépositions; entre lesquelles distinguons-en deux, à et de, qui soutiennent presque tout l'édifice du langage français.”

The English Dialect Society, steadily pursuing their valuable work, now gives us “A Glossary of the Dialect of Almondsbury and Huddersfield.”⁵⁰ It is compiled with the same care and caution which characterize all the Society's publications. On one point, as it seems to us, much anxious labour has been expended—we will not say in vain—but with less solid result than it deserves. The subject to which we allude is the phonetic spelling—or the reproduction by written symbols of the peculiar sounds given to the letters, especially the vowels—in various counties or districts. Any one with an intimate *vis à vis* knowledge of more than one language, or even of his own language and one of its dialects, must be aware that phonetic spelling is a delusion, and that the only way in which a knowledge of pronunciation can be communicated is by ear. What phonetic symbol

⁵⁰ “A Glossary of the Dialect of Almondsbury and Huddersfield.” Compiled by the late Rev. Alfred Easther, M.A. Edited by the Rev. Thomas Lees, M.A. Published by Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill, for the English Dialect Society. 1883.

can render to one who has not heard it the sound of the French? Mr. Easther himself confesses that he knows not how to render the Yorkshire *a in dance*, which is equally removed from the sound of *dance, donce, or daunce*, of classical English.

The publication of "A Dictionary of the Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature of Great Britain"⁵¹ supplies a want long felt by English students. It is most admirably compiled, and will be invaluable as a book of reference.

We are very glad to welcome a new issue of Professor Buchheim's⁵² admirable edition of Goethe's "Iphigenie auf Tauris." As we remarked on its first publication, this book is full of erudition, and gives proof of immense reading and labour judiciously applied. Not only has the editor throughout the play constantly compared the parallel passages from the "Iphigonia" of Euripides: he gives many illustrations from other Greek tragedies and poems, and occasionally refers to the modern Greek translation published in Goethe's lifetime, and to Rock's more recent translation into ancient Greek. The notes, considerably augmented in this edition, are everything that an earnest student can want, and contain a great deal to instruct even those who pass for German scholars. The most important part of the book is the critical introduction, in which, in a score of clearly written pages, Professor Buchheim gives a vivid explanation of the play, and of Goethe's "Motiv" in it, and an interesting account of the circumstances of its composition. We are a little surprised that the Universities Board has never prescribed this play for their certificate examinations. It is a magnificent work; it is full of human interest, and its study would be particularly valuable to lads who were at the same time working on Greek tragedy. The Board seems to prefer "Hermann und Dorothea," which, though a great work, is dull for boys; or Gutzkow's "Zopf und Schwert," which is neither a classic nor even well written. We would rather see them select works full of interest and action as to matter, and of the highest classic form as to style and moral. No work better fulfils these conditions than Goethe's "Iphigenie," and Professor Buchheim's edition is admirably adapted for use in the higher forms of our public schools.

⁵¹ "A Dictionary of the Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature of Great Britain." By the late Samuel Halkett, Keeper of the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh; and the late Rev. John Laing, M.A., Librarian of the New College Library, Edinburgh. Vols. I. and II. Edinburgh: William Paterson. 1882.

⁵² "Iphigenie auf Tauris." A Drama by Goethe. Edited by C. A. Buchheim, Ph.D., F.C.P., Professor of German in King's College, London; Examiner in German to the Victoria University, Manchester. Second edition revised. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

INDIA AND OUR COLONIAL EMPIRE.

INDIA has recently been somewhat disturbed by rumours of a supposed Russo-Persian treaty, which, combined with the state of affairs on the Perso-Afghan frontier, has led some to anticipate a raising anew of the Central Asian question, with its attendant troubles and perplexities. Coincidentally with this comes a rumour that an envoy from the Shah of Persia is on his way to the Amir at Cabul. We believe there is no cause for the least surprise or uneasiness in the case of either of these items of intelligence. Colonel Stewart is tolerably sure to be well informed of all passing between Persia and Afghanistan, and any communications between the two countries are much more likely to be made with his approval than behind his back. The supposed treaty has no doubt had its origin in the *pourparlers* with reference to the demarcation of the Russo-Persian frontier line, a matter which has been under discussion for some months past, and which the recent completion of the Russian survey from the port of Chikishlar on the Caspian, to Sarakhs, a distance of close on 600 versts, has brought prominently forward. Few things are more likely to give rise to perpetual diplomatic troubles between two such powers as Russia and Persia than an undefined frontier line, and this boundary survey has been long foreseen by students of the Central Asian question as a most crying want. It is much to be desired, though, that an English Commissioner may be associated with the Russian and Persian Commissioners in their task. Such a demarcation is a matter of high importance, not only to the two contracting parties, but to Great Britain also, whose interest in that region and in an equitable arrangement being arrived at is obvious.

A reputed rising of the Ghilzai tribe against the authority of the Amir of Afghanistan created considerable sensation in August last. This large tribe are said to be discontented at the raising of the amount of their tribute to the Amir, who had also held them responsible for a recent raid on a caravan near Jagdalak. But the Amir is known to have been in personal communication with most of their leading chiefs, and subsequent reports state that matters have settled down. The Ghilzais are no doubt, numerically considered, a powerful tribe, and their ferocity and valour in the old Afghan campaigns some forty years ago have gained for them a great name; but the events of the past few years have taught us clearly that the Afghan tribes and sub-sections of tribes possess little or no power of cohesion and united action. It would require the grossest misgovernment on Abdurrahman's part, and a succession of defeats in the council and on the battle

field, to encourage the malcontents to sink their inter-tribal differences and unite for the purpose of trying conclusions against him.

The interest aroused by the Criminal Procedure Bill has culminated in the publication of the official opinions of the various authorities throughout India, whom the Government consulted as to the expediency of the proposed measure. As we ventured to anticipate in our last review of Indian events, the majority of those opinions is against the Ilbert Bill. Out of eleven heads of administration, five recommend the withdrawal of the Bill, while the remaining six manifest differences of opinion which do not strengthen the case of the Government; eleven out of the twelve judges of the Calcutta High Court condemn the Bill; while the Bombay and Allahabad judges, though numerically not opposed to it, recommend important modifications. The opinions of the mass of subordinate officers range themselves more unmistakably. Of Europeans, thirteen are in favour of passing the Bill, thirty-six for a compromise, and 173 recommend withdrawal; while of natives, forty-nine are in favour of the Bill or of a compromise, and fifteen are for withdrawal.

Where the drift of public opinion, or the only available substitute for it that exists in India, is so clear, it would be affectation not to regard it as decisive of the point at issue. Indeed, in an Empire like India, where representative government does not exist, and where the mass of the people are, as has truly been remarked, politically dumb, the opinions of the district officers possess a force, individually and collectively, which in this country we can hardly realize. The Government of India can have no possible wish to force measures of little intrinsic moment, just though they may be in themselves, on a reluctant community, or to act otherwise than in accordance with the views of the clear majority of its trusted and competent advisers. The Ilbert Bill, in its original form, would in no way have added to the well-being or happiness of the natives, and, therefore, it is practically of no consequence that the large majority of official opinions, by which the Government will to a great extent regulate its action, proceed from Englishmen, and not from natives. The measure would have affected Englishmen far more than natives, and no one acquainted with the responsibility of rule can blame the Government for recognizing and yielding to a feeling of genuine alarm among those who would have been mainly subject to the operation of the proposed measure. The concession, it is said, will take the form of a modification of the Bill, so as to limit the jurisdiction to district magistrates and sessions judges, and also so as to allow European cases to be transferred to the high courts, when their transfer is regarded as expedient and likely to further the ends of justice.

It is sincerely to be hoped that this will settle the heated controversy. We have before remarked that it is difficult to help regretting that the proposed Bill was brought forward on such slight evidence of a real demand for it. It is one of the highest proofs of statesmanship to know when one can wisely and safely "burke" an

awkward and irritating question; and had this course been pursued with Mr. Gupta's letter, the original *casus belli*, much bad blood would have been saved. But the question having been definitely raised, its merits should have been fairly placed before the public, and the extremely limited operation of the measure has really been most culpably exaggerated and even misrepresented by most of its opponents. And among these one regrets to have to include the Calcutta correspondent of the leading London daily paper, a gentleman who usually represents the views of the Anglo-Indian community with fidelity and discretion, but who in this affair has abandoned the semi-judicial functions that ought to pertain to the chief representative of the press in a country where the great difficulty is to find out in what direction healthy public opinion lies, and has taken up instead the part of an unreasoning and violent partisan. So far has this excited denunciation of Lord Ripon's Bill proceeded that wild efforts have been made to enlist among the opponents Lord Lytton, as having by his action condemned by anticipation the policy of the Ilbert Bill, as if it was not notorious that it was Lord Lytton who took the most active steps to enlarge the native *personnel* of the Covenanted Civil Service, and who distinctly contemplated the time when the service would be composed exclusively of natives. The mere mention of this fact, which ought to be better remembered than it is, is enough to show that the Ilbert Bill, though falling far short of Lord Lytton's rather visionary scheme, was following up his policy in the most logical and practical manner.

A recent telegram states that the draft report of the Education Commission has been already framed, though the final revision rests with the Hon. W. W. Hunter, C.I.E., the President. The scheme recommended provides for the extension of elementary education on a comprehensive scale, the incorporation of indigenous schools with the State system, and the enlargement of private enterprise and self-help, with the view of making further provision for higher education. The report also recommends that School-boards be constituted throughout the country, and that the cost of extending elementary education be further de-centralized. An Educational Bill and Code are strongly recommended, and the extreme importance of the subject enables us to assume with tolerable confidence that the measure will not long be delayed. It will undoubtedly constitute the first great landmark in the educational history of the country since 1854, when the present system first sprung into being.

Bee culture in India is a subject which has recently come to the front, and a batch of reports from the local administrations, together with a resolution of the Government, has been issued from the official press. The reports had their origin in an inquiry for information preferred by Mr. J. Douglas, of the Telegraph Department, who is an enthusiastic bee-keeper himself, and who represented that India was peculiarly adapted for the domestication of the bee, not only on account of the benefit which it would confer on the natives, but also because sweets form so important a constituent of

the native dietary, and because the climate and many of the plants which India grows extensively are apparently well suited for the purpose. From the reports now at hand, it appears that the honey-bee is found all over India—a proof that it might be cultivated with profit, and that the honey of some of the varieties is good and in considerable demand. Efforts have been successfully made by Europeans to domesticate Indian bees in the hills, but so far as practised by the natives, bee-culture is of the rudest character. Unfortunately the Government Resolution summing up the result of these inquiries is rather depreciatory in its tone. It remarks that it is very doubtful whether the bee could be domesticated in the plains, owing to the dearth of the flowers during the three or four months preceding the rains, and that in Southern India, persons such as Mr. Stormont, of Bombay, and others have given up all attempts to domesticate the most common variety of bee found there on account of its intractable nature. And, in conclusion, they observe that the industry is unlikely ever to be one of great importance in India, and that the Government see little or no cause for action on their part, though they will avail themselves of the Calcutta International Exhibition to make some further inquiries. Mr. Douglas has since remarked, with much truth, that these discouraging comments are to be regretted. No real attempt by an experienced bee-keeper has yet been made to practise improved bee-culture in the plains. Botanists agree that there are flowers for ten months in Lower Bengal, and that only in December and January do they fail, while bad as the comparative want of flowers may be, it can hardly be as bad as the severity of the winters in Europe and America, where the lowness of the temperature prevents breeding and decimates the swarm, and where bee-keeping is nevertheless successfully and profitably resorted to. Mr. Douglas's practical knowledge and enthusiasm are a guarantee that the subject will not be allowed to slumber; and we sincerely hope that an opportunity for pressing the matter anew on the attention of the Government will present itself during the coming Exhibition. Bee-keeping is essentially one of the subjects to which the various provincial Agricultural Departments could most fitly devote their attention and energies with profit to the native.

THE COLONIES.—Foremost among colonial questions during the past quarter, the annexation of New Guinea has been discussed in England with a vivacity not always shown in the treatment of colonial matters. It will be remembered that at the time of our going to press three months ago, the Secretary of State for the Colonies had announced the decision of the Government not to sanction the provisional annexation of the island by the Queensland authorities. An interview on the same subject between Lord Derby and the Agents-General for New South Wales, New Zealand, Victoria, and Queensland led to the preparation by the latter of an important despatch, bearing date July 21st, in which grounds were set forth for the annexation or protectorate, not only of New Guinea, but of the Western Pacific Islands also.

This paper, prepared with a care and historical accuracy, which have earned a compliment from the Secretary of State, furnished with closely-reasoned arguments and couched in animated language, deserves more than passing notice. Its general character may be described as an energetic plea for the adoption of a new policy in regard to the present state of things in the Western Pacific, which the Agents-General do not hesitate to describe as intolerable. They point out that the development of commercial intercourse between Great Britain, France, Germany, the United States, and other countries on the one hand, and the natives of the Pacific on the other, was not originally accompanied by any efficient means for the observance of law and order in that wide region, and that the first important efforts to deal with the problem, the Acts of Parliament passed in 1875, defining the powers and jurisdiction of Her Majesty in the Pacific Ocean, and creating the office of High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, have also proved insufficient to meet the increasing difficulties of the case. The jurisdiction of the High Commissioner has extended over British subjects exclusively, and has never been able to touch offences by natives of islands not under the Crown, and in the meantime murders of Europeans by natives have increased in frequency, and outrages by foreigners have also been perpetrated. Early in 1881, the state of affairs had become so bad that the Secretary of State (Lord Kimberley) was led officially to deplore the unusual number of outrages by natives upon white men. As might be supposed, reprisals were not slow to follow upon such deeds; and in the case of the murder of a boat's crew of the *Sandfly*, on a small island of the Solomon Group, the retaliatory measures instituted by Commander Bruce, of H.M.S. *Cormorant*, actually took the form of a declaration of war, formally pronounced by him in the name of the Queen against entire tribes in the Western Pacific for their refusal or failure to deliver up the actual murderers of the *Sandfly* men within fourteen days. The Agents-General comment pertinently on this: "Surely it was not this which could ever have been looked for as the outcome of the scheme of 1875 for the Government of the Western Pacific!"

The remedy suggested by the then Secretary of State, Lord Kimberley, was a Joint Commission for regulating the labour traffic, the trade in firearms, and the prevention and punishment of outrages of all kinds, to be issued under the sanction of a Convention between Her Majesty's Government and the other Powers. It does not appear, from the memorandum or despatch of the Agents-General, that this suggestion has been discarded, and it is possible that it may eventually be followed up and put into practice. In the meantime, however, matters call for a speedier remedy, and Sir A. Gordon has pointed out that such reforms are required as will enable the High Commissioner and his Court to fulfil their original object—*i.e.*, "to bring law, both civil and criminal, within the reach of British subjects far from all other legal tribunals; to check aggressive lawlessness; and to regulate the growth and development of British settlements in the Western Pacific."

At the time (1878) that rich gold-fields were reported to have been discovered in New Guinea, and a rush thither of miners was apprehended, the High Commissioner did not hesitate to advocate annexation, though he admitted that he would have preferred the adoption of another course could a really efficacious one have been found. The present cause which impels the colonists to urge the same step is the dread of any foreign Power obtaining a footing on the island, and the Agents General devote an important part of their letter to the consideration of this point. They show, with some force, that where the sovereignty of any island is in doubt or in dispute, foreign claims grow up imperceptibly but surely; and they illustrate this in part by the case of the New Hebrides, which were originally part of New Zealand under the Charter of 1810, but which have since become independent, and appear to be now more amenable to French influence than to that of any other nation. Attention is also seriously drawn to the *projet de loi* before the French Chamber of Deputies for retaining the penal settlements on New Caledonia and establishing fresh ones on the Loyalty Islands and the Marquesas Islands; and the calculation made in the same Chamber that in the first four years 20,000 of the worst criminals in France would be sent to those places. For New Guinea to become an Alsatia of the Pacific would be intolerable; and the despatch concludes with an energetic appeal to sanction the annexation of part of New Guinea, as the more pressing part of the scheme.

Lord Derby's reply of the 31st August is chiefly devoted to defining the claims of foreign Powers in regard to the various islands or groups of islands in question. The Navigators' Islands, the Tongan or Friendly Islands, and the New Hebrides, are independent. The Loyalty Islands, being close to New Caledonia, are French; while New Britain, New Ireland, the Solomon Islands, and the Santa Cruz Islands, are far from Australia; they are peopled by warlike and cannibal tribes, are not specifically referred to by the Agents-General, and Her Majesty's Government is not sure that the annexation or protectorate of those places is necessary, or has been sufficiently considered by the Australasian colonies.

A good deal of public comment has been made on the tone of Lord Derby's despatch, but to us it appears that too much has been made of so trifling a matter. Official despatches are seldom worded in cordial or gushing terms; there is no reason why they should be, and nobody in their senses would ever dream of forming their idea of a Minister's temperament or policy from a short isolated despatch. A speech in a Parliamentary debate would be a better index to a statesman's general views, and in the present case we must remember that the question of New Guinea had formed the subject of a previous despatch, which has not yet been answered by the Colonial Governments. If the Australasian Colonies are in earnest as to New Guinea, let them prove it by confederating together into one whole, and then assuming a responsibility which it is clear that a colony like Queensland could not with any propriety undertake. This is Lord Derby's contention, and to us it appears to be the only statesmanlike line which the Government

could adopt. The dilemma is clearly a little embarrassing to the Agents-General. They reply :—"The large question of Federation which your lordship has here raised, is one on which the Colonies have not made up their minds, and is one of too grave moment to be decided even under the sway of the strong feelings which now exist among them respecting the policy that ought to be pursued in the Western Pacific. But (they admit) there is nothing to prevent concerted action at once with the Imperial Government for that particular policy." It is difficult for us to judge of this matter exactly from the colonial standpoint ; from British point of view it is hard to understand what domestic differences could be sufficiently grave to outweigh the enormous advantage of confederation for united action in all questions of foreign and imperial policy. If Lord Derby's action lead to this important consummation, there will or ought to be little carping at his supposed want of sympathy with colonial feeling, and the Australasian Governments will have manifested their views on the New Guinea question in a clear and practical shape.

In the meantime, the outcome of the expedition recently despatched under the auspices of the Melbourne *Argus* to the shores of New Guinea will be looked upon with some interest. Little or nothing is known of the interior of this huge island—nearly as large as France and the British islands put together ; and though the type of the fauna is said to approximate to that of Australia, the flora has been only very partially investigated, while of the natural resources of the island scarcely anything is known. There are in the interior high mountains, some of volcanic character, which we know by analogy diversify the physical characteristics of a country and conduce to its fertility. There is plenty of scope for a further expedition to throw light on the scientific features of so large an unexplored region ; and we cannot help endorsing the suggestion of the Rev. W. Lawes, one of the principal authorities on the island, that the Royal Geographical Society, instead of spending quite so large a share of their resources, year after year, on Eastern Central Africa, would do well to devote their attention to New Guinea, one of the few remaining *terra reclusa* of the globe.

The *New Guinea* incident and the melancholy disturbances in South Africa have furnished Sir Bartle Frere with an opportunity for discussing in the columns of the *National Review* the question, "Have we a Colonial Policy?" a subject which he treats with the ability and knowledge which might be expected from so experienced an administrator. One of his most practical recommendations consists in the plan of constituting the Agents-General into a Colonial Council, which shall furnish the Secretary of State for the Colonies with information and advice. The idea is tempting, and it is so far a practical one, in that Lord Derby has shown a desire to avail himself of the advice of the gentlemen referred to. But it is much to be hoped that the failures which have attended the working of an analogous body—the Council of the Secretary of State for India—may be noted and avoided. The intention in the latter case was to provide the Indian Secretary with a council of experts on whose

information he could rely in the absence of that special local knowledge which an average English statesman could not be expected to have. As a purely consultative body the Indian Council would have discharged useful functions, but the mistake was made of turning them into a quasi-executive body, without whose approval the most trifling despatch could not be penned. The Agents-General are not part and parcel of the Colonial Office, so there is, perhaps, no fear of this blunder being repeated; but the example of the Indian Council ought to remind us of another thing that gentlemen in a high representative capacity cannot truly and efficiently discharge their duty towards their constituents if they "lose touch" of those local associations and interests which it is their duty to represent. It would be very undesirable for a Colonial Council, if such a body were established, to become a mere aggregate of dignified posts to be conferred on those who, after lengthy and laborious careers in the Colonies, had returned to enjoy repose in the mother country.

The mention of *South Africa* recalls the long-pending Basuto question. After full debate, the intimation of Lord Derby that the Imperial Government were prepared to resume their administration in Basutoland has borne fruit in the passage through both Houses of Assembly of a Bill repealing the Act by which the country had been annexed by the Cape Colony in 1871. The liability of the Cape Colony will be restricted to £20,000 as an annual contribution to the expenses of the administration in Basutoland. It will not be possible for some little time to estimate the result of this step, as the discordant utterances of Letsie, Masupha, and other chiefs do not enable one to gauge the real feeling of the natives with any confidence; but there can be no doubt that the subordination of the country to the Cape Colony has been generally resented by the Basutos, and to it experienced authorities like General Gordon do not hesitate to ascribe all subsequent troubles. The intelligence that the Cape Ministry has announced its intention to ask the Home Government to take over the Transkeian territories is a step in the same direction, and a very significant refutation of the charge that the colonists have sought increase of territory, though it is to be regretted that such disintegration should become necessary. Sir Bartle Frere declares that the task of governing these territories would not have been beyond the capabilities of the Colony had not the repeated changes of the Home Government policy paralysed the action of the Cape authorities. This opens up a very wide field of speculation and debate on which we can hardly venture herein. Most people will regret that where the task was not in itself impracticable a retrograde policy should now be inaugurated.

The condition of *Bechuanaland* and its relations with the Transvaal are succinctly but ably treated in a recent pamphlet issued by the Intelligence Department of the War Office. It is rather startling when running one's eye down the table of contents to find oneself confronted by such headings as "Harbours," "Naval Establishments," "Navy," &c., though it is reassuring, on turning to those sections, to

find *Nil* inscribed in each case. It reminds one irresistibly of the time-honoured passage in the guide-book on Ireland:—"Chapter XXII. On the snakes of Ireland. There are no snakes in Ireland. End of chapter." However, we are bound to state that the pamphlet supplies a full explanation of these mysterious headings, which, it seems, are inserted in compliance with the inexorable official conditions under which all War Office memoranda on colonial dependencies have to be prepared. The memorandum practically acquits the Transvaal Government of open complicity with the lawless proceedings of its subjects beyond the borders, inasmuch as that Government has kept within the *lex scripta* by disavowing the action of the latter. Stress is laid on the importance, from every point of view, of completing the railway now open between Port Alfred and Cradock, and sanctioned as far as Kimberley in Griqualand West. This will make railway transit continuous between the coast and a point only 75 miles distant from Bechuanaland, and about half that distance from the Transvaal frontier.

It is hardly necessary to review in detail the recent events in Zululand which the reported death and reappearance of Cetewayo have made so familiar to English readers. The movements of British troops to Fort Pearson and Ekowe, for the protection of the Natal border, were rendered necessary by the inter-tribal wars; and the prominent mention in the Queen's Speech of the present unsatisfactory state of affairs throughout Zulu territory, and the expected advent of the confidential envoys from the Transvaal, lead us to hope for some removal of the present difficulties with which British administration in those regions is at present confronted.

The *Victorian* Parliament was opened on the 3rd of July by the Governor; and in the course of an interesting speech he announced that his advisers would open negotiations with the other Australasian colonies to ascertain how far federation is practicable. The Budget was submitted on the 18th of July, and showed a surplus of £88,309. The completing of existing railway lines will absorb the amount available for expenditure on this item (£541,000), and the special appropriation of £200,000 from revenue purposes could not therefore be made. A loan of three millions will be required next year, and a loan of a million is proposed for new railways, the Premier observing thereon that no better securities in the world existed than Australian.

The New Guinea topic figures prominently in all the Australian papers, and *New South Wales* shows no less eagerness than its neighbours in regard thereto. An influential deputation waited upon the Premier on July 31st, asking the assistance of the Government for the proposed scientific explorations of the island. The Premier responded to this appeal by promising to place the sum of £1,000 on the estimates, on the understanding that the other Australasian colonies would co-operate.

The *South Australian* Parliament have been engaged with many important measures, chief of which is a new Land Act, giving holders of land under condition of personal residence, permission to surrender

and enter either into a twenty-one years' lease, or into a new agreement for twenty years, by which the balance due of the original purchase-money will be payable by instalments without regard to the average yield, and with remission of interest from January, 1879. It is anticipated that the measure will greatly diminish the Treasury receipts on account of interest and purchase-money.

The land question also occupies conspicuous attention in *New Zealand* where the working of the Native Land Court has been found to be both slow and costly. It is understood that the Government will abandon the system of direct purchase from the native, and will, in all probability, frame a law providing that native owners desirous of selling their lands shall do so through the Crown Lands Board, and shall be charged with the cost of survey and other expenses, and with a percentage for the construction of roads, the remainder being handed over to the natives. The Budget speech stated that over-importation had brought about a depressed condition of trade, but the Savings Banks' deposits had substantially increased, and there was a rapid development of manufacturing industries.

Queensland has been chiefly concerned with the New Guinea question, and with the project of Trans-Continental Railway, which has not been altogether favourably received, the extensive land-grant schemes in connexion therewith being generally opposed by the colonists.

In *Ceylon* the revenue returns exhibit deficiencies in the items of customs, land sales, stamps and railway receipts, all of which are ascribed to short coffee crops and general planting depression. There appears to be a good deal of discontent in *Ceylon* at the colony having to bear the whole cost of its military forces to the amount of £120,000 a year, which is equal to one-tenth of the revenue, while other wealthier colonies pay comparatively trifling sums. The *Ceylon Observer* instances the case of the Cape colony, which with a far larger trade and population pays only £10,000 a year, and strongly urges that a movement should be set on foot to induce the Home Government to bear part of the expense—say, £50,000 per annum.

Recently published statistics shew that the financial position of *Canada* is steadily improving, the circulation of the banks, the public deposits, the Government Savings Banks, and the net balance due to Canadian banks from abroad, each manifesting an increase over the corresponding figures for last year. The visits of Prince George of Wales and of the Earl of Carnarvon have given evident pleasure to the colonists; and the Canadian Exhibition at Toronto, opened by the Governor-General and the Princess Louise on the 12th of September, promises to be especially attractive. Much activity is being shown in the prosecution of the work of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, which was opened by a distinguished party of gentlemen, towards the end of August as far as Calgary at the foot of the Rocky Mountains. It is confidently expected that the Selkirk and other branches will tend to develop most extensively the productive regions north and south-west of Lake Winnipeg; and every possible encouragement moreover is being given to the commercial public, in the way of

reduced freights and grants of land for the erection of warehouses for the storage of grain along the line of railway.

A brisk correspondence has been going on in the columns of the *Times* newspaper as to the general condition of the *West Indies*, and it has been strongly and ably urged by "A Correspondent" that the large proportions of the revenue raised on imported food—a proportion which varies from 10 per cent. in the case of Trinidad to 30 per cent. in the case of Jamaica—is against both the principles of free-trade and the best interests of the revenue. He points out also that the exports of the *West Indies* are actually worth about a million sterling less than they were fifty years back, and that although the population has risen by 58 per cent., its apparent wealth has diminished and taxation has trebled. The replies of those who take the optimist view is that there is no distress in the *West Indies*, that the negro is not appreciably affected by the tariff, and that he has opportunities of more remunerative work than he seems inclined to do. There is, however, an unreality in the sound of these arguments, which, moreover, do not seem to us to touch the substance of the alleged evils. It is much to be hoped that the expected Report of the Commissioners who have been recently inquiring into the condition of these Islands will throw on these important economic questions that full light which is the necessary preliminary to thorough reform.

INDEX.

* * * *All Books must be looked for under the Author's name.*

- ADAMS, W. H. DAVENPORT, "Good Samaritans," 582
Africa, South, 611
 Ainslie, General de, "Life as I have Found it," 266
 Alford, E. M., "The Romance of Combehurst," 599
 Améro, *see* Tissot
 Anderson, J., LL.D., "Scotland in Pagan Times: the Iron Age," 261
 "Annual Register (The) for the year 1882," 579
 Arnold, T. K., "The First Greek Book." New edition. Edited and revised by Rev. F. D. Morice, 286
 Ashley, W. J., "James and Philip Van Artevelde," 251
 AUSTRALASIAN FEDERATION, 431-437; arguments advanced in favour of Federation, 431; chief difficulties in the way of, 432, 433; Protection in Australia, 431; how is Federation to be secured? 435; a central Federal Council and its powers, 436
 BARLOW, G., "An Actor's Reminiscences, and other Poems," 281
 Barnard, F., and C. H. Ross, "Behind a Brass Knocker," 296
 Barratt, A., the late, "Physical Metempsychic," 207
 Barrett-Lennard, T., "The Position in Law of Women," 223
 Bate, J., "Influence of Mind on Mind," 210
 Bax, E. B., "Kant's Prolegomena and Metaphysical Foundations of Natural Science," translated, with a Biography and Introduction, 521
 Beard, C., M.A., "The Reformation in its Relation to Modern Thought and Knowledge," 511
Beckuanaland, 611
 Beddome, Col. R. H., "Handbook to the Ferns of British India, &c.," 559
 Bentley, R., "The Student's Guide to Structural, Morphological and Physiological Botany," 559
 Bernard, Alice, "Love and its Counterfeit," 300
 Besant, W., "The Captain's Room," 297
 Bewicke, A. E. N., "Miss Standish, and By the Bay of Naples," 300
 Bird, J. J., "The Golden Chersonese," 225
 Blackwood's Educational Series. Edited by Professor Meiklejohn. Historical Readers, I. II. and III., 579
 Blanford, H. F., F.R.S., "Indian Meteorological Memoirs," vol. ii., Part I., 231
 BLASPHEMY, 1-24; conflicting definitions of, 2; Lord Coleridge's view, 3, 4; Mr. Justice Stephen, 5; Hale and Blackstone on witchcraft, 7; flaw in Hale's judgment, 8; trial of Williams for publishing Paine's "Age of Reason," 9, 12; later definition of blasphemy, 13; Davison's case, 14; "Queen Mab," a blasphemous libel in 1840, 15; other cases of blasphemous libel, 16, 17; the law as it now stands 18; what it ought to be in future, 19; prosecutions for blasphemy opposed to the interests of Christianity, 23
 Bond, J., M.A., and A. S. Walpole. M.A., "Homer's Odyssey," Bk. I., 591
 Bothmer, Countess M. Von, "Aut Cesar aut Nil," 598
 Bradley, F. H., "The Principles of Logic," 519
 Bray, C., "The Science of Man," 210
 Bridges, F. D., "Journal of a Lady's Travels Round the World," 228
 Britton, J. J., "The Lay of the Lady Ida, and other Poems," 588
 Brodrick, *see* Church
 Broglie, Duc de, "Frederick the Great and Maria Theresa," translated by Mrs. Hoey and Mr. Lillie, 271
 Bromfield, S. W., M.A., "Griffith's Married Women's Property Acts." Fifth edition, 223
 Brown, J. C., LL.D., "The Forests of England, and the Management of them in Bygone Times," 574
 "French Forest Ordinances of 1699," 574

- Brownhill, J., M.A., "Principles of English Canon Law," 542
- Brown, W. R., M.A., "The Student's Mechanics," 237
- Browning, R., "Jocoseria," 274
- Buchheim, C. A., edited by, "Iphigenie auf Tauris," 603
- Burroughs, J., "Winter Sunshine," 292
- "Burnet's History of his Own Time," 566
- Burnett, F. H., "Through One Administration," 595
- CABLE, G. W., "Old Creole Days," 294
- Calvert, G. F., "Mirabeau: an Historical Drama," 284
- Campbell, Lewis, M.A., LL.D., "Sophocles," 285
- Canada, 313, 613
- "Carlyle (Jane Welch), Letters and Memorials of," 263
- Carruthers, J., "Communal and Commercial Economy," 219
- Cave-Brown, J., M.A., "Lambeth Palace and its Associations," 568
- Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de, "Journey to Parnassus," translated into English tercets by J. Y. Gibson, 284
- Ceylon, 613
- Chalmers, M.D., M.A., "Local Government," 211
- Chapman, John, M.D., "Cholera: a Disease of the Nervous System," 563
- Chavannes, F. L. F., "Alexandre Vinet," 272
- Church, A. J., M.A., and W. J. Broadribb, M.A., "Livy," Books XXI.-XXV., translated into English, 286
- "Clare Welsman," 594
- Clarke, J. F., "Ten Great Religions," Part ii., A Comparison of all Religions, 513
- CLASSIC CONCEPTIONS OF HEAVEN AND HELL, 95-110; Hades as described by Homer in the *Odyssey*, 96; the Elysian Isles and Hesiod's Heaven, 97; and Tartarus, 98; Empedokles and Pindar on the Elysian and Tartarean abodes, 99; Lucan first describes the belief in a future state, 100; Cicero's and Tacitus's notions on the subject, 101; Plato's fable of Er in the "Republic," 101-103; Scipio's "Dream," 104-106; Æneas in Hades, 107, 108; Ælian's fable concerning the Fortunate Isles, 109
- Clayden, P. W., "Samuel Sharpe; Egyptologist and Translator of the Bible," 571
- Cleland, R., "Schbracken," a Novel, 593
- CLIFFE-LESLIE: POLITICO-ECONOMICAL HETERODOXY, 471-500; Leslie has left no systematic work behind him, 472; a fair-minded critic, 473; his views adverse to "Home Rule," 474; his Essay "On the Philosophical Method of Economy" critically considered, 475, 477; Leslie and Cairns, 479; Leslie on the "Incidence of Taxation," 480, 482; his attacks on the current theory of wages, 483, 488; Leslie's inability to comprehend what constitutes a scientific explanation, 491; Leslie much appreciated on the Continent, 494; his "Essay on Financial Reform," 497, 498
- Colonies, *The*, 310, 607
- Colquhoun, A. R., "Across Chrysis," 223
- COMPULSORY COMPENSATION FOR AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENTS, 151-172; status and contract, 152; change from status to contract in India, 153; influences controlling relationship between landlord and tenant, 155; leasing on lives, 156; grounds on which tenants demand further security, *i.e.*, outlay on permanent pasturage, manures, and drainage, 157, 159; shedding for cattle and ensilaging, 160; general effect of Act of 1883, 161; further security for compensation needed, 162; owing chiefly to certain presumptions of law in favour of the landlord, *i.e.*, right of distraint, 164; fixtures, 165; leaning of the civil law to the tenant, 166, 167; summary of causes that have led to recent demands on behalf of the tenants, 169
- Connell, A. K., M.A., "The Economic Revolution of India," 545
- Cook, Dutton, "Nights at the Play," 301
- Cotton, T. S., and E. T. Payne, "Colonies and Dependencies: English Citizen Series," 543
- Cramer, Dr. J., "Alexandre Vinet," 272
- Crosdale, E., "Heart Harmonies, Poems, Songs and Sonnets," 282
- Cross, J. A., "Introductory Hints to English Readers of the Old Testament," 517
- "DARWIN, CHARLES, Memorial Notices," 270
- Day, Lal Behari, "Folk-Tales of Bengal," 601
- Denvy, E., "Mercedès Pepin," 592
- Desnee, H., "Le Secret de Sabine," 591
- Dacey, A. V., B.C.L., "Can English Law be Taught at the Universities?" 556

- Dobson, Austin, "Fielding: English Men of Letters Series," 267
- Domett, A., "Ranolf and Amohia," 282
- Drummond, H., "Natural Law in the Spiritual World," 523
- Duke, H. H., "The Question of Incest relatively to Marriage with Sisters in Succession," 230
- Dunlop, M. A. W., "Glass in the Old World," 262
- Duntzer, H., "Life of Schiller," translated by P. E. Pinkerton, 273
- EASTHILL**, the late Rev A., compiled by, "A Glossary of the Dialect of Almond-bury and Huddersfield," 602
- Eastlake, C. L., "Notes on Pictures in the Louvre Gallery at Paris," 304
- _____, "Notes on Pictures in the Brera Gallery at Milan," 301
- "Edgar, or the New Pyramion, and the Judgment of Tithonus," 281
- Edmonds, E. M., "Hesperus: Rhythm and Rhyme," 588
- Ellis, J., "Cæsar in Egypt, Costanza, and other Poems," 282
- "Encyclopædia Britannica," Vol. XV., ninth edition, 305
- Escott, T. H. S., "England," 575
- Elienebham, O., "A Search for a Soul," 595
- FRENCH**, C. A. M., M.A., "Pindar: the Nemean and Isthmian Odes," with Notes and Introductory Essays, 286
- Field, C. D., M.A., "Landholding and the Relation of Landlord and Tenant in various Countries," 537
- Finch, Barbara, "Lives of the Princesses of Wales," 580
- Flagg, Isaac, "Pedantic Versicles," 589
- Fleet, F. R., "An Essay on Wit and Humour, with other Articles," 302
- Foakes, Dr., "Gout and Rheumatic Gout: a new Method of Cure," 212
- Ford, W. C., "The American Citizen's Manual: part ii. The Functions of Governments," 212
- Fothergill, J. M., M.D., "Gout in its Protean Aspects," 210
- Freeman, E. A., D.C.L., LL.D., "Some Impressions of the United States," 213
- _____, "English Towns and Districts," 567
- GALLENGA**, A., "Iberian Reminiscences,"
- Galton, F., F.R.S., "Inquiries into Human Faculty and its Development," 209
- Gardiner, S. R., "History of England, 1603-1642," Vols. I. II., 566
- Gibb, R. J. W., "Ottoman Poems," translated into English Verse in the Original Forms, with Introductions and Notes, 283
- Gibbon, C., "Of High Degree," 298
- Granville-Richards, W. U., "Records of the Anglo-Norman House of Granville, from A.D. 1050 to 1880," 231
- "Globe Readings from Standard Authors," 305
- Glover, J. H., edited by, "Kingsthorpiana, or Researches in a Church Chest," 252
- GOLDFIELDS: ANCIENT AND MODERN**, 378-403; use of gold in pre-historic times, 380; discoveries of vast treasures in ancient cities, 381, 382; millionaires of ancient times, 383, 384; records of mining by the ancients, 385, 390; the land of Ophir, 391; ruins of buildings in Africa of unknown age, 392, 394; ancient American goldfields, 395; modern discovery of gold in California, 396, 397; in Australia, 398, 399; results which have followed these discoveries, 400; early "exploitation" of African continent due to search for gold, 401; causes that have hindered "rush for gold" to African continent, 402; Transvaal goldfields, 403; goldfields in New Guinea, Borneo, and other savage countries, 404; State control of mines in China and Japan, 405
- Goodwin, H., D.D., "Walks in the Regions of Science and Faith," 523
- Gould, G., "The Greek Plays in their Relations to the Dramatic Unities," 287
- Grant, J. G., "A Year of Life: and other Poems," 251
- Gray, L. M., "Mine Own People," 198
- GREAT BRITAIN, THE UNITED STATES, AND THE IRISH QUESTION**, 315-348; what the Irish question really is, 316; prosperity of Irish during last ten years, 317; causes of discontent, 318; American opinion of Mr. Gladstone, 319; of Lord Beaconsfield and John Bright, 320; Ireland's debt to Mr. Gladstone, 321; landlords in Ireland and America, 322; incapacity of Irish agricultural tenants, 323; preposterous claims of Irish leaders, 326, 327; causes of helpless state of Irish peasantry, 328; dangerous action of

- the Irish in American politics, 330, 331. Irish electors in England, 332; acrobatic politics of Mr. Parnell, 333; conduct of Irish leaders in America, 334 and in England, 335; remedies for poverty of the people, 336; peasant-proprietorship quite undesirable, 337; emigration useful to a certain extent, 339; investment of English capital impossible, 340; Irish Republic impossible, 341; ingratitude of the Irish to America, 343, 344; British democracy opposed entirely to an Irish Republic, 348
- Green, T. G., M.A., LL.D., the late, "Prolegomena to Ethics," edited by A. C. Bradley, M.A., 204
- A. K., "X. Y. Z., a Detective Story," 598
- GREVILLE (HENRY) AND LORD RONALD GOWEN, 349-378
- Grimm, Jacob, "Teutonic Mythology," translated by J. S. Stallybrass, Vol. II., 273
- Gwatkin, Rev. T., "Demosthenes: the First Philippic, with an Introduction and Notes," 287
- HAECKEL, Prof. E., "A Visit to Ceylon," 227
- Halkett, the late Samuel, and the late Rev. John Laing, "A Dictionary of the Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature of Great Britain," 603
- Hare, A. J. C., "The Cities of Southern Italy and Sicily," 229
- Harrington, B. J., "Life of Sir W. E. Logan," 573
- HATHFIELD, LORD CHANCELLOR, 25-70, born in London, 1801, 28; the fourth son of Alderman Sir Matthew Wood, 29; Alderman Wood and the Duke of Kent, 30; boyhood of Page Wood, 31; at Winchester—a constant reader of the *Morning Chronicle*, 32; friendship with Walter F. Hook, 33, 34; at Geneva University, 35, 36; in Italy collecting evidence on behalf of Queen Caroline, 37; Brougham and Wood, 39; Wood at Trinity College, Cambridge, 40; elected a Fellow, 41. Wood's opinion of Berkeley, 42, 43; called to the Bar, 44; his first brief, 45; Basil Montagu, 46; Coleidge, 47; Wood's opinion of Theodore Hook, 48; religious element in Wood's character, 49, 51; a thoroughly consistent man, 53; Wood in Westminster, 54, 55; "Jenny Wood" of Gloucester, 58; Wood elected for Oxford, 1847, 59; the Stamford petition, 60, 61; Wood in favour of the abolition of the Oath, 62; accepts office, 63; last speech in the House of Commons, 64; a vice-chancellor and "the most popular of Chancery judges," 65; Campbell's criticism on Wood's judgment, 66; Lord Chancellor, 1868, 67; dies in July, 1881, 70
- Hawthorne, N., "Tales, Sketches, and other Papers," with a Biographical Sketch, by G. P. Lathrop, 600
- Headingley, A. S., "The Biography of Charles Bradlaugh," second edition, 581
- Heath, F. G., "Where to find Ferns," 238
- Hennessy, Sir J. Pope, "Sir W. Raleigh in Ireland," 250
- Hewitt, J. M. M., "Frank Aynton," a Novel, 300
- Holden, Rev. H. A., M.A., "Pro Publo Sexto," with Introduction and Notes, 590
- Hope, M., "Because of the Angels," 600
- Hopkins, Elliot, "Autumn Swallows," 280
- Hoey, Horace C., "Celebrated American Caverns," 575
- Howard, Blanche W., "One Summer," 594
- Howells, W. D., "Italian Journeys," and "Out of the Question," 597
- Hunt, Mrs. A. W., "Self-Condemed," 300
- Hutton, J., "James and Philip van Artevelde," 251
- IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL, THE BELIEF IN THE, 109-131
- India*, 306, 604
- Ireland, A., "Ralph Waldo Emerson: a Biographical Sketch," second edition, 265
- Iron, R., "Story of an African Farm," 297
- JARVES, J. J., "Italian Rambles," 555
- Jevons, W. Stanley, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S. "Method of Social Reform and other Papers," 220
- Jordan, W. L., F.R.G.S., "The New Principles of Natural Philosophy," 236
- "The Standard of Value," third edition, 547
- KEAN, A., "The Bantoffs of Cherryton," 299
- Keeping, W., M.A., "The Fossils and Paleontological Affinities of the Neo-

- comian Deposits of Upware and Brick-hill," 560
- Klein, E., M.D., F.R.S., "The Elements of Histology," 239
- Kuropatkin, Col. A. N., "Kashgaria," translated by Major Gowan, 228
- LAING, see Halkett.
- Lambert, C. S., From the Journals of, "The Voyage of the *Wanderer*," edited by Gerard Young, 550
- Lang, A., "Helen of Troy: her Life and Translation," 277
- Langford, J. A., LL.D., "The Bright Birthday Book," 601
- Laroche, Prof. C., "La Préposition et son Complément," 601
- Lea, H. C., "Studies in Church History," 257
- Lennard, see Barrett
- Lenormant, F., "La Genèse, traduction d'après l'Hebreu," 514
- Lightwood, J. M., M.A., "The Nature of Positive Law," 533
- Linton, W. J., collected and edited by, "Rare Poems of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," 283
- Lisle, Edwin de, "The Parliamentary Oath," 250
- Lockyer, J. Norman, F.R.S., "The Education of our Industrial Classes," 231
- Longe, F. D., "A Critical Examination of Mr. George's 'Progress and Poverty' and Mr. Mill's 'Theory of Wages,'" 556
- Lowe, Louisa, "The Bastilles of England," 548
- Lupton, J. H., M.A., "The Lives of Johan Vikier and John Colet," written in Latin by Erasmus, 570
- Lyon, Capt. G. D., "The Signora," 599
- MACEWEN, C., "Miss Beauchamp, a Philistine," 593
- Maequoid, T. and K., "About Yorkshire," 231
- Macwalter, G. S., "Life of Antonio Rosmini Serbati," Vol. I., 210
- Mahan, Rev. A., D.D., "A Critical History of Philosophy," 518
- Maine, Sir Henry S., "Dissertations on Early Law and Custom," 214
- Malden, H. E., "Vienna, 1683," 571
- Marcet, W., M.D., F.R.S., "The Principal Southern and Swiss Health Resorts," 244
- Maudsley, H., M.D., "Body and Will," 521
- McClain, F., "Norodom, King of Cambodia," 294
- Moistet, Rev. W., "The West Indies, Enslaved and Free," 229
- Moncel, Le Comte Th. du, "Electric Lighting," translated from the French by R. Routledge, 234
- Moore, C. L., "Poems, Antique and Modern," 589;
- Monshead, E. D. A., M.A., "The Suppliant Maidens of Æschylus," translated in English Verse, 285
- Mougeolle, Paul, "Statique des Civilizations," 531
- Moisson, Dr. A., "Die Physik auf Grundlage der Erfahrung," Dritter Band, zweite Lieferung (Erste Hälfte), 561
- Muller, Prof. Hermann, "The Fertilization of Flowers," translated and edited by D'Arcy W. Thompson, B.A., with a Preface by Charles Darwin, 557
- Murray, D. C., "By the Gate of the Sea," 594
- NAV, CLAUDE, "The History of Mary Stewart," edited by Rev. Joseph Stevenson, S.J., 565
- Neil, Ross, "Plays," 284
- New South Wales*, 312
- New Zealand*, 312, 613
- Nicholson, Prof. J. S., "Tenant's Gain not Landlord's Loss," 540
- Norris, W. E., "No New Thing," 300
- Notton, Thomas, and Thomas Sackville, "Gorboduc or Ferrex and Porrex," A Tragedy." Edited by L. Toulmin Smith, 286
- O'CONNOR, W. A., "History of the Irish People," 249
- O. K., "Skoboleff and the Slavonic Cause," 260
- Oliphant, Laurence, "Altiora Peto," part i., 298
- , "Altiora Peto," Parts ii. iii and iv., 596
- , Mrs., "Sheridan: English Men of Letters Series," 580
- PAGE, T. E., M.A., edited by, "Q. Horatii Flacci Carminum," libri iv., 590
- Palmer, A., M.A., edited by, "The Satires of Horace," 590
- Pattison, Mark, edited by, "The Sonnets of John Milton," 583
- Paul, Alex., "Short Parliaments," 569
- Paul, C. Kegan, "Biographical Sketches," 264
- PAYMENT OF MEMBERS AND COLONIAL CORRUPTION, 190-204

- Payn, James, "Thicker than Water," 600
- Payne, *see* Cotton
- Peters, Dr. Carl, "Willenswelt und Weltwille," 521
- Pey, Alexandre, "L'Allemagne d'aujourd'hui, 1862-1882," 222
- Phillimore, Greville, "Only a Black Box," 299
- Plumptre, E. H., "The Divina Commedia of Dante Alighieri," 285
- Proctor, R. A., "Light Science for Leisure Hours," Third Series, 233
-
- "Mysteries of Time and Space," 233
- Queensland, 312, 613
- RANSOME, CYRIL, M.A., "Rise of Constitutional Government in England," 251
- Reeve, Clara, "The Old English Baron: a Gothic Story," 296
- Regnard, H., "Histoire de l'Angleterre, depuis la Mort de la Reine Anne jusqu'à nos jours," 271
- Renan, Ernest, 437-470; a Romanist of Brittany different to a Romanist of England or Italy, 438; Breton legends, 441; Renan's forefathers, 443; his mother's influence, 445; *le Bonhomme Système*, 447, 448, Renan's training at Tréguier, 449; "the moral goodness of priests," 450, 451; M. Dupauloup, 452; Renan summoned to St. Nicholas's Seminary, 453; thence proceeds to St. Sulpice and devotes himself to study, 454, 458; is reproached by M. Gottfrey, 459; his sceptical objections, 460, results of his study of Hebrew and German, 462; declines to take orders, 463; and leaves St. Sulpice, 464; his mental state, 465; "Prayer on the Acropolis," quoted, 467, 469
- Richards, *see* Glanville
- Riehmüller, C. J., "Julian the Apostate," 586
- Rimmer, A., "About England with Dickens," 301
- Robinson, Mary F., "Emily Bronte," 268
- Rogers, J. E. Thorold, M.P., "Ensilage in America," 221
- Ross, *see* Barnard
- Rosslyn, Earl of, "Sonnets," 585
- Rowe, C. Y., M.A., "Bonds of Disunion; or English Misrule in the Colonies," 544
- Russell, *see* Sand
- Ryall, W. B., "Pensam: his Mysterious Tribulation," 590
- SAND, George, "La Mare au Diable," with Biographical Notice and Notes by W. E. Russell, M.A., 591
- Scott, G. F. E., "Theodora and other Poems," 588
- Scott-Stevenson, Mrs., "On Summer Seas," 551
- Seebohm, Frederick, "The English Village Communities," 564
- Selkirk, J. B., "Poems," 586
- Sergeant, Lewis, "English Political Leaders: William Pitt," 268
- "Shakespeare's Works," Parchment Library, vols. vii. viii. ix., 286
-
- vol. x., 591
- Sidgwick, Henry, "The Principles of Political Economy," 216
- Simcox, G. A., M.A., "A History of Latin Literature, from Ennius to Boethius," 216
- Smith, W. C., "North Country Folk," 279
- Smith, Rev. Percy, M.A., edited by, "Glossary of Terms and Phrases," 305
- "Songs by the Wayside of an Agnostic's Life," by Himself, 589
- South Australia, 612
- Stallybrass, *see* Gium
- Stephenson, Rev. H. M., M.A., edited by, "Livy," Book I., 591
- Stepniak, "Underground Russia," 258
- Sterne, Lawrence, "Tristram Shandy," 595
- TANNER, Prof. Henry, "Elementary School Readings on the Principles of Agriculture," 560
- Tasmania, 313
- Taylor, Isaac, M.A., LL.D., "The Alphabet: an Account of the Origin and Development of Letters," 302
- Thomas, Bertha, "George Sand," 577
- — — J. M., "The Professor and his Daughters," 599
- Thomson, Sir Wm., LL.D., and P. G. Tait, M.A., "Treatise on Natural Philosophy," vol. i., part ii. 236
-
- Sylvanus P., B.A., "Philipp Reis: Inventor of the Telephone," 562
- Tissot, Victor, and Constant Améro, "Adventures of Three Fugitives in Siberia," translated from the French by S. Gale, 595
- Titcomb, Sarah B., "Early New England People," 258
- Townsend, F., M.A., "Flora of Hampshire, including the Isle of Wight," 238

- Trollope, A., 'Mr. Scarborough's Family,' 301
- TUKE'S (DR.) HISTORY OF THE INSANE IN THE BRITISH ISLES, 501-511
- Twyford, Capt. A. W., "York and York Castle," 568
- Tyler, J., "The Mystery of Being; or, What do we Know," 523
- Tyndall, Prof. John, D.C.L., F.R.S., "Sound," 235
- "UNDER Sunny Skies," 599
- VERNE, JULES, "Godfrey Morgan, a Californian Mystery," 291
Victoria, 612
- VILLIERS (CHARLES PELHAM) AND THE REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS, 110-151; his position vindicated by the *Times*, 111, 112; at Haileybury and Cambridge, 114; contests Hull in 1826; called to the bar, 115; elected for Wolverhampton, Jan. 1835, 116; London Merchants' Petition, 117; Free Trade advocated in 1824 by the *Westminster Review*, 118; efforts of Free Traders in Parliament from 1824 to 1832, 119; J. Deacon Hume, 120; McCarthy's "History," quoted, 121; Mr. Villiers' first speech in Parliament for repeal of the Corn Laws, 122, 124; speech of 15 March, 1838, 125; Lord Melbourne, 126; Sir R. Peel, 127; exceptional position occupied by Mr. Villiers in 1839, 129; the *Economist*, 130; Mr. Villiers at Manchester; James Wilson; 131; Import Duties Committee, 133; *Report of Committee*, 134; Lord J. Russell proposes a "fixed duty"; Sir R. Peel carries his "sliding scale," 136; introduction of the Property Tax, 137; Mark Philips and Cobden on Villiers, 138; League meetings in London, 139, 140; Wolverhampton, 141; progress in Parliament, 142; Cobden on Villiers, 143; W. J. Fox's letter, 144; blight of potato crop, and consternation in the Cabinet, 145; Repeal proposed and carried by Peel, 146; two letters from Cobden to Parkes, 147, 148; Villiers elected for South Lancashire, 149; moves the Address in 1850, 149; Disraeli and Bright on Villiers, 150
- WALLENSTEIN IN THE DRAMA, 172-189; soldier contemporaries, 173, 174; Glapthorne's tragedy produced in 1638, 175; Schiller's tragedy the work of years, 177; critical analysis of the drama, 178-187; Niebuhr on Schiller, 188
- Walpole, Horace, "The Castle of Otranto," 296
- Walpole, A. S., *see* Bond
- Ward, Lester F., A.M., "Dynamic Sociology," 523
- Welldon, J. E. C., translated by, "The Politics of Aristotle," 522
West Indies, 313, 614
- White, W. H., "Spinoza's Ethics," translated from the Latin, 208
- Whitman, Walt, "Specimen Days and Collect," 287
- Wilkinson, W. C., "Poems," 283
- Williams, G. W. "History of the Negro Race in America from 1619 to 1880," 254
- Wills, C. J., M.D., "In the Land of the Lion and the Sun: or, Modern Persia," 227
- Wilson, C. T., "The Duke of Berwick, Marshal of France," 253
- Winter, J. S., "Regimental Legends," 299
- Wiss, Dr. E., "Das Landgesetz für Irland vom Jahre 1881 in deutscher Uebersetzung und im Original," 222
- Wordsworth, G., D.C.L., "Shakespeare's Historical Works," Vols. II. III., 286
- Wright, Rev. Dr. C. H. II., "The Book of Koheleth," 516
- Wysard, Prof. A., "The Intellectual and Moral Problem of Goethe's Faust," parts i. ii., 287
- YAJNIK, J. U., "Note on Self-Government in the Bombay Presidency," 212
- YOUNG IRELAND: FOUR YEARS OF IRISH HISTORY, 71-94
- ZINCKE, F. BARHAM, "The Plough and the Dollar," 230

END OF VOL. LXIV.

•

