







THE  
WESTMINSTER  
REVIEW.

JANUARY AND APRIL,  
1859.

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

SCHLESINGER.

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

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NEW SERIES.

VOL. XV.

LONDON:  
JOHN CHAPMAN,  
8, KING WILLIAM STREET, STRAND.  
MDCCLIX.

LONDON .  
SAVILL AND EDWARDS, PRINTERS, CHANDOS STREET,  
COVENT GARDEN.

THE  
WESTMINSTER  
AND  
FOREIGN QUARTERLY  
REVIEW.

JANUARY 1, 1859.

ART. I.—REFORM OF PARLIAMENT.

1. *Scheme for a Reform in Parliament.* By an ex-M.P. and a Tory. London: Hatchard. 1858.
2. *Parliamentary Reform, What and Where.* By Mr. Henry Rich, M.P. Second edition. Ridgway. 1858.
3. *Lord Brougham's Speech on Parliamentary Reform, in the House of Lords, August 3, 1857.* Ridgway. 1857.
4. *Letter to the People on Reform in Parliament, and the House of Lords.* By Sir Charles M. I. Mouck. Ridgway. 1858.
5. *A Few Words on Ballot and Reform, addressed to Lord John Russell.* John Chapman. 1857.
6. Also, *On Reform in 1859. (A Second Letter.)* By Edmund Potter, F.R.S. John Chapman. 1858.
7. *A Few Observations on the Ballot.* Hatchard.
8. *Letter to Lord Lyndhurst, on the House of Peers.* By John Fraser Macqueen. 1856.
9. *The Parliamentary Remembrancer.* Vol. I. Session 1857-8. (Conducted by Toulmin Smith, of Lincoln's Inn, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. 1858.
10. *Register of Public Bills.* Edited by Mr. James Bigg, 53, Parliament-street.

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

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

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

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

"He would now say a few words on the subject of Reform. What were their prospects of a Reform Bill? The Queen referred to the subject in her speech at the opening of Parliament, and the Whig ministry were pledged to it. The Conservatives on coming into power took that pledge upon their shoulders. Well, but what had been done? Mr. Caird moved for leave to bring in a bill to assimilate the franchise in Scotland and England. The Government and some leading Whigs defeated the measure by 103 to 84. Mr. Locke King carried the second reading of his bill to enlarge the county franchise, by 226 to 168, but *this success so frightened even some of his Whig supporters, that he would not venture to carry the bill further.* Mr. George Dundas introduced a bill to improve the registration of voters in counties, and lost it in a motion for going into committee by 108 to 98. *Mr. Cox proposed to abolish the Septennial Parliaments, but his motion was negatived by 254 to 57.* In this open division the independent Liberals sought to oppose the Corrupt Practices Prevention Bill, which ought to be called 'the Corrupt Practices PROMOTION Bill,' and were



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Another principle, of which nothing used to be heard in past days, is of far greater importance than any *extension* of the franchise; and that is, the mode of its *distribution*. This has become known in the last fifteen years, under a call for "Equal Electoral Districts;" and though it is easy to refute and deride this, when it is claimed as with arithmetical precision, we must not allow dust to be thrown into our eyes by such reasoners. Mr. Bright, with that clear-sightedness which belongs to his simply moral view, has justly declared the existing distribution to be *dishonest*, and the re-adjustment of it to be the cardinal question. "I beg of you," says he, to his Birmingham constituents, "be as watchful and as jealous as you please on the [extension of the] franchise; but never take your eyes for one moment from the *all-important* question of the *distribution* of members; for in that lies the great subject of dispute." It is not necessary here to go into any details of statistics. The few which Mr. Bright himself quoted amply suffice. In the same county of Yorkshire, ten boroughs with a population of 80,000 return 16 members; while eight boroughs with a population of 620,000 return only 14 members. Buckinghamshire, with a population of 164,000, sends 11 members; Birmingham, with 253,000, sends only two. Dorsetshire, Devonshire, and Wiltshire have 22 boroughs, of

which the collective population is but half that of Birmingham, yet they return 31 members to Parliament. Anomalies such as these are not accidental, nor will they be lessened by the extension of the franchise. It cannot be pretended that the little boroughs are thus favoured because they are wealthier or more educated, or because a larger part of them are *roters*; the inequalities are as glaring and monstrous when constituencies, or when wealth, as when inhabitants are compared. These inequalities have, of course, been ever on the increase since the great Reform Act of 1832; but in that Act itself (although so great a convulsion was needed to extort it from the Peers) there was not an effort at giving to the great constituencies more than a *voice* in Parliament. Even the metropolis got but a small fraction of the influence due to it. Whether one compares the large towns to the counties or to the small boroughs, or, again, the counties with one another, the inequalities are found far too vast to have been overlooked by any statesman.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

† Decree, Ferdinandi I. Posonii, 1548. Sopronii, 1553. Posonii, 1557.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† Hormayer, *Auentonien*.

‡ *Litteræ Gregoriæ VII.*, 1074. Katona.

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

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

This independent spirit is not surprising on the part of the native Hungarian kings; but it is curious to find that the laws of Albert were confirmed by Ferdinand I. in 1526, Ferdinand II. in 1628 (the very year of the persecutions in Bohemia), and Ferdinand III. in 1654, while the ordinances of 1498 are re-enacted by Charles III. in Art. 26 of the Code of 1715. Our astonishment is, however, lessened when we remember that Ferdinand I., incensed by the arrogance of Paul IV., was the first Emperor who dispensed with the ceremony of a coronation at Rome, and that his ambassadors at the Council of Trent, following up the policy of Charles V., repeatedly demanded great reforms of the Church, which, if carried into execution, would have affected the papacy itself. According to Paul Sarpi, he at one time entertained schemes hostile to the papal power; and his son Maximilian, when elected King of the Romans (1603), refused to take the usual oath of obedience to the Holy See.

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

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

Exorcisms and trials for witchcraft forbidden (1758).<sup>\*</sup> Regulations of the property of the convents (1771). Abolition of the right of sanctuary (1775).

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

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

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

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<sup>\*</sup> It is worthy of remark, that 700 years earlier Coloman of Hungary decreed,—“*de strigibus, quia non sunt, nulla fiat mentio.*”

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

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

It may be as well to show statistically the relative positions of the Catholic Church and the Dissenting confessions in Hungary. In the other States, the Protestant party was so small as to form no counterpoise, while in some it did not even exist. In 1847 the Catholics were 6,852,700, their Church was governed by three archbishops, 16 bishops, and could boast 9422 priests, and 323 nuns. A law of the kingdom prohibited the introduction of any non-Hungarian priests.\* The United Greeks counted 1,447,400, their four bishops sat in the Chamber of Magnates, and their priests, 1367 in number, were educated with the Catholics. We thus find the whole number of orthodox believers to be 8,510,100, while that of the Dissenters was 6,365,300. Of these, 2,452,500 were Independent Greeks, with one archbishop, seven bishops and 1,590 priests, 1,338,200 Lutherans, 2,524,400 Calvinists, and 50,000 Unitarians in Transylvania. Both the Reformed Churches divided the kingdom into four circles, each governed by a superintendent, responsible to a president, who was generally a layman; the Lutherans had 549 ordained ministers, and 87 assistants; the Calvinists 1,468 ministers, and 116 assistants. As regards education, the position of the Protestants was superior to that of the Catholics. Their colleges, some of which dated from the sixteenth

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\* This excluded the natives of other States of Austria.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† "Carebit sepultura ecclsiastica."

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

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

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

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\* Testimonium peractæ confessionis Paschalis.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

\* Anemonem.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the later days of pagan Rome despotism seemed to have

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

great battle of Borodino. In this battle there were put *hors de combat*, that is killed and wounded, on the side of the Russians no less than 30 generals, 1000 officers, and 42,000 men. While the French, according to Marshal Berthier's papers, subsequently taken at Wilna, had in killed and wounded 40 generals, 1800 officers, and 52,000 men. The French, however, claimed the victory, inasmuch as the Russians fell back after the battle, and left the French in possession of the ground.

The cold began on November the 7th; but three days before the cold began, namely, on the 4th of November, there remained of the mighty host that had crossed the Niemen but 55,000 men and 12,000 horses; 217,000 men had perished, or become ineffective in 133 days. Of the 55,000 men, however, plus any reinforcements they may have met on the way, 40,000 returned to France, showing how few men were lost in that masterly retreat, either by the severity of the winter or the harassing attacks of the enemy. But even if three-fourths of the wounded at Borodino had died, and allowing for those killed in minor actions and operations, there would remain nearly 200,000 men who perished by insufficient commissariat—by want of forethought. The Count de Ségur, the historian of this campaign, considers that the genius of Napoleon had culminated before he undertook this expedition, famous among the world's disasters, and that constant prosperity had led him to look on success as so certain that he neglected the means of attaining it. Any way, here is an instance under the greatest of generals, that it is not the enemy, however numerous or skilful, who effect the destruction of armies. It is fatigue, exposure, want of food, want of shelter, want of clothing, want of sanitary prevention.

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

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

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

London Fire Brigade (ages 40—60) . . . . .	70
Metropolitan Police . . . . .	76
England (Healthy Districts) . . . . .	77
Agricultural Labourers . . . . .	80
Out-Door Trades in Towns . . . . .	85
Navy (Home Stations) . . . . .	88
City Police . . . . .	89
England . . . . .	92
Twenty-four <sup>9</sup> Large Towns . . . . .	119
Manchester . . . . .	124
Infantry of the Line . . . . .	187
Foot Guards . . . . .	204
Household Cavalry . . . . .	110
Dragoon Guards and Dragoons . . . . .	133

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Commission seemed disinclined to attach any great im-

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

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

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

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

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

tural interest, since they garrison our metropolis, and are a corps whose magnificent appearance and perfect discipline is ever under our eyes; but the Royal Commissioners, dealing with the army as a whole, suggested remedies as for the whole, and contented themselves with pointing out the higher rates prevalent in the Guards, without attempting to account for them. Indeed, the President of the Commission stated frankly in the House of Commons, that he for one could not account for them; he only showed that it was not, as had been stated, the result of greater sexual debauchery than in other corps, for he showed that their admissions into hospital for venereal complaints are less instead of more than in the infantry of the Line; and he certainly did not simplify the problem, when he further showed that there is a permanent standing difference in the rates of mortality of the three regiments of Guards, which has been rather increasing than decreasing of late years, till the Grenadiers stand at 21.05 per 1000, the Coldstream at 18.20, and the Scots Fusileers at 15.66—a difference which, as their barracks, their clothing, and their duty, are identical, can hardly be attributed to minute differences in discipline alone, though the latter regiment, we have heard it said, claim a certain superiority in point of conduct. More is probably owing to greater strictness in the original selection of the men, or to a recruiting connexion with hardier races of some of our healthy districts.

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

funnel, in a concentrated form, into the loins of one man as he lies asleep in his bed. The difficulty is, how to diffuse the air so as to render its admission insensible—how to admit the greatest quantity with the least disturbance. It is obvious that this difficulty increases or diminishes as the requisite supply of air is increased or diminished, and that must depend on the proportion borne by the number of men to the area of the room to be supplied, or, in other words, on cubic space. The commissioners therefore asked for increased cubic space, not because cubic space will in itself give the soldier more air, but because it will enable them by other means to give him an increased supply of air with a greater certainty of comfort. They laid down an arbitrary minimum of 600 cubic feet per man, which Dr. Guy quarrels with as too low, but they have not attempted to make a Procrustean rule even of that; for we hear that the barrack commission, acting in the spirit of the recommendations of the royal commissioners, vary the amount under different circumstances; not, for example, requiring so large an amount in wooden huts, where the whole building is pervious to the air, as in masonry constructions, in which there is no admission of air except through openings made for the purpose; nor, again, do they require the same space per man in high airy situations as in barracks surrounded by buildings, or where from any other cause there is stagnation in the external atmosphere.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“The departments should not be many :—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## ART. IV.—CHLOROFORM AND OTHER ANÆSTHETICS.

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

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

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

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\* Quoted by Professor Simpson.

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

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

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

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

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

\* "Natural History," book xxv. ch. 94, (not ch. 13, as stated by Dr. Snow).

† "De Herbarum Vertutibus," cap. 131. Quoted by Dr. Snow.

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

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

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

† Simpson's Memoirs, ii. p. 792.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the "Zoist, a Journal of Cerebral Physiology and Mesmerism" (now extinct), a large number of surgical operations on Europeans, or on Americans of European descent, are recorded to have been performed under the influence of mesmerism without pain. From the volume of that journal for 1844, from the October number for 1845, and from the January numbers for 1846 and 1847, we have collected the following list of forty-seven operations, which were performed on patients while in the mesmeric sleep, and wholly insensible to pain:—Venection, 8 cases; extraction of teeth, 26; insertion of setons, 3; excision of wen, 1; excision of tumour, 1; excision of tonsil, 1; removal of polypus, 1; removal of deep-seated splinter from beneath finger-nail, 1; opening of abscess, 1; operation

for strabismus (squinting), 1 ; amputation of finger, 1 ; removal of deep-seated tumour from the neck, 1 ; removal of breast, 1 ; amputation of the leg, 4 ; amputation of the thigh, 1 ; total, 47.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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\* "The Pneumatic Institution, it is worthy of remark, next to Dr. Beddowes, its originator, owed its establishment mainly to two philanthropists, Mr. Lambton, the father of the late Earl of Durham, and Mr. Thomas Wedgwood; they in their love of science and of inquiry, and the hope of benefiting mankind, supplying the principal funds, the former 1500*l.*, the latter 1000*l.*" "Fragmentary Remains of Sir Humphry Davy, Bart." Edited by J. Davy, M.D., F.R.S. 1858.

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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\* See the quotations in Professor Simpson's "Memoirs," ii. p. 537-8.

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

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

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

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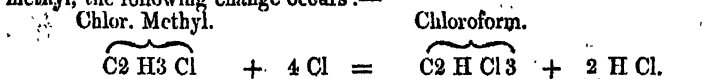
\* Drutt's "Sargeon's Vade Mecum."

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

2 of chlorine are substituted in order to metamorphose it into chloroform, while the 2 divorced atoms of hydrogen are glad to take up with 2 other atoms of chlorine, forming by their union 2 equivalents of hydrochloric acid (2H Cl). It is therefore thought, says Professor Miller ("Elements of Chemistry," vol. iii.), that chloroform ought probably to be regarded as the homologue of one of the methylic æthers (chloride of methyl), in which two of the equivalents of hydrogen are displaced by chlorine, C<sup>2</sup> H<sub>3</sub> Cl (chloride of methyl) becoming C<sup>2</sup>  $\overset{\text{H}}{\text{Cl}_2}$  Cl (chloroform).



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

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

sums up the results of his experience:—"1° L'amyène est respiré plus facilement, avec plus de tranquillité moins d'effort que le chloroforme. 2° L'anesthésie s'obtient tres-rapidement. 3° Le sommeil anesthésique est plus calme, plus naturel, sans stertor. 4° Les malades anesthésiés reviennent vite à l'état normal. 5° L'inhalation ne provoque pas de nausées, de vomissements ou de congestion vers la tête. 6° Les malades ne souffrent pas; après l'anesthésie, il reprennent leur gaieté."\* Another continental physician, M. Henriette, who has also given amyene to children, speaks strongly in its favour, and concurs with M. Giraldès in stating that "Il ne produit ni accès de toux, ni nausées, ni vomissements." Dr. Snow observes, "I only saw vomiting occur in two of the 238 cases in which I administered amyene, although it occurred in twenty-two cases out of 100 in which I administered chloroform"—p. 407. He also says that "the patient has nearly always a very cheerful expression of countenance when he recovers from the amyene; and the state of his mind, as indicated by his conversation, corresponds to his look"—p. 406. It is moreover alleged that the coma, or unconsciousness which accompanies the anæsthesia induced by amyene, is much less profound than that which accompanies an equal degree of anæsthesia from chloroform.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† Simpson's "Memoirs," ii. p. 533-4.

operations, but Dr. Walter Channing, one of the most eminent obstetricians, we believe, of that city, set the example of administering it in all cases of labour, and with the happiest effects; while, in Philadelphia, Professor Meigs, who, in respect to midwifery and its collateral topics, is regarded as the highest authority in America, objects to the use of anæsthetics in labour under all circumstances. In Edinburgh, where the anæsthetic powers of chloroform were discovered and applied, scarcely a woman is "confined" without drowning her pains in the Lethe of that fluid, with the sanction of one of the most distinguished obstetric professors in Europe; whereas, in the third edition of the classical work of Dr. Ramsbotham, of London, on "Obstetric Medicine and Surgery," the author writes, in 1851, of the uses of anæsthetic agents, as follows: "I unhesitatingly declare my conviction that the treatment is fraught with extreme danger; and that it will at no very distant time, unless, perhaps, in some exceptional cases, be banished from the practice of the judicious obstetric physician"—p. 154.\* This opinion is shared by Dr. Robert Lee, a physician distinguished alike by his physiological discoveries and by his valuable contributions to obstetric science. He steadily sets his face against both æther and chloroform, and throughout his extensive metropolitan practice has to this day refused to administer either the one or the other.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Objection II.—If the pain of labour is a most desirable, salutary, and conservative manifestation of life force," as stated by Professor Meigs; if, according to Dr. Ramsbotham, it is "*an essential element in the function of parturition,*" and if, therefore, it is wrong to annul it, the same argument must inevitably condemn the physician as a wrong-doer when lessening or annihilating pain in any case. All physical pain, viewed as a physical conscience, must be considered as salutary—as pointing out that the structures in which it is seated are in danger—and we know that, as a general rule, its admonitions may not be neglected with impunity. But shall we therefore, while striving to remove the cause of suffering, refuse to alleviate the suffering itself? Is not narcotic palliation of the agonies of cancer permissible, because those agonies are but the too-truthful declaration that the structures involved are being destroyed? Is it immoral to lessen the tortures of toothache by creosote because they are nature's indication that the tooth in question is undergoing decay?

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

‡ The Uterus and its Appendages, in the “Cyclopædia of Anatomy and Physiology.” Parts xlix. and l. 1858.

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

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

This conclusion, deduced from the physiological data which

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

† "Obstetric Medicine and Surgery," p. 175. Fourth Edition. 1856.  
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we have presented, is confirmed by the experience of numerous authorities. "I have not in my own practice," says Dr. Channing, "met with a single instance in which diminution or a suspension of contraction had occurred, which had differed from those in which these same things have happened without æther."\* The testimony of Murphy and of Simpson is to nearly a similar effect. "In the great majority of cases," says Dr. Churchill, "it [chloroform] does not interfere with the labour pains [uterine contractions], except by suspending all *voluntary* exertions, if the insensibility be complete."† In a paper by M. Blot—"De l'Anesthésie appliquée à l'Art des Accouchements"—it is stated that "L'Anesthésie peut atténuer, supprimer même les douleurs de l'accouchement, sans suspendre les contractions de la matrice, ni celles des muscles abdominaux." M. Spiegelberger, of Bonn, also asserts that anæsthesia, to the extent of annulling sensation, arrests in no degree the uterine contractions.‡ The testimony of Dr. Snow is equally decisive:—"The external evidences of the uterine contractions continue as before, when the patient is rendered unconscious by chloroform; and the muscles of respiration are called freely into play, to assist the action of the uterus in the second stage of labour. The aspect of the patient under these circumstances is generally that of one who is suppressing the expression of her sufferings; and any relative or friend who comes in, without knowing that chloroform has been given, begins to praise the unconscious patient for her fortitude"—p. 312.

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

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\* "Ætherization in Childbirth," p. 42 and 43.

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

‡ "Annuaire Général de Science Médicale," p. 91-93. Par A. Cavasse. 1857.

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

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

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

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

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

† "Ætherization in Childbirth," p. 308.

‡ "Theory and Practice of Midwifery," p. 783.

§ "Medical Gazette," 11th June, 1847. Quoted by Simpson. Vol. ii. p. 630.

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

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



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

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

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

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\* See “Murphy’s Chloroform in Childbirth,” p. 85.

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

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

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

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

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

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

† “ Although childbirth is in the East considerably easier than in more northern climes, it is frequently most painful, and not seldom fatal; so that a heart-rending cry of despair and anguish is, in Biblical language, compared with the cry of a woman in travail.”—*Historical and Critical Commentary on the Old Testament, with a New Translation.* By M. M. Kalisch, Phil. Doc., M.A. Genesis. 1858.

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is, we believe, impossible to obtain accurate statistical information of the average number of surgical operations performed each year in the United Kingdom. As yet no attempt has been made, so far as we know, to supply this great desideratum. At the present time, therefore, we can only offer a conjecture. There are in London fifteen hospitals where surgical operations are being frequently performed. Some of these are small; we will, therefore, confine our attention to the ten largest metropolitan hospitals. St. Bartholomew's is immensely large; at the lesser Hospital of University College 4440, and at Charing Cross Hospital 1000 operations have been performed under chloroform during the last ten years. St. George's, though larger than University College, is probably of medium size, and may therefore be fairly taken as

\* Simpson's "Memoirs," ii. p. 691.

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

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

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

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

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

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

\* The patient had inhaled chloroform in America in a previous

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

\* "Medical Times and Gazette," November 6, 1853.

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

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

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

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\* "Churchill's Theory and Practice of Midwifery."—pp. 430, 431.

† "Chloroform in Childbirth."—p. 35.

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

of 13,748 deliveries. According to this Report, the rates of mortality are as follows:—Of the women delivered within six hours from the beginning of labour, 1 in 178 died; of those whose labours lasted from seven to twelve hours, 1 in 144 died, of those whose labours lasted from thirteen to twenty-four hours, 1 in 124 died; while of all those whose labours were prolonged beyond twenty-four hours, but with which there was no interference, 2 out of 11 died. The evidence condensed by a writer in the “*Medical Times and Gazette*” from the extensive tables contained in the second of these two Reports, differs somewhat in form, and still more so in substance, from that of the first; but that the increase in the rate of mortality is in proportion to the duration of suffering, is established with equal conclusiveness by both.\* We freely admit that the existence of a relation between the rate of mortality and the length of suffering is no demonstration that that relation is a causal one; and we know that several causes may contribute to establish it. Of these, however, we believe that continuous pain is the chief. If this be so, chloroform doubtless often saves life by merely annihilating pain. But the most striking facts illustrative of the fatal effects of pain are obtained by observing the per-centage of deaths which follow surgical operations without and with the use of chloroform. Before chloroform was employed, the mortality from amputations of the thigh, leg, and arm in British Hospitals, averaged 29 per cent.; whereas out of 302 cases collected by Professor Simpson, in which anæsthesia was induced, only 71 died, or 23 per cent. Again: in cases of amputation of the thigh (one of the most fatal operations commonly performed), the average mortality in the same hospitals was 38 per cent.; but out of 145 cases collected by Professor Simpson, in which anæsthesia was induced, only 37 died, or 25 per cent. Dr. James Arnott, who advocates the induction of anæsthesia by freezing the part to be operated on, has striven to demonstrate the injurious effects of chloroform by the publication of a statistical table seemingly invalidating the evidence presented by Professor Simpson. He has also endeavoured to prove that chloroform so depresses the vital powers of patients as to prevent many from recovering, who would otherwise do so, from the effects of surgical operations. We have read the whole discussion which the statement of his views has elicited, and are satisfied that experience does not substantiate them. Dr. Fenwick, in a series of papers on the results

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

of operations performed in the Newcastle Infirmary, proves conclusively that the indiscriminate way in which Dr. Arnot's tables are compiled renders them valueless as illustrative of the effects of chloroform on the mortality of patients who have submitted to surgical operations under its influence. From the tables of the Newcastle Infirmary, extending over the period from 1823 to 1856, Dr. Fenwick shows that if the amputations on account of accidents are separated from those on account of disease, and if like be compared with like, the results are as follows:—Before the introduction of chloroform there were 111 pathological amputations, with a mortality of 19 per cent, while during its use there have been 61 similar amputations with a mortality of 13 per cent, and while of 81 traumatic operations without chloroform, 32 per cent. were fatal; only 31 per cent. were fatal when it was employed. In certain operations, forming a small proportion of the whole, the results were less favourable; but summing up all the facts, Dr. Fenwick demonstrates the truth of the conclusion, that the practice of anæsthesia lessens considerably the immediate mortality from surgical operations, and as a general rule, liable to exceptions, instead of retarding, hastens the convalescence of the patient. The experience of the Salisbury Infirmary is to the same effect:

"Whereas we lost," says Mr. Coates, "in the six years previous to the use of chloroform 22·58 per cent., we had a mortality of 9·269 per cent. during the six years following its introduction. The still more favourable results since December, 1855, when the tables from which the above figures are drawn were made up, reduces the mortality of the whole period after the introduction of chloroform to 6·41 per cent. as against 22·58 per cent. before its use."

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

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

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

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#### ART. V.—SPIRITUAL DESTITUTION IN ENGLAND.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It appears from Mr. Horace Mann's statistics that there were absent from the available means of religious worship on the Census Sunday, 5,288,294 persons able to have attended once, at least, but who neglected to do so. The proportion of persons *able* to attend *one and the same* service on Sundays, that is, not reasonably prevented by age, sickness, and necessary avocations, is estimated at 58 per cent. of the entire population; and the proportion able, without physical hindrance, to attend *some one* religious service, is taken at 70 per cent. of the population. If 70 per cent. had attended, their number would have been 12,549,326, but there was only an aggregate of attendance, at the three services in all places of worship, amounting to 7,261,032. Some of these were, no doubt, attendances by the same persons on more than one service; on the other hand, some who were absent on that day might at other times attend. But were there means of more persons attending *then*? The total number of sittings within reach, when the churches and chapels were open, was 20,226,797. "So that it is tolerably certain that the 5,288,294 who every Sunday neglect religious ordinances, do so of their own free choice, and are not compelled to be absent on account of a deficiency of sittings." (Abr. Report, p. 89.) It is still more worthy of remark, that out of the total of 10,212,563 sittings in all places of worship, 2,894,595 are described as free, and the fact of the other sittings being actually paid for, indicates that they are principally the free sittings which are unoccupied.

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

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



non-attendants upon means of religious worship and instruction already provided," as "the most important fact which the investigation has brought to light" (p. 93). In the Report on the other hand, agreed to by the Bishop of Exeter's Committee, the attention is fixed on the supply of church accommodation. Upon Mr. Mann's estimate that 58 per cent. of the population *might attend* at each occasion of public worship, if they were so disposed, it is argued that a provision of sittings, which in each parish or neighbourhood shall raise that provision to the due proportion, is the one thing needful to provide for the spiritual destitution of England. It is assumed, naturally enough, considering the influence under which the committee was appointed, that the extra provision of sittings in places of public worship ought to be provided by the Church of England. Leaving out of sight in their Report, as much as possible, almost entirely, the fact of the indisposition of the people to avail themselves of the places of worship already provided for them, the Lords' Committee think that the remedy for spiritual destitution is to increase the extent of church accommodation until it has reached such an amount as will accommodate everywhere 58 per cent. of the population. There is a haziness and feebleness about these recommendations which contrast very unfavourably with the simplicity, straightforwardness, and *thoroughness* of Mr. H. Mann's Report. "There are 5,000,000 and more of people," says Mr. Mann, "who might go to church or chapel and don't go. What will you do with them?" 'Build more churches,' says the Lords' Committee. "But they will not go to them," repeats Mr. Mann; 'and they do not go to them,' confesses the Rev. Mr. Stooks." 'Build more churches,' continues the Lords' Committee.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Likewise the Rev. T. J. Rowsell, in answer to a question (1141), "Is there much infidelity in your parish?" replies in a spirit which shows him to be capable of appreciating difficulties and excusing deficiencies, though they may appear to him very grievous:—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

The missionaries on the staff of the London City Mission are 350. Little knowledge of what effect can be gained by a tabular statement of visits paid, hours employed in reading, and the like. Their usual work consists of visiting the sick, reading the Bible, distributing tracts, persuading parents to send children to school; and they are restrained by some very proper rules from involving themselves in any affair of money with those whom they visit, from writing begging letters, or anything which may give them a double character in the eyes of those on whom they call. The particular work assigned to some of the body is really appalling. One missionary, for instance, has been appointed for the special purpose of visiting the night-houses of the metropolis. These are supposed to be about 250 in number, and 152 have been regularly visited by him. "The conversations and scenes in these houses baffle all description;" and the greatest surprise is often expressed by the abandoned people who are found there, when the titles of the tracts are read by those to whom they are delivered. "The missionary," it is said, "has felt it a sad infliction to come into contact with so much vice, and he often returns home not only exhausted, but unable to sleep, through the memory of what he has had to pass through." He begins his rounds about midnight, and continues them till morning. And as the late Mr. Robertson could, without his own belief being called in question, meet on the ground of a common humanity the members of the Brighton Mechanics Institute—men prone to debate whether there were a God or no—so others are able, on the same ground, without pollution to themselves, to address the most profligate and abandoned of both sexes as friends, with words of warning and of hope. But these things are too irregular to be brought before their Lordships' Committee, at least to find a place in their Report.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

be eased and lessened in all future provisions to be made for the expenses of the civil government." The management, no doubt, for a long while carried out this principle very indifferently; but about the beginning of this century it underwent great improvement. No leases on lives were granted since 1806, leases for terms have been curtailed, and the property generally brought into hand. Alienation has been confined to manorial rights only, in places where no land was likewise in possession or expectation, to fisheries, mills, small intermixed pieces, and the like. Tenants have only been allowed to effect enfranchisement where copyhold payments were of small amount, "dry, fixed, and unimprovable." And the present Earl of Carlisle, then Lord Morpeth, and first Commissioner of Woods and Forests, said in evidence before the House of Commons, in 1848, that "he did not think it within the functions of the board, or in the spirit of the duties imposed on them, or consistent with the letter of their Acts of Parliament, to make either gradual or total alienation of the property." Unhappily, from the circumstances already alluded to, like principles have not been applied in time, nor are indeed applied now, to the ecclesiastical property. If they had been, there would have been resources at the command of the State which would have "eased and lessened the burden upon the estates of the subjects of the realm," which now comes upon them partly in the shape of taxation for educational grants, partly in the shape of irresistible appeals for voluntary contributions for church purposes, partly in the effects of demoralization in localities where no moral or educational superintendence can be exercised, and in a consequent increase of police force. Even now the true position of the State towards this ecclesiastical property is not distinctly acknowledged, and it is in danger, if not in process of, continual diminution and alienation. We are not going to re-open questions which have already been settled by Parliament, nor to invoke attention to rules under which the Church Estates Commissioners now act, and according to which they are always ready either to enfranchise the tenant or to purchase his interest; and in calculating the lessee's interest to give him credit for one renewal beyond his existing term. These things have been sanctioned by Parliament. But bad as is this diminution of the fiduciary interest, it still runs infinite further risks in the carrying out of these transactions. This danger may be illustrated in two instances.

It appears from the correspondence relative to a proposed enfranchisement of the Chardstock estate, in Dorsetshire.—(Reports from Committees, 1856, Vol. xi.)—that there was great risk, by sale for a very inadequate sum, of the loss of the reversionary interest of the church in no less than nearly 4000 acres of land.

The late Bishop of Salisbury and his valuer—the bishop having no further interest in the property beyond a certain proportion of the money to be realized by the sale, agreed provisionally with the tenant to enfranchise, subject to the approbation of the Church Estates Commissioners, for the sum of 29,092*l.* This alienation, for a most inadequate consideration, was prevented by the acuteness of the surveyor (Mr. Clutton), who recommended the Commissioners rather to purchase the leasehold interest than to sell the reversion. The case is somewhat too complicated to state fully here, but there can be no doubt that an immense sacrifice of public property would have been the consequence of carrying out the arrangement to which the bishop had provisionally assented. In the instance, likewise, of a much smaller property, the Bishop of Hereford had agreed, subject to the approval of the Commissioners, to enfranchise an estate, on which their surveyor thus reports:—

“In this case it is proposed to sell the reversion of 181*l.* 2*r.* 30*r.* of land, worth 251*l.* 12*s.* yearly, held by four lives, now aged 56, 51, 45, 27, at a reserved rent of 10*l.* 18*s.* 7*d.*, for a rent-charge of 10*l.* 11*s.* 1½*d.*; and also of 41*l.* 0*r.* 33*p.* of land, worth 58*l.* yearly, held by four lives now aged 56, 51, 45, 43, at a reserved rent of 8*s.* for a rent-charge of 7*l.* 17*s.* 7½*d.*, making a total rent charge of 48*l.* 11*s.* 9*d.* as the price of both reversions. This rent-charge being equivalent at 25 years' purchase to 1215*l.*, and the value of the reversions, according to the usual scale, being 3250*l.*, I advise that the board decline to approve this proposal.—*E. J. Smith.* It was declined accordingly.”  
—*Id. ib.*

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By a process of exhaustion we arrive at the knowledge of what is really required for the amelioration of the condition of the people. It is not churches, for when built they are not filled; it is not Bibles, for of Bibles there has long been no lack; it is not education, as at present carried on, for the difficulty respecting the physical and moral condition of the masses has been increasing along with the increase of education. And it is a mistake to suppose that the "spiritual destitution," as it is called, is confined to metropolitan and other very densely crowded districts. The evidence of a clergyman, recently removed from a country town to a crowded metropolitan parish, teaches us, what we have other reasons for believing, that the London population is not worse morally than a country population. The Rev. C. Eyre, lately appointed to the rectory of Marylebone, considers the physical condition of the London poor to be worse, their "social package" to be frightful; but their "moral and religious condition not worse, probably better than in the country, speaking of a country town" (Q. 3512, 3518, 3521). In fact, in the country the education is wholly of the biblical kind we have been speaking of; in the metropolis there is indirectly, if not directly, an infinitely greater extent of

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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\* Raumer, "Codex Diplomaticus." Mylius, "Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum." "Gesetz-sammlung für die Preussischen Staaten," from 1807 to 1858. Fiedlin, "Beiträge zur Geschichte von Berlin," etc.

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

the State and the structure of its political organization were changed during that time is evident. The work, however, was not carried out in the spirit in which it began. Let the reader observe and bear in mind the dates. It was in 1813 that the war against Napoleon began, in 1815 that it was brought to a conclusion. It was in 1811 that the king, advised by men who did not despair of the State, ordered the carrying out of what he, a fugitive in the remotest corner of his inheritance, had foreshadowed; it was in 1816, surrounded by flunkeys of a greedy nobility, and by the sophists of the Restoration, that he clipped and debased by a miscalled "declaratory" statute, the large and generous principle of 1811. Numerous classes who had fought and bled, or sent their sons to die, in the belief of an honest execution of the edicts of 1811, were thus precluded from the acquisition of freehold, and deprived even of the frail tenure they held. Similar steps in the same "conservative" direction followed. In 1841 a laconic ordinance appeared legalizing agreements, illegal till then, of perpetual rent-charges without redemption. That very clumsy and very serious Assembly of 1818 looked into the pigeon-holes, and got hold of a report of the Minister, Count Arnim-Bozenburg, proposing that ordinance on the ground "of the high political importance of keeping small proprietors in a connexion of dependency with some landlords." An Assembly, numbering day-labourers amongst its members, lost no time in tearing that ordinance to pieces.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

His son, Frederick II. (d. 1471) again tried Berlin, and succeeded, owing to a struggle between the patriciate and the commonalty, and between the two sister towns, Berlin and Cöln on the Spree, both of them merged in the present metropolis. We have stated already the reason why the Hohenzollerns placed the seat of their government in the country between Elbe and Oder; equally distinct and more explicitly recorded is the reason why they fixed just upon Berlin. The Elector himself, in 1440, informed the Estates that, in order to strengthen the union of the different provinces, and the efficiency of Government, he intended to take a fixed residence, and that he thought Berlin the most convenient spot. The further reason—suppressed, as usual, in his speech from the throne—why he thought Berlin the most convenient spot, is fully supplied by Leutlinger (“Comment.” lib. xxiii. § 31). He says that Berlin was eminently turbulent, and fond of changes, *novis rebus studens*, and that Frederick, to repress their spirits and curb their impetuosity, erected a castle within the walls, “contrary to their right of a free town, and to other privileges.” The Elector might well expect an opportunity for interfering, as the struggle between the aristocratic and the democratic elements was already endemic in the German towns at that time. It arrived in 1441, when the city authorities, bent upon a union of the two towns, and a common town-hall “near the mill-dam,” resigned their offices, and gave up the keys of the gates to the Elector. Next year he decreed the separation, complying in so far with the demands of the commonalty, and imposed at the same time upon the *scultetus* and other magistrates the obligation of seeking his confirmation before entering into office. Against this infringement of their chartered rights the Berliners rose before the end of the year. The Elector, now supported by the nobles, got the upper hand, and compelled the town to give up the right of high jurisdiction, honestly bought from one of his predecessors and paid for, and to cede him a plot of ground to build a stronghold, “*antiquæ libertatis frenum*.” He set to work at once, making at the same time a breach in the wall to secure communication. But building is



tedious, and Berliners are impetuous; they rose once more, took possession of the gates, filled up the breach, ejected the judge installed by the Elector, and, as it appears, maintained themselves for several years, the Elector proving long-suffering, and busy with the trowel. In 1448, having roofed in the castle, and filled it with trustworthy retainers, he fell upon the town, and had it tried before a committee of the Estates. The judgment confirmed the decree of 1412, deprived Berlin of a great part of their corporation property, besides inflicting heavy penalties on a number of individuals. In the execution of this last part of the sentence the Elector showed much leniency, and the whole community soon received signal marks of his favour. Contented with having broken, in their most forward representative, the political power of the towns, he was anxious to reconcile their inhabitants, and to preserve their prosperity, seriously affected already by an incipient emigration to Imperial free towns.\*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\* "Estant illius vaticinia et prognostica:—inter alia spondet principi familie Brandenb. regiam et summam inter Christianos dignitatem." Leufinger, l. i. c. 19.

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

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



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

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

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

buildings, in towns by various devices, generally by an impost on beer, the *bierziese*. But there are these differences from modern taxation: the Estates first want to know the reason why; they grant the aid for a limited period; they decide on the way of raising it, collect it themselves, and watch over the manner in which it is applied, by standing committees. Of course they couple the grant with suitable petitions, assuming frequently the character of an explicit bargain with His insolvent Serenity. In the recess of 1570 the Elector promised not to undertake any important affair touching the country, nor to enter into any alliances without the knowledge and consent of the standing committees. In 1549 he was warned by the towns "to restrict his disorderly housekeeping;" and so sore was his plight that he meekly thanked "the worshipful towns for their good intention towards His Electoral Grace." The greatest stride towards centralization was made by a new organization of jurisdiction, centring in one high court of law, the *Kanmergericht*, 1516, and by a new system of defences. There was no standing army yet; but instead of castles and walled towns along the eastern frontiers we see all around the Marches a chain of modern fortresses requiring some kind of permanent garrison. The key-stone of this modern organization is the creation of a privy council, *Geheimraths collegium*, in 1604.

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

Joachimeken, Joachimeken hüde di!

Kriege vi di, so hänge vi di.

Little Joachim, take care!

If we catch thee, we shall hang thee.

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

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

We pass over the thirty years' war, *inter arma silent leges*. The treaty of Westphalia (1648), which put an end to that terrible calamity, admitted France and Sweden as guaranties of certain stipulations concerning the internal state of the German Empire, and conceded to its members the right of concluding alliances with foreign States, reducing thereby still further the power of central authority, and raising in a corresponding degree that of the territorial princes. That the Brandenburg prince, Frederick William, called the Great Elector, who was benefited by this change (1640-1688), should have attempted to extend his power equally within by further encroachments upon the rights of Estates and municipalities, might be presumed from the fact that a similar tendency is observable all over Europe at that time, pointing perhaps to the operation of a common cause, or at all events inviting imitation. In France Louis XIV. reduced the functions of parliaments and broke the social power of the nobility. In Denmark burghers and peasants set up absolutism to save themselves from oppressive, turbulent, unpatriotic nobles. The crown of Sweden, not any longer diverted by war and foreign politics, strove after the same end. We should, however, be more cautious than some writers have been, in instituting a comparison between those occurrences and the Great Elector's struggle for sovereignty. The well-authenticated story of Frederick William's one day making his two sons write down and learn by heart, with a promise of six ducats for him who did it best, the following sentences: *Sic gesturus sum principatum ut sciam rem populi esse non meam privatam*; (I shall so wield the princely power that I may know that the people's business is not my private business), is more than an anecdote, it is a direct denial of the "l'état c'est moi" of Louis XIV. We differ altogether from Ranke who, by way of analogy, points to England where "restored monarchy just carried everything before it." In looking for a parallel in this country we should precisely exclude that period when a

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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



## - ART. VII.—RECENT CASES OF WITCHCRAFT.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But the explanation in these instances does not reach the



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

detected and exposed a simulated case of possession, Henry III. was himself accused of favouring, if not practising witchcraft, shortly before his murder by Clement. Under Henry IV., the parliament of Bordeaux, represented by Espagnet and De l'Ancre, burned six hundred persons among the Basques of Ladourd; and the following year occurred the great auto da fé at Logrono in Navarre, described by Llorente, in which the witnesses were children exorcised by the vicar in his bedroom. The administration of Richelieu was disgraced by the memorable tragedies of Gaufridy at Aix, and of Grandier at Loudun, both effected by the machinations of monks, and the weak or malicious co-operation of nuns under their influence. But the acme of atrocity was reached in Germany, in the ecclesiastical States of Wurzburg and Bamberg, where Jesuit confessors employed the usual pretext of sorcery to suppress Protestantism. The bishops, having tried in vain to check its progress by repressive measures, as a last resource introduced the Jesuits in 1609. The state of affairs immediately changed. Six hundred persons were burnt in five years at Bamberg, in Wurzburg nine hundred in two; persecution at last dying out for want of victims to kill and money to confiscate. Frederick Spee, who, in his capacity of confessor, witnessed these enormities, and anonymously remonstrated against them, became prematurely grey from the horror of his situation. The fate of the youthful Ernst von Ehrenberg, a relative of the prince-bishop, who forfeited his life at the schloss at Wurzburg for indocility to the monks, is one of the most tragic scenes in these occurrences. Immured in a darkened chamber, and assailed by the exhortations of the priests, the exhausted youth, still proudly refusing to confess a falsehood, was struck by the executioner from behind, and the Jesuit narrator concludes the complication of horrors with the pious ejaculation—"May his fall not have been a fall into eternal flames!"

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

and Flade, comically daring them to disprove witchcraft, while declaring in the same chapter denial of it to be capitally punishable as the worst of heresies. In England the cause of reason was boldly and ably pleaded by Reginald Scot on the principle of Divine omnipotence, and the essential absurdity of the several theories of witchcraft, all at variance with one another, but all directly or indirectly degrading the Divinity into a subservient instrument of the malicious designs of witches. He showed how in each instance the seemingly marvellous result was really owing to folly, imposture, or both; and how equal wonders could readily be effected by sleight-of-hand, or natural magic. The succeeding century expiated its neglect of these rational views, by witnessing the worst excesses of the mania. In 1593 occurred the infamous Warbois case; and the close of the century saw, as before stated, a long succession of atrocities in Scotland, which possibly gave a hint to Shakspeare, and certainly suggested the portentous inspiration of King James. From 1612 to 1614 numerous executions occurred in Lancashire, York, Huntingdon, Yarmouth, Chelmsford, and Bury; in France there were the trials of Grandier and Gaufridy, and the Logrono persecution, causing the humane protest of Peter of Valencia; in Germany, the violences of the Jesuits at Treves, Wurzburg, and Bunberg, gave occasion to the "Cautio Criminalis" of Frederick Spee; in Sweden, Gabriel Naudé or Naudæus, librarian to Queen Christina, wrote his treatise on "Great Men Falsely Accused of Magic," a work which, without directly attacking witchcraft, subverted its historical basis by explaining the real character of men once suspected of it. It seemed as if Swedish superstition waited for an anticipatory exposure before exhibiting its worst; for it was not until 1670, when the epidemic was nearly exhausted, that we meet with the wholesale executions of Mohra.

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



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

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

The great difficulty experienced by rationalists in the controversy was to reconcile with their views the witchcraft attestations of the Bible. Sir Matthew Hale, in his charge to the jury at Bury (1664), laid it down that "there were witches, first, because the Scriptures affirm it; secondly, because the wisdom of all nations, particularly our own, hath provided laws against witchcraft, implying belief in such a crime." Blackstone, too, declares that "to deny the possibility, nay, actual existence of witchcraft, is at once flatly to contradict the revealed word of God in various passages of both Testaments; the thing itself being a truth to which every nation of the world hath in its turn borne testimony, either by examples seemingly well attested, or by prohibitory laws supposing its possibility." The argument founded on human laws and legal procedure was easily disposed of. Laws are not always monuments of wisdom; on the contrary, they often create the crime they punish. "If," says R. Scot, "the law condemning witchcraft is good, it can only be on the ground that all laws must be assumed to be good, which would include the Papists' law against Protestants, and the Pagans' against Christians. But the Divine law declaring "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," could not be so summarily dealt with. Attempts were made to meet one text by others. Thus Scot quotes, although inaccurately, from Sirach xxxiv. 5, "Sorcery, witchcraft, and soothsaying are but vanity;" and Bekker concludes his treatise with an appeal to 1 Tim. iv. 7, "Refuse profane and old wives' fables, and exercise thyself rather unto godliness." But the subject had to be scrutinised more narrowly, and the argument generally resorted to was, that the Bible magicians and conjurors were either no conjurors at all, or at least performers of a kind very different from modern witches. The difference was inferred from the silence of Scripture as to the stereotyped peculiarities of modern witchcraft. "There is nothing," says Dr. Webster (p. 130), "that doth imply any such kind of killing witch as is commonly imagined, nor none such as make a visible league with the devil, nor upon whose bodies he sucketh, nor no such as are really changed into cats, hares, wolves," &c. Sir W. Scott, having adopted the distinction of absence of the "fatal league" or "contract of subjection" to diabolic power (*Demonology*, pp. 51, 52, 179, &c.), goes on, not very consistently, to say that the Hebrew punishment was founded on the treason and disobedience implied in trafficking and dealing with that power. He gives the option of supposing either a "misapprehension of the meaning of texts too literally transferred to the codes of Christian nations, or else that these, like other parts of Hebrew law, being calculated exclusively for

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

### THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

In Socrates was beheld a wonderful balance of the personal and

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dr. Neander is said by the editor of his "History of Christian Dogmas"<sup>4</sup> to have attached especial importance to the lectures which he delivered on that subject. He was peculiarly qualified for treating it, because he was able to do so without permitting any passion to warp his judgment; he could pursue his search after truth, and pass in review the polemics of others, often bitter enough, *sine ira aut studio*. He could also permit himself to hold his judgment in suspense, when evidence was insufficient to determine it; he could distinguish between probability and certainty. The incapacity for making this distinction—at least, for giving any practical effect to it—has been the cause of more than half the strife which has torn the Christian world. We may think, for our own part, that he did not always attach due weight—if we may be pardoned a seeming contradiction in the expression—to the negative evidence. But the standing-point is to be remembered from which Neander looked at Christianity. He did not and could not concentrate his attention upon a few facts related in the Gospel histories, or upon a few texts, supposed to be cardinal ones in the decision of particular controversies. His eye embraced the whole of Christianity, as it has, in matter of fact, existed in the world. Now, even if its origin has been obscure or ill-ascertained, nevertheless the results of the belief in its specially divine origin can

<sup>4</sup> "Lectures on the History of Christian Dogmas." By Dr. Augustus Neander. Edited by Dr. J. L. Jacobi. Translated from the German by J. E. Ryland, M.A., &c. In two Volumes. London: H. G. Bohn. 1858.

never be obliterated from the records of the world's history, nor cease to operate upon that history in ages to come. And not only have beliefs become facts of history, never to be henceforward omitted as historical facts, whether they have been true beliefs or false beliefs, or in whatever degree true or false, but there certainly has been a spirit running through Christianity in all its forms, which it would be un-historical and unphilosophical to ignore. This spirit, in whatever it consists, is in our own opinion, as yet at least, so lively, that if the original Christian records could be shown to be of no earlier date than the middle of the second century, or in any other way the evidence for the cardinal facts on which the Christian faith appears to be founded be proved to be null, it would not have an appreciable effect upon its concrete forms. We cannot enter upon the discussion as to what this spirit is, which, as a matter of fact, has given such vitality not only to Christianity taken in the whole of its history, but which does give such vitality to its several forms, notwithstanding their acknowledged entanglement with error and worldliness in every conceivable degree. It is of course customary with Church historians to identify this spirit of vitality with some principle esteemed to be essential in the special communion to which they may belong. Neander is, however, able to rise in great degree above this narrowness; but having risen to a certain height his wing flags, or he is drawn back by some formula, just as we think he is going to soar. But in giving an extract exemplifying both his narrowness and his freedom, we desire to detract nothing from our recommendation of these volumes to the English student, as containing the best history of dogmas of which we know.

"If the formal principle of Protestantism allows a completely unfettered mode of viewing things, so its material principle, which regards Christ as the only ground of salvation, gives the point of unity for all development, as well as its right criterion. It also furnishes motives for examining the doctrine given in Scripture, in its living development through the power of Christ's spirit, and not to regard it even in Holy Scripture itself as something rigid and immovable. Protestantism therefore gave the right standpoint, and an impulse to the investigation of the history of dogmas; but these effects did not appear at once; many foreign elements supervened and checked the development. Although the Holy Scriptures were regarded as the only source of the knowledge of Christian truth, yet there was, at the same time, a want of interest in the historical development of Christian doctrine, though that is a witness of Christian truth. And on the standpoint of Protestantism the judgment was warped by the interest felt in bringing forward witnesses from the earlier history against Catholicism, in order to represent it as an adulteration of later date. It was not perceived that the Catholic doctrine might exist early and yet be untrue; for the laws of historical and Christian development were not yet understood, and it was supposed that what was owned to be orthodox must have existed of old."—(vol. i. p. 28.)

The ninth volume of "*Neander's Church History*,"<sup>5</sup> in two parts, completes Mr. Bohn's issue of that valuable work. This latter portion

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<sup>5</sup> "*General History of the Christian Religion and Church.*" Translated from the German of Dr. Augustus Neander, by Joseph Torrey, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Vermont. New Edition, with a general Index. Volume Ninth. Part the First: Part the Second. London: H. G. Bohn. 1858.



was made up after the author's death with considerable difficulty from his papers, and cannot be said to present a consecutive or evenly flowing narrative. There are portions of it, however, of great value—particularly the chapter in the second part which treats of the Bohemian Reformers, forerunners of Huss, Militz the Moravian, Archdeacon in Prague (d. 1374), Conrad of Waldhausen, preacher in Vienna and Prague (d. 1369), and especially Matthias of Janow, in 1381 master of the cathedral at Prague (d. 1394). Copious extracts are given from the works of the latter, which are mostly yet unpublished. These men, surrounded by corruptions which have not the remotest parallel in any Christian community now existing, seem to have been animated by a spirit much like that which burnt with so great vehemence in the breasts of the Hebrew prophets in the debased periods of the Jewish Church and State. Like them they were very clear and just in their moral judgments, but like them their horizon was very bounded; atrocious as the circumstances were by which they were surrounded, we now see that they overrated their importance relatively to the world's history.

M. de Pressensé<sup>6</sup> carries us in his second volume to the end of the age of transition, or of the apostolical Fathers. He shows very great fairness and power of appreciation, unless occasionally when prejudices come in his way. Thus he estimates very justly the soebleness of the apostolical Fathers, compared both with the New Testament writers who preceded them, and the Fathers, especially of the Eastern Churches, who succeeded them. He is also not insensible to a certain variation in the mode of presenting the Gospel, observable in the apostolical writers themselves. He is content to attribute this variation of presentation to a variation in their receptive capabilities—a variation in the manner in which the human element in each of them, as compared with the others, was combined with the divine. We certainly think that the discrepancy of views in the several apostles has sometimes been unduly magnified; at least when it has been represented as leading to a personal hostility. That the differences between the leading men were very great we can have no doubt, nor any doubt that they were felt by themselves to be so. But along with these felt differences, we conceive that there was an agreement between them, tacit or express, to avoid clashing, thwarting, or neutralizing each other's efforts. M. de Pressensé appears, however, as striving too anxiously to reconcile St. Paul and St. James, and to have been led to misapply a text in order to it, misled possibly by an ambiguity in the French version. He says, "*Nous retrouvons chez Jacques la doctrine de la grâce très clairement enseignée. Toute grâce excellente et tout don parfait vient d'en haut, et descend du Père des lumières*" (p. 115). But the original for "grâce" is *δόσις*, not *χάρις*, and it is rendered without ambiguity in the English version, "Every good gift," &c. (Jas. i. 17.) But still more strange is his proof that the apostle James taught the immediate presence of the Divine Spirit with Christians. "L'Esprit de Dieu

<sup>6</sup> "Histoire des Trois Premiers Siècles de l'Eglise Chrétienne." Par E. de Pressensé. Deuxième Volume. London: David Nutt. 1858.

habite dans les Chrétiens et c'est lui qui les dirige et les pousse dans la voie de la sainteté. Voilà un élément mystique qui nous élève bien au-dessus du Judéo-christianisme." (*ib.*) And in support of this position M. de Pressensé quotes a scrap of a text in his note, and, moreover, wrapped up in Greek, "Τὸ πνεῦμα ἃ κατοικῆσεν ἐν ἡμῖν" (Jas. iv. 5); "The spirit which dwelleth in us." Readers not very conversant with texts would little think how the entire verse runs: "Think ye that the Scripture saith in vain, *the spirit that dwelleth in us lusteth to envy.*" The allusion probably is to Gen. vi. 5, and a notable proof of the indwelling in Christians of the Holy Spirit!

Dr. Hupfeld<sup>7</sup> continues his translation and exposition of the Psalms. His present volume reaches to the forty-ninth. It is an excellent illustration of a noble portion of the Hebrew literature, entirely free from the bias of Messianic interpretations and other theological misconceptions.

A disproportionate interest is by some attached to the investigation, in minute points, of Christian antiquities. And the readiness with which, according to their different inclinations, men of different communions or schools leap to conclusions favourable to their own views, discourages such inquiries with most sober-minded persons. That the story of Joseph of Arimathea planting Christianity in Britain should not have been utterly scouted by Protestant English historians, tends to throw discredit upon any attempt to trace the manner in which this country was Christianized for the first time. On the other hand, it has served the polemical purposes of the Church of Rome to maintain that there was no Christianity in the island when Austin the monk was sent over here in 597. The purpose of a small volume by Sir Oswald Mosley<sup>8</sup> is to vindicate the existence of an early British Christianity. And the history, as transmitted by Bede, supplies evidence sufficient for the establishment of that fact. There may still remain a battle to be fought out between the High Church Anglicans and the Romanists, as to the channel through which the present episcopal succession of the English Church can be maintained. Whether, if the succession be only traceable through the Roman See, it be necessary thereupon to acknowledge its jurisdiction; or whether there be not, in matter of fact, a mixture of British and Roman spiritual descent, as for instance through the doubly consecrated Wilfrid. For the effect, polemically, of such a mixture of consecrations is this, that if the Romanist considers the British consecration, or the British element in a consecration to have been null, the maintainer of the British line represents the re-consecration by the Roman bishop, or the Roman element in any given consecration, to have been superfluous. It need not be said that we ourselves attach no importance to such questions. But it is of some consequence to notice that Christianity did show itself at a very early period in the remote provinces of the Roman empire, and, as far

<sup>7</sup> "Die Psalmen." Uebersetzt und ausgelegt, von Dr. Hermann Hupfeld, ordentlichem Professor der Theologie zu Halle. Zweiter Band. London: David Nutt. 1858.

<sup>8</sup> "A Short Account of the Ancient British Church." By Sir Oswald Mosley, Bart. London: Ridgway. 1858.

as can be traced, without the intervention of apostles, apostolic men, or persons in any way acting under a special mission for that purpose. It is from day to day more widely acknowledged, that Christianity presents in the first three centuries the phenomenon of a subterranean river, first visibly gathered together from the obscurities of its source, then plunging out of sight beneath some opposing barrier, afterwards reappearing in mightily increased strength. There is reason for supposing a great spread of Christianity into the Roman provinces, even in apostolic times, though not by means of apostles. It filtered into the provinces through domestic channels. And perhaps the most interesting notice in Sir O. Mosley's little work is that which refers to the identification, probable, almost complete, of the Pudens and Claudia mentioned in 2 Tim. iv. 21, with the Pudens and Claudia of Martial's Epigrams, iv. 13, and xi. 53, and of Claudia moreover with the daughter of a British Regulus, on authority of an inscription disinterred at Chichester in 1723.

"Christian Days and Thoughts,"<sup>9</sup> by the late Dr. Peabody, an American Episcopalian, will be an useful little manual for members of his own communion, who are educated to follow with special interest the cycle of seasons observed by the Church. The reflections which it contains are in their tone devout, composing, not otherwise than cheering, and without the least mixture of asperity towards man, or discontent towards the Supreme Being.

Dr. Guthrie's "Discourses"<sup>10</sup> manifest a very commanding eloquence. Their doctrinal standpoint will be understood from such a passage as the following:—

"When grace subdues a rebel man, if I may so speak, the citadel first is taken: afterwards, the city. It is not as in those great sieges which we have lately watched with such anxious interest. There approaching with his brigades and cavalry and artillery, man sits down outside the city. He begins the attack from a distance; creeping, like a lion to the spring—with trench, and parallel, and battery—nearer to the walls. . . . But when the appointed hour of conversion comes, Christ descends by his Spirit into the heart—at once into the heart. The battle of grace begins there. Do you know that by experience? The heart won, she fights her way outward from a new heart on to new habits," &c.—(p. 96.)

Dr. Guthrie's style is very powerful and enchaining; it is very concrete; its imagery is taken from Scripture histories, from narratives of modern life, from ministerial experience, from memories of the times of the Reformation and of the Covenant, such as make the heart of the Presbyterian leap into his mouth. Dr. Guthrie, we are rejoiced to see, if only as a matter of feeling, to say nothing of hopes of a charitable leaven, draws but little—to judge from these published specimens of his sermons—upon the terrors of the dark side of his creed. Very rarely does the vehement imagination of the

<sup>9</sup> "Christian Days and Thoughts." By Rev. Ephraim Peabody, D.D. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Co. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1858.

<sup>10</sup> "Christ and the Inheritance of the Saints. Illustrated in a Series of Discourses from the Colossians." By Thomas Guthrie, D.D., Author of "Pleas for Ragged Schools," &c. Edinburgh: A. and C. Black. 1858.

preacher carry him beyond the bounds of good taste. We think the description of Queen Esther, p. 353, trenches at least upon those limits. It is too fulsome. The picture, also, of the unforgiving mother (p. 377), produced as an actual history out of the ministerial memoranda, would shock most persons' sense of ministerial delicacy; if told, moreover, as an actual fact, it must have suggested to some minds questions concerning the psychological state of that poor woman, which must have marred the intended rhetorical effect. We permit ourselves to note one more place where a pursuit of detail has marred the grandeur and force of the presentation. Speaking of the Resurrection:—

"The hour sounds; the appointed time arrives. Having slept out his sleep, Jesus *stirs*; he awakes *of his own accord*; he rises by his own power; and *arranging, or leaving attending angels to arrange the linen clothes*, he walks out on the *devy ground*, beneath the *starry sky*."—(p. 336.)

Mr. Macnaught's pamphlet<sup>11</sup> on the subject of the "Confessional in the Church of England" is a very probing one. He shows, with his accustomed clearness and straightforwardness, that considerable countenance is given to the use of private Confession in certain parts of the formularies of the Church, left hitherto unreformed, either out of carelessness, or for the sake of comprehension, or out of Jesuitry. He also proves, from the published statements of the defenders of the practice, that it is finding its way "silently" into many parishes without the sanction of their ministers, into many families without the knowledge of their heads. The remedy is difficult, as it is for the spread of any superstition. A superstition cannot be put down by force. The best way is to turn the light upon it. Mr. Macnaught draws anything but a flattering picture of the qualifications, generally, of the young men who are now admitted into the ministry of the Established Church. "Blind leaders of the blind," as it appears;—for if the laity of that communion really required better and more sensible men for their ministers, they would soon have them.

Very truly is it observed by the Editor of "God and His Creation,"<sup>12</sup> that for thousands of years the different views of God and the world, which may be designated as Theism and Pantheism, have divided mankind. But anciently these different views or doctrines were contemporaneous with races, nations, theologies, or communions. Recently they cut across otherwise homogeneous-populations, and cause division within the boundaries of the selfsame Christian confessions. And not only that, the conflict between Theism and Pantheism is carried on

<sup>11</sup> "A Letter on the Confessional in the Church of England. Addressed, with Permission, to the Right Hon. the Lord Stanley, M.P., Secretary of State for India," &c., &c. By the Rev. John Macnaught, M.A. Oxon, Incumbent of St. Chrysostom's, Everton, Liverpool; Author of the "Doctrine of Inspiration," &c. Liverpool: Young. London: Williams and Norgate. 1858.

<sup>12</sup> "Kritik des Gottesbegriffs in den gegenwärtigen Weltansichten." 3tte Auflage. 1857.

"Gott und seine Schöpfung." Von dem Autor der Kritik, u.s.w. 1857.

"Der natürliche Weg des Menschen zu Gott." Von dem Autor, u.s.w. 1858. London: D. Nutt.

within the individual man—his reason leads him, forces him, to bind together God and the world in one universe; his feelings prompt him to seek a helper—an Almighty Person outside of himself, on whom he may lean for succour; in his head he is heathen, while in his heart he is Christian. The three works which we have noted are concerned with the statement and attempted solution of this profound question. The first of them went through two editions in the author's lifetime, the others have been published since his death—all anonymously. But we learn from the *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, for August, 1858, that they are the production of Friedrich Rohmer, a native of Weissenburg, and son of a pastor in that town. He was born in 1814, and at the early age of twenty-one, published "Anfang und Ende der Speculation," which excited much attention. Afterwards he took a prominent part in Swiss politics, and, with Counsellor Bluntschli, was founder of the Liberal Conservative party at Zurich, in 1842. He resided subsequently at Berlin and Munich, and died of paralysis, at the latter place, in 1856. We are told that the circumstances of his life were not happy, but his writings show a truly religious and unperturbed temper. The little satisfaction he had in this life only quickened his aspirations after a renewed state of being. The "Kritik" is occupied in showing that neither Pantheism nor Theism, separately, can satisfy the wants of man in his reason and in his heart, or account for the phenomena of the world. Specially Pantheism is defective, in that man loses his individuality, is a mere phenomenon, a phase, a "schein;" freedom and responsibility are words which, under that theory, can have no real meaning. Theism, on the other hand, is defective in its proofs, where the author touches very well on the ontological, the cosmological, and the teleological arguments; also in the difficulties which beset the conception of the Divine personality; and, above all, in the moral contradiction presented, according to the Theistic theory, by the existence of evil in the creation of a benevolent and Almighty Being. The statement of the difficulties and objections to these respective theories is drawn out with perfect simplicity and terseness, and containing nothing whatever superfluous beyond a page or two, showing how these different theological views are found, as the author thinks, prevalent uniformly with different political parties.

Of the two other treatises, the one, "God and His Creation," endeavours to develop the true idea of the Deity and the universe on purely metaphysical grounds. Analysing the ultimate categories of human thought, they are found in pairs of contradictories—as substance and property; nothing and becoming; space and time; rest and movement; darkness and light; indifference and difference; cause and effect; antecedent and consequent; extension and concentration; source and development. These categories or forms of thought follow from pursuing different lines of thinking, and they may be further multiplied. But they all combine with the first pair. And the ground of the All may be considered as substance, or nothing, or space, or rest, or darkness, or indifference, or cause, or antecedent, or extension, or source. For, in each pair of contradictories, we can think away the one member of the relation but not the other, as we

can think away property, but not substance; becoming, but not nothing; time, but not space; movement, but not rest; light, but not darkness; difference, but not indifference; effect, but not cause; consequent, but not antecedent; concentration, but not extension; development, but not source. Thence—

“Substance and nothing is space; property and becoming is time. Space is eternal, for it is boundless, and consequently has neither beginning nor end. Time pre-supposes space, and consequently in relation to space must be thought of as the second term or property which is added to substance. We can therefore conceive a beginning of time, just as we can a beginning of motion. But as time takes its commencement in space, and must go forth from its eternal source without end, thence it follows time must be endless.”—(p. 30.) And again, “substance, space, is the eternal antecedent, rest and cause, from which its property goes forth as consequent, movement and effect. And as the power of the source is boundless, so do consequences, like movement, follow in an endless series.”—(p. 34.)

There is, however, another pair of categories, matter and spirit, presenting greater difficulties. Where is to be observed, that there is no such thing as abstract matter—dead matter—or unorganized matter, nor any self-existent elements? Actual material things form only the body of the one great Being. And this great Being, the one and universal, consisting of body and spirit, is an organized existence; that which is usually called inorganic matter is no other than the organised body of this Being, which may be called the macrocosm, the one original, infinite, and endless existence. But we are conscious that we ourselves have a limited and terminable existence. We are also aware that we are surrounded by a multitude of beings limited like ourselves. And we are conscious for ourselves and sure with respect to these others, that we are organized existences, consisting of body and spirit. And these microcosms may be considered as the creatures of the macrocosm. At the close of this part of his work Rohmer quotes, from the letters of Frederick the Great to D’Alembert, some passages in which a similar theory is put forth. Thus, in a letter of December 31, 1770, the royal free-thinker says:—

“J’abandonne donc la matière et l’esprit pur et pour avoir quelque idée de Dieu, je me le représente comme le *sensorium* de l’univers, comme l’intelligence attachée à l’organisation éternelle des mondes qui existent et en cela je ne m’approche point du système de Spinoza, ni de celui des Stoïciens, qui regardoient tous les êtres pensans comme des émanations du grand esprit universel, auquel leur faculté de penser se rejoignoit après leur mort. Les preuves de cette intelligence ou de ce *sensorium* de la nature sont celles-ci : les rapports étonnans qui existent dans tout l’arrangement physique du monde, des végétaux et des êtres animés ; en second lieu l’intelligence de l’homme. Car si la nature étoit brute elle nous auroit donné ce qu’elle n’a pas elle-même, ce qui est une contradiction grossière.”—(p. 72.)

And again, March 13, 1771 :

“J’envisage toute l’organisation de cet univers et je me dis à moi-même : si toi, qui n’es qu’un ciron, tu penses étant animé, pourquoi ces corps immenses qui sont dans un mouvement perpétuel ne produiroient ils pas une pensée bien supérieure à la tienne ?”—(Ib.)

There is thus only one body in the universe, as there is only one

God; and this body of the universe is God's body. Thus the earth or sun, or other astronomical bodies have no separate life, or separate organism. Such orbs are only portions of the one Divine body. But in the movement which belongs to the astronomical bodies is manifested the movement of God himself. And as there is only one universal spirit, that which appears evil to us in the action of the material phenomena is not really evil, for there can be no power independent of the universal spirit from which all power issues. There can be no eternal evil being, for God comprehends the eternal source, and that is the source of infinite progress. There can be no being infinitely evil, which God has to overcome. Evils can only be stages in the infinite progress, or, as it were, abortive thoughts of the Divine mind. All creatures are the realized thought of God, the outspeaking of the Divine idea. Here the author inclines to Pantheistic doctrine; but in the individuality which he concedes to the microcosms, he appears to conciliate Theistic opinions. He gives something to the Pantheist, and something to the Theist, but does not succeed in reconciling the two. According to this theory, how does death affect the microcosm? As the microcosm consists like the macrocosm of body and spirit, at dissolution, the body of man will be returned to the Divine body, and the spirit to the Divine spirit, nevertheless, not so as to preclude a renewed life: for as the microcosm has his individuality from a creative thought of God—when that thought becomes again active in the Divine mind, the man will be re-awakened to a conscious existence. Of which can only be said, that the example of one such Pythagoras would be worth far more than tomes of German speculation. We have no space to notice the third treatise of the same author, "The Natural Way of Man to God," farther than to say, that it undertakes to establish the same views, in a somewhat more popular form, and to draw them from an observation of the actual rather than from abstract speculation.

There are three points which demand attention in such an undertaking as that of Sir A. Grant's, relative to an old established academic text-book like the "Nicomachean Ethics."<sup>13</sup> The first concerns his criticism of the genuineness of the work itself; the second, his endeavour to compare ancient forms of thought with their nearest modern equivalents; the third, his actual representation or rendering of the text of the original. As for the first part of his undertaking, we think the author has rendered a great service in more ways than one; he has given an excellent example of criticism, which may be followed with effect upon other books which continue to go under received names in their entirety, chiefly because not questioned; he has vindicated a great man from the imputation of much contradiction and entanglement (take for instance Book v. 3); he has moreover set free the minds of students from the fear of finding themselves, when they followed their

<sup>13</sup> "The Ethics of Aristotle, illustrated with Essays and Notes." By Sir Alexander Grant, Bart., M.A., Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. In three Volumes. Volume the second, containing The Nicomachean Ethics. Books I. to VI. With Notes critical and explanatory. London: J. W. Parker and Son. 1858.

own natural insight, in opposition to a great authority. In the preface to Book v. he recapitulates the arguments which justify him in disallowing Books v. vi. vii. as the work of the philosopher himself, and which are perfectly cogent. These are:—

“(1.) It is established both by probability and by internal evidence, that the *Eudemian Ethics*, and the *Magna Moralia*, are not works of Aristotle, but expositions of his system by his disciple Eudemus, and by some later peripatetic. (2.) The three books in question form part of the *Eudemian*, as well as the *Nicomachean Ethics*. (3.) They belong naturally to the *Eudemian Ethics*, and fit into them without causing the slightest irregularity. (4.) In the *Nicomachean Ethics* they are the cause of extreme irregularity, and of collisions and discrepancies which would be a disgrace to Aristotle as an author, if it could be supposed that he had allowed them to remain in a work written by himself as a whole. (5.) In style, they possess all the peculiarities of Eudemus, as far as his writing can be distinguished from that of Aristotle. . . . (6.) In various philosophical questions, especially in psychology, these books contain an advance beyond the point arrived at in other parts of Aristotle's works, the *Politics*, the *Nicomachean Ethics*, &c., but they are consistent with the views in the *Eudemian Ethics*. . . . (7.) Lastly, it may be said that there is no really strong argument in favour of attributing these books to the direct authorship of Aristotle, beyond a habit of belief which has depended on the question never being mooted.”—(pp. 189, 190.)

Secondly, in endeavouring to represent the thoughts of Aristotle by their modern equivalents, the chief danger, critically speaking, is on the side of making him say more than he really could have meant to say. Sir A. Grant is well aware of this, and especially on his guard against it; as when he acknowledges the “difficulty of translating less definite ancient words into more definite modern ones,” and repudiates the recognition by Aristotle of a distinct faculty of the moral sense, which some have been anxious to find in his *Ethics*, in order to bring him into unison with Bishop Butler. The point of the difficulty lies herein, that especially since the time of Kant the whole philosophy of the internal man turns upon the pivot of the consciousness, and Aristotle had not at all analysed the phenomena of the consciousness. We therefore require to represent the Greek philosopher by means of terms which shall not imply any contradiction of the truth as we understand it, but which need not mean more than that which he could alone have meant. But to call the  $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\rho\gamma\epsilon\iota\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$  of A. “a development and awaking of the consciousness under the law of virtue” (p. 44, note); or “conscious life in conformity with the law of absolute excellence,” is, in fact, to attribute to Aristotle an explicit doctrine of the consciousness. We cannot reconcile ourselves, as to the third point, to the rendering of  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\rho\gamma\epsilon\iota\alpha$  by “actuality,” which seems to us a barbarous word at best, and to be properly synonymous with “reality,” which would convey a wrong meaning. In suggesting “a function,” we of course do not employ the word in the sense of “office” or “duty;” but nearly in the same way that we speak of the appropriate action of a specific organ as its “function;” or as we should say in French, “cette machine *fonctionne* bien;” or talk of the “play” of an engine or spring. But if “function” is still too ambiguous, we should much prefer “activity;” “happiness is an activity



of the inward principle or life." "Actual" is, we believe, used both by Shakspeare and Milton in the sense of "active," but it is certainly now obsolete in that usage; and if Sir A. Grant intends "actuality" in the sense of "activity," it would be much better to use the ordinary word. In some other cases we doubt whether, after laying down perfectly sound views, they are adhered to with sufficient stringency in the renderings of the notes. He observes, with a just appreciation of his author's philosophical position, that *προαίρεσις* "does not mean with A. the will as a whole, for which, indeed, he has no name, but a particular exhibition of it, a conscious determinate act of the will;" but he afterwards employs "purpose" as the rendering of *προαίρεσις*, which is likewise liable to be misunderstood as if it signified a whole faculty. The English word "willing" would express a determinate act of the will: so with respect to *βούλησις*, "*wishing* is for the end, but *willing* is of the means," not *wish* and *will* as if they were "wholes." Likewise with some phrases of constant recurrence Sir A. Grant has occasionally omitted to give their particular force; for instance, *δοκεῖ*, not, "seems," but, "is generally thought or allowed" (pp. 5, 56, 99); and *δεῖ* (pp. 70, 71), not, "we *must* use material (?) analogies," &c., nor, "we *must* consider the test of a formed state of mind," &c., but "we *ought*;" the difference is between an obligation from within and from without. And while we are touching on occasional blemishes, we may point out the employment of a few words which are scarcely to be admitted into use—*desirability*, *commensurability*, *imperishability*. These are but slight defects in a very able work, and one which, from its design and general execution, cannot fail to be exceedingly useful in the Oxford lecture-rooms.

A little book by Mr. Faram,<sup>14</sup> contains some very good hints on the Idea of Power. We cannot say that we coincide with him as to the way in which our idea of power is derived, but agree, that when we have the idea of power, it is distinguishable from the idea of cause. Hence it may be possible to get rid of the difficulty concerning an absolute commencement. For it is not possible to think of cause as not operating—but it is conceivable that power should have been ever, without being always evolved or operating as cause (p. 56). And so all existence, and consequently all knowledge, is from "three infinite possibilities:"—

"Creation does not imply that nothing was turned into something, but only that which was before possible in power should be brought out of power, which is properly to give existence; all actual things, present, past, and future, come out of power, and consist of power in time and space; and therefore whatever is experienced, known, or conceived of as existing, is power in time and space."—(p. 131.)

"Colebrooke's Essays,"<sup>15</sup> are too well known to need any remark.

<sup>14</sup> "Essay on Man's Ideas of Power; being a New Exposition of the Principles of Philosophy Proper, on the Basis of three Ideas." Especially adapted for Young Men seeking Mental Improvement. By John Faram. London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co. 1857.

<sup>15</sup> "Essays on the Religion and Philosophy of the Hindoos." By the late H. T. Colebrooke, Esq. A new Edition. London: Williams and Norgate. 1858.

Notwithstanding the great advances made in Indian studies during the last fifty years, they still retain their place as a first authority, and as the best introduction to a knowledge of the religious and philosophical systems of the Hindoos. The present edition is comprised in one volume, with a very useful index.

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POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

MR. JOHN BRUCE NORTON, previously known to the English public by his works entitled "Madras," and the "Rebellion in India," has treated the still-absorbing subject of the insurrection and government of our great Eastern dependency with large and vigorous common-sense, in his "Topics for Indian Statesmen."<sup>1</sup> Of these topics there are no less than twenty. Two of them are discussed in the first chapter—namely, "What is the character of the rebellion, and what is its cause?" Mr. Norton is of opinion that the revolt partook of a national as well as of a military character. To refute the sweeping assertion that the insurrection in its career has embraced none but military classes, he points to Oude, the common centre "to which all the flames of insurrection are drawn," to the vast area where no Sepoy regiment has been present, to the burning villages and the hostile attitude of the country people. The immediate cause of the rebellion he affirms to be the long pursuit of the mistaken policy of annexation. In discussing the treatment of the rebels, Mr. Norton deprecates the infliction of wholesale vengeance, and commends the clemency order of Lord Canning, though he thinks it infelicitously worded. To the Sepoys and native officials he would show no mercy; the rajahs he would deal with separately; and the people he would treat with leniency. To increase our fiscal resources and defray the costs of the rebellion, there is, says Mr. Norton, one source of taxation of which we may avail ourselves justly and wisely: the nuzzerana or tax on successions to all hereditary assignment of public revenue. "Had the government warning of the coming danger," and "were all practicable measures taken to meet the crisis?" are the questions proposed in the second chapter; and answered, the first affirmatively, the last negatively. The lethargy of the English nation, our author compares to that of the Seven Sleepers; Lord Canning he pronounces to have shown no spark of prescience or genius, and he heavily incriminates the civilian government "whose eyes were shut to what was coming." In reviewing his seventh topic, the military protection of India, Mr. Norton maintains that to play off the mutual animosities of the native races would be a dangerous policy; advocates the restriction of the native element in our army to the smallest practicable amount, and recommends such a system of railways and electric telegraphs as

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<sup>1</sup> "Topics for Indian Statesmen." By John Bruce Norton, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. Madras. Edited by G. R. Norton, Esq. London: Richardson Brothers. 1858.

may enable us to group our forces in masses. The civil duties now discharged by a native army, he would make over to an efficient police, and so constitute each regiment "that its component parts shall be mutual checks upon each other." The form of the home government of India, the policy of centralization, the improvement of local government, and the constitution of the legislative council, are the four next topics. Our annexation policy in reference to princes, zemindars and enamdars, is the subject of the seventh chapter. The tenure of land and the redemption of the land-tax, are the topics of the eighth; the questions "why have not British capital and enterprise invested themselves in India," and "can they be induced to do so?" are proposed and answered in the ninth; and the reform of the law-courts and police-organization are examined in the tenth. The eleventh chapter treats of the future condition of the Indian press; and the twelfth deals with the question of the general character of our Indian policy, as distributed under the heads of public works, education, and proselytism.

Shortly before the outbreak of the Sepoy mutiny, Mr. Minturn made a tour of six months in India. His observations and experiences are embodied in a compendious narrative, to which he has given the name "From New York to Delhi."<sup>2</sup> In his judgment the revolt was a military one, instigated by the deposed Mahommedan Princes, and especially by Ali Nakhi Khan, Prime Minister of the late King of Oude. The mass of the population, who are Hindoos, with their Rajahs, two hundred in number, were faithful almost to a man. The climate and history; the English government; the army and the revenue and wealth of India, are the subjects of four consecutive chapters. The scenery and social life of the country are delineated in a series of picturesque sketches, under the titles of Calcutta, Benares, Allahabad, Cawnpore, Lucknow, the Himalayas, Delhi, Agra, Ellora, Bombay, &c. The first seven chapters contain the author's impression of Rio de Janeiro, Australia, and China. As an agreeable and instructive summary of historical and geographical facts, relating to the great Indian peninsula, Mr. Minturn's book will be acceptable to the general reader.

A translation of the now famous pamphlet, "A Debate on India,"<sup>3</sup> by M. le Comte de Montalembert, originally an article in the "*Correspondant*," deserves our recommendation. The alleged offence for which the author of this article, a man of royalist tendencies and Catholic convictions, has been a recent object of imperial prosecution and pardon, is "Exciting to the hatred and contempt of the government of the Emperor and the laws of France." His real offence is the avowal of his honest preferences and convictions. His pamphlet is eloquent, witty, ironical. He deplors the absence of constitutional

<sup>2</sup> "From New York to Delhi." By Robert B. Minturn, jun. London: Longman and Co. 1858.

<sup>3</sup> "A Debate on India in the English Parliament." By M. le Comte de Montalembert. Translated by permission, &c. London: Office of "Continental Review."

discussion, and the suppression of political publicity in France; considers parliamentary government ill-replaced by universal suffrage; vindicates the colonial system of England, her generous hospitality to exiles, her religious tolerance, her social grandeur. Of the East India Company he says, that of all powers known in the colonial history of the ancient or modern world, it is "that which has done the greatest things with the humblest means;" conferred the largest amount of good, and inflicted the least amount of evil. While condemning the annexation of Oude, and the indiscriminate execution of the Sepoys, he maintains that the rebellion is an unjustifiable military revolt. Disapproving in part of our administrative and diplomatic policy, he denies that that policy is more selfish or more immoral than that of the other great states of ancient or modern history, and defends England against calumnious and vindictive detraction. For this free but temperate avowal of opinion, an illustrious Frenchman of recognised intellectual eminence has been judicially arraigned: condemnation has followed prosecution; and six months\* imprisonment and 3000 francs fine are the penalties, in this instance, decreed against the free utterance of honest and sincere conviction.

The first volume of a pretentious work on "Political Economy,"<sup>4</sup> by Mr. Atkinson, requires little more than an indication of its general positions and its proposed aims. The author announces that he several years ago discovered the leading principles of the science; that what has hitherto passed under the name of political and social economy is "the offspring of ignorance assumed to be knowledge." He reviews the principal authorities on the subject; attacks the theories of our most celebrated thinkers and the practice of our most distinguished statesmen. The principal accusation which he adduces against the science, is its exclusion of religion. Free social action is declared to be the abomination of desolation denounced by our Saviour; and unrestricted commerce is compared to the golden image set up on the plain of Dura. The general adoption of free trade would involve the most deplorable disasters: all expenditure on imports is a deduction from the support of native industry; the relation between supply and demand, and *not* the amount of labour bestowed on production, is the real cause of value. "There can be no true political economy (says Mr. Atkinson) without the admission of the religious element, self-sacrifice." The new law which he has discovered, and which is to regenerate the science of which he treats, is the law of definite proportions, applied to the simple fact of production, in order that a right and beneficial appropriation of the multiplied elements which the earth contains may be ensured to man. In the more philosophical portions of his book the author seems to confound logical with chemical synthesis and analysis; and, then, by a "confusion worse confounded," he makes inductive reasoning (mental analysis) answerable for all the errors and

\* Reduced by the Court of Appeal to three months.

<sup>4</sup> "Principles of Social and Political Economy." By William Atkinson. Vol. I. Longman and Co. 1858.

ill consequences, which he imputes, whether rightly or wrongly, to the principle involved in chemical analysis. To us, Mr. Atkinson seems to have no adequate idea of scientific method, and no distinct conception of the laws of the human mind. An economy founded on the assumption that the mass of mankind are susceptible of the highest and purest self-devotion, and that their conduct is *not* chiefly regulated by the calculations of self-interest, would be as ideal a construction as Plato's absolute man (*αἰροανθρώπος*), and altogether unsuited to the nature and requirements of man as we know him—the actual man of all recorded experience.

Of the "Law of Freedom and Bondage in the United States,"<sup>5</sup> one volume only is published. The title directly indicates its connexion with the important question of negro slavery. The work itself is designed as a judicial treatise. "It is," says its author, "intended to present statements of law only, without the introduction of any considerations of the effects of such law on the moral and religious, the social or political interests of the nation or of the several States." The book makes no pretensions to novelty, except that secondary novelty, which consists in the orderly arrangement of well-known facts or received doctrines of law. Aiming at a correct enunciation of the legal *status*, it avoids all partisanship and political partialities. This enunciation is not meant to imply either moral approval or disapproval of the slave law, but to press on the public attention the important preliminary distinction between the legal and the ethical view. The work opens with an explanatory preface, followed by a tabular list of contents, with divisions and subdivisions, an index of cases and a general index. It comprises sixteen chapters. After long and patient investigation, Mr.<sup>6</sup> Hurd pronounces that no principle of universal jurisprudence now sanctions property in human beings, and that slavery in the United States does not rest on a national common law, but a local common law. He further pronounces that "the doctrine that the juridical authority of a State shall, *proprio vigore*, maintain the rights of its slave-holding citizens and status of their slaves in the territory, is incompatible with the idea that the laws of the States may, in the territory, respectively determine the rights and obligations of persons previously domiciled within their several jurisdictions."

Two volumes, forming a kind of philosophical history of Russian civilization,<sup>6</sup> will attract and instruct our readers. The introductory discourse supplies a definition of civilization. Civilization, in its maturity, is the highest development of the intellectual and moral faculties of all the individuals composing a nation; this development being directed to the greatest possible happiness (*bien*) of all and each. Such a definition involves:—1. Sound and useful knowledge; 2. The power of reasoning rightly; and the 3rd. Desire of the general good. The two first elements of civilization exist *potentially* in the English nation, and that in a very high degree; but *actually*, the distribution

<sup>5</sup> "The Law of Freedom and Bondage in the United States. By John Codman Hurd, Counsellor-at-Law. In Two Volumes. Vol. I. Boston. 1858.

<sup>6</sup> "Essai sur l'Histoire de la Civilisation en Russie." Par Nicolas Gerebtzoff. Paris. 1858.

of knowledge conforms to its hierarchical organization. The third element is very inadequately developed. Fraternal love, in the wider signification of the words, is circumscribed in England by the substitution of a biblical for an evangelical and Christian piety, and the proud and defiant character which the political eminence of the country naturally evolves. In France, the amount of general knowledge is more fairly distributed; but the amount of *assimilated*, or particular knowledge, less fairly. In France the logical faculty runs riot; men reason independently of facts, and substitute the sallies of wit, or brilliant sophisms, for calm and just ratiocination. The third element, the sentiment of love, is almost extinct in France. The Revolution destroyed Christianity, and on losing her piety, France abandoned herself to the transports of national vanity and the pursuit of personal interest. The only moral sentiment which still animates Frenchmen collectively, is patriotic affection.

In Germany the distribution of knowledge is more conformable to the exigencies of society. With slower perceptions than the English, and an analytical intellect less ready, though more sure than the French, the Germans are superior in logical synthesis and precision. The moral element of civilization in Germany is more highly developed than in any other country; and the German may thus be regarded as the most advanced of the three typical nations. The civilization of Russia has always been an indigenous civilization. Russia has not participated in the social revolutions of other countries; she has an historic existence peculiar to herself, and an adequate estimate of her position and progress can only be derived from a sound interpretation of the events recorded in her annals. Under this impression M. Gerebtzoff has produced an essay on the "Civilization of Russia," which serves at once as a record of historical events, and a disquisition on the education, social organization, legislation, administration, literature, art, industry, and commerce of that populous empire. He divides the past of Russia into five grand periods: 1. From her origin to the adoption of Christianity. 2. From the adoption of Christianity to the invasion of the Mongols. 3. The period of Mongol domination. 4. The period of the Czars. 5. From the accession of Peter the Great till our own time. The first three chapters of this work report the earliest transaction of Russian antiquity from the foundation of the Republic of Novgorod, before the ninth century, till the intestine struggles which followed the death of Vladimir Monomac, and continued till A.D. 1224. At this time, says our author, European intelligence was prostrated by terror, the Pontifical principle had triumphed over the secular sovereignty, and morality had become chivalrous and anti-Christian. Very different was the aspect then presented by Russia, which, if not the most civilized country, was even then one of the most civilized countries in the world. At the dawn of this brilliant morning of hope and growing prosperity, "Providence, in his inscrutable wisdom, determined to eclipse the rising sun of Russia, and to strike with sterility the persevering efforts of so many ages." The Eternal Arm uplifted the chastising rod, and the Mongol invasion was the punishment for

national crime. The consequences and significance of this invasion are the subject of the next chapter, which brings the history down to the period of the Czars in 1462. During this period the arts continued to be cultivated. Commerce was protected, and Christianity revered and practised. To show the low state of morals and piety in Western Europe, M. Gerebtzoff quotes from Chateaubriand the reply of Aucassin, when his father, the Viscount of Beaucaire, threatened him with hell, if he did not separate from his darling Nicolette. The reply was : " I don't want to go to Heaven, filled as it is with your do-nothing half-naked monks, stupid old priests and tattered hermits. I prefer Hell, where great kings, paladins, and barons hold their court, and where I shall find beautiful women, who have loved minstrels and *jongleurs*, friends of joy and wine." With this godless Europe our historian contrasts his own country, and asserts that it was superior in moral conduct and Christian piety. The period of the Czars begins in 1462, and ends in 1689. The leading events of this epoch are related in a single chapter, beginning with the reign of John III., who was virtually, though not nominally, the first of the Czars, and ending with the enforced retirement of the Regent, the Princess Sophia, to the cloister, and the abdication of the Czar John in favour of his brother Peter, then about seventeen years of age. The hierarchical organization, the legislation, and civil and military administration of this period are the subjects of the following chapters. The Government of the country was carried on through the medium of a general assembly, composed of deputies from all the provinces. In ancient Russia the family was so organized as to form the primary social and economic unit. It implied not merely relationship but communal association. All the members of the family enjoyed the same rights, and had the same claims to an equal share of the common property. From this family communism has emanated an industrial communism, extending over whole villages and arrondissements. The sentiment of fraternity prevails everywhere. Under the Czars commerce received a vast extension, and political power was matured and concentrated. Aristocratic influence eventually became tempered by the republican usages of the provinces ; literature was encouraged, and educational establishments were founded. Thus, says our author, however the scientific and æsthetic culture of Western Europe may excel that of Russia, her social development has a far more logical character. That development originated in the institution of an enlightened central Power, a Power closely attached to the nation by the unity and depth of the common religious faith, embraced alike by the Czar and peasant, and cementing this union by the sentiments of evangelical love and Christian fraternity. The second volume of this essay narrates the leading transactions, and describes the civilization of the Fifth or Imperial epoch, commencing with the accession of Peter Alexiwitch, 1672, and terminating with that of Alexander II. The historical sketch is rapidly thrown off ; the splendid abilities of the Russian sovereigns are prominently displayed.

In drawing the character of the late Emperor Nicholas, M. Gerebtzoff admits that it was none of the gentlest ; and that though he

was naturally an amiable man, he was inflexibly severe. He always acted on his convictions; convictions strongly opposed to the ideas and principles of the west of Europe. His real fault was disregard of diplomatic manœuvre, and a chivalrous loyalty and constancy to his faith in legitimacy. Twice he saved Turkey, once he saved Austria; the war in the East he neither wished nor foresaw. It cost Russia much valuable life, and inflicted on her deep humiliation, but it has shown her the impolicy of unnatural alliances, and it has taught the world the amount of her power and the extent of her resources. Under the Empire a great social revolution was effected, the rights of the patrician class were restricted, the condition of the serfs improved, a national system of education was adopted, literature was cultivated, and science encouraged. This long historical and philosophical review is completed by an analytical resumé of influential events, and a disquisition on the intellectual and moral character of Russian civilization. In this section the author defends the Russian institution of the knout against our European prejudices. In Europe this punishment has always been reserved for the very lowest class of society; in Russia it is only since the second half of the eighteenth century that any class has been exempted from its infliction. Thus the Russian people do not regard the blow as degrading; they feel a verbal insult far more keenly, and consider imprisonment far more dishonouring. An injurious word affects the soul, the blow affects only the body. Personal chastisement again causes suffering to the delinquent alone, imprisonment to his whole family. This last section also indicates the principal faults and virtues of the Russian people. Its faults are deception and trickery, want of perseverance, indolence, and covetousness; its virtues are piety, resignation, chastity, and self-devotion. The principal intellectual faculty in the Slave is the aptitude for coordinating the truths accumulated by experience; and the ability to think rightly eminently marks the Russian people. It is, however, for its religious superiority, for its sentiment of fraternal love, and aspiration for the general good, that the mass of the Russian population is so honourably distinguished. With the diffusion of intelligence, and the cultivation of the moral feelings on the basis of orthodox Christianity, Russia will attain her destined political and social elevation. The emancipation of the serf will be followed by the growth of the instinct of property; the instinct of property will stimulate popular activity, and every citizen will then have the right to affirm that he is a unit of that nation to which is promised a future of unrivalled power and prosperity; that the portion of the world to which he belongs is neither Europe nor Asia, but Russia the Great.

From the predicted splendours of the barbaric empire of the North, we descend to the more savage social condition of the Fiji group of isles in the South Pacific. The Fiji group includes the islands lying between the latitudes of 15° 30' and 20° 30' S., and the longitudes of 177° E. and 178° W., comprising an expanse of about 40,000 square miles, and "forming a connecting link between the abodes of the Malayan and Papuan race." Two centuries have elapsed since the discovery of these islands by Abel Jansen Tasman, the Dutch naviga-



tor. About the year 1806 Fiji began to be visited by Chinese traders ; an elaborate survey of the group was undertaken by the United States Exploring Expedition in 1838—42, and missionary enterprise has accumulated for us in the two volumes, entitled "Fiji and the Fijians,"<sup>7</sup> much valuable knowledge, the fruit of the patient and intelligent research of the Rev. Thomas Williams, during a residence of thirteen years in Fiji. Of 225 islands, of which the entire cluster consists, about 80 only are inhabited. The population is estimated by Commodore Wilkes, United States Expedition, at 133,500; by Mr. Williams at 150,000. The islands are many of them of rare loveliness and fertility, presenting every variety of outline, from the simple form of the coral isle to the rugged and often majestic grandeur of volcanic structure. Abrupt precipices, high mountains, fantastic turrets, and battlements of rock ; deep ravines, threaded by silver streams ; valleys enriched with cocoa-nut groves ; clumps of dark chesnut-trees, stately palms, bread-fruit and bananas, "form with the wild reef scenery of the girdling shore, its beating surf, and far-stretching ocean beyond, pictures of surpassing beauty." In considering the origin of the present inhabitants of Fiji, we seek in vain for illumination from historical or legendary records. Philological affinities and physical analogies, uniformity of custom and resemblance of religious belief, indicate the relation of the Fijian with the darker races of Asia. The polity of Fiji is monarchical and despotic ; the people have no voice in the State, but men of rank and official importance form the council of the sovereign, and serve to check the exercise of his power. In the royal succession the brother of the deceased king has the preference over his son. The king's person is sacred, and in some instances the potentates of Fiji even assert the rights of deity. Offences, in Fijian estimation, vary with the social position of the offender. Murder by a chief is less heinous than petty larceny by a man of low rank. Only a few crimes are regarded as serious :—theft, adultery, abduction, witchcraft, incendiarism, infringement of a *tabú*, disrespect to a chief, treason. The punishments for theft and disrespect are fine, repayment in kind, or mutilation ; the other crimes are punished by death. Fijian society is divided into six classes :—1, kings and queens ; 2, chiefs of large islands or districts ; 3, chiefs of towns, priests, &c. ; 4, distinguished warriors of low birth, chiefs of the carpenters and chiefs of the fishers for turtle ; 5, common people ; 6, slaves by war. The military in Fiji do not form a distinct class, but are selected from every rank irrespective of age or size. The alliance of the gods, previously to hostile demonstration, is purchased by gifts. The favourite arms are the club, the spear, the battle-axe, the bow, the sling, and the musket. True bravery is rare ; war diminishes with the use of fire-arms. The industry of the Fijians in art must next be remarked. They pay considerable attention to agriculture, cultivating the plantain, sugar-cane, maize, tobacco, tava, and paper mulberry. The implements of husbandry are of the most primitive description. Tortoiseshell knives and hoes

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<sup>7</sup> "Fiji and the Fijians." By Thomas Williams, late Missionary in Fiji ; edited by George Stringer Rowe. London. 1858.

have only been recently supplanted by Sheffield blades. While the men are employed in horticulture, the women are chiefly responsible for the manufactures of Fiji. The joint products of the common skill are chequered cloth made from the bark of the malo-tree, variegated mats, earthen pots, carved clubs, spears, and canoes. The commercial transactions of the Fijians are on a very small scale, consisting of a barter trade with the people on the main, often conducted entirely by women. The arts exist only in germ in the Fiji islands. The carved and stained patterns which they produce, show some cleverness in design. A certain rude correspondence of vowel sounds marks their metrical compositions. Their musical instruments are the conch shell, the nose-flute, Pandean pipes, the drum, and the Jew's-harp. Of the amusements in vogue, the dance is the most popular. Wrestling, racing, swinging, sleight-of-hand, story telling, and the children's games of hide-and-seek and blindman's-buff, are also in great repute. Among the social and domestic institutions are polygamy, at least among the chiefs, resulting in the murder of wives and children; infanticide; exposure of parents and aged persons; ferocious cannibalisms and *loluku*, or the immolation of the wives and near relations of a deceased chief. The adoption of orphans testifies to the existence of a benevolent feeling in the Fiji nature; but a free flow of affections between members of the same family is religiously proscribed. A general kindness of manner, however, prevails. The chapter on the religion of Fiji is of unusual interest and worth. Fetishism in these islands has graduated into Polytheism. The existence of an invisible superhuman power is fully recognised. The god most generally known is N-dengei—an impersonation of the abstract idea of everlasting and unchangeable duration. The Fijians divide their objects of adoration into two classes:—gods, strictly so called and deified mortals; the spirits of chiefs, heroes, friends, and even monsters and abortions being comprised in the last category. Certain stones are regarded as the shrines of the gods; birds, fish, plants, and men are supposed to have deities connected with or residing in them; in fact, nearly every animal is the abode of some deity. The Fijian peoples the dell, the cave, the rock, and the forest with invisible beings. Among the fantastic products of his "god-intoxicated" imagination are demons, ghosts, witches, vizards, wise men, fairies, evil-eyes, and god-eyes. The Fijian attributes spirits to animals, vegetables, stones, and tools, allowing that all may become immortal; but disposing of them in such a way that few attain to immortality. Man is sometimes spoken of as having two spirits; the dark spirit which goes to Hades, and the light spirit, *i.e.* his likeness reflected in water or a looking-glass, which is supposed to remain in the place where he dies. While admitting a posthumous existence, the Fijians exclude from it the idea of moral retribution. The future world will, they think, be much the same as the present. Mbulu is the abode of departed spirits, where the good and the bad meet. Murimuria is a district of inferior happiness in Mbulu. Pain and pleasure are awarded to its inmates; but not for offence or merit of a moral kind. Mburotee is the Fijian elysium. It abounds in scented groves and delightful

glades, and boasts a glowing and unclouded sky. The worship of the gods is not a regular and constant service, but waits on circumstance, or follows the dictates of fear. The priests exercise a powerful influence over the popular mind, but the sacerdotal caste is rapidly declining. The priesthood is usually hereditary. The temples are called *bures*. Among the religious ceremonies, are the presentation of the first-fruits of yams; the offering at the close of the year; the observance of silence when crossing sacred places, and the reverence of shrines. Cannibalism, too, has a religious character, and the gods are described as delighting in human flesh. The Polynesian institution of *tabu*, which subjects all things to prohibition or embargo, is in force in Fiji, and has frequently a religious application. Pilgrimages, spells, ordeals, second-sight, are accepted in Fijian faith, and exhibited in Fijian practices. \* The first volume of this work concludes with a disquisition on the language and literature of Fiji. The Fijian is not a simple language, but has at least fifteen dialects. It shares the characteristics of Malayo-Polynesian speech, and is inartificial, flowing, vigorous; is rich in articles; has no genders; abounds in synonyms, and admits of the formation of compounds. Its literature consists at present of the works issued from the Wesleyan Mission press;—viz., a "Grammar of the Language," and a "Fijian-English and English-Fijian Dictionary." The history of the Mission is contained in the second volume. It is supplied by the Rev. James Calvert, who laboured in Fiji for seventeen years. The details of district meetings and biblical conversions will no doubt interest some minds, but they require no more than an allusion here. The results of missionary zeal and Christian civilization are, it is said at the close of the second volume, partial suppression of cannibalism, the gradual abandonment of polygamy, the diminution of infanticide, the limitation of arbitrary violence, and the increased respect shown for human life. If the earnest and enthusiastic spirit of Methodism has thus contributed towards the future civilization of Fiji, it deserves grateful recognition from all who have faith in the ultimate ennoblement of humanity.

On the 8th of July last, the Secretary of State for the Colonies explained and enforced in the House of Commons the merits of a bill for the government of New Caledonia. The bill proposed to constitute the district of New Caledonia, on the north-west coast of America, a British colony. The territory to be thus regulated lies between the American frontier line, lat. 49° N., and the sources of the Frazer river, lat. 55°. Its area is computed at 200,000 square miles. Its natural advantages, Mr. Cornwallis informs us, rival those of Vancouver's Island. The soil varies from a deep black vegetable mould to a light brown loamy earth. The surface is well watered and well wooded. Fruits, vegetables, and cereals abound. The winters are more humid than cold, the rains from the middle of October to March being almost incessant. To this country, with its two auriferous rivers, Mr. Cornwallis applies the title of the New Eldorado.<sup>8</sup> The magic spell of

\* "The New Eldorado, or British Columbia." By Kinahan Cornwallis, author of "Yarra Yarra." London: J. C. Newby. 1858.

its golden promise has been felt throughout America. The rapidity and extent of the emigration have been unparalleled. Up to the 20th of June last alone, nearly 15,000 persons had sailed from San Francisco. "On a bright and beaming morning" in that month our author embarked on board the steamer *Cortes*, for Victoria, where he arrived on the sixth day. At Victoria he purchased a gold-digging license of the Hudson's Bay Company, started up the Frazer river, and reached Fort Hope on the second day. Provided with a pan and geological shovel Mr. Cornwallis joined the gold-seekers' fraternity. Encouraged by his success he took a share in a canoe and ascended the river under the pilotage of an Indian. Passing the falls by a portage, they went ashore, selected a camping ground, and at daybreak the next morning began their search. They found gold everywhere; the first day, seven nuggets, varying from half-an-ounce to five ounces in weight, were picked up, and the average yield of "dust" was no less than four ounces (£12 16s.) each man. Advancing along the river as far as it was navigable, our "sun-burnt motley group" resumed their gold-digging, being now 280 miles from the river's mouth. The coveted supply was found here too. "There was plenty for all and tens of thousands besides." Wearing, however, of this mode of life, Mr. Cornwallis sold his share in the canoe, purchased another at the Thompson river junction and proceeded downwards as far as Fort Yale. Arrived at Victoria, he found a company's land sale going on at the office, and succeeded in purchasing six lots. Disposing of three of them at a profit of 13,500 dollars, Mr. Cornwallis prepared to return to Europe, and embarking on board the steamer "*Golden Gate*," for Panama, was jolted across the Isthmus by railway, re-embarked at Colon, was transhipped at the island of St. Thomas, and finally arrived at Southampton in the month of August. Mr. Cornwallis's book will repay perusal. It contains twenty-three chapters on the new gold movement, its dazzling prospects, the physical geography and natural resources of this land of the magic spell, discusses the question of railway communication, and gives us animated pictures of the gold-hunter's life. There are some glimpses also afforded us into the manners and beliefs of the Indians. They are described as cheerful, hospitable, and sedentary. Primitively they have no idea of a God or a future state. The *Takely* or Carrier Indians never allude to the Deity, and their language has no term in it which expresses either God, spirit, soul, heaven or hell. The language spoken by the North American Indians, from the shores of Labrador to the Pacific, are properly only four in number, *Sauteux*, *Chippewayan*, *Atna*, and *Chinook*. There are, however, various dialects and some varieties of speech, composed of a mixture of these.

A delightful volume of Travel,<sup>9</sup> written by an accomplished and energetic German, approved by the veteran Alexander von Humboldt,

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<sup>9</sup> "Diary of a Journey from the Mississippi to the Coasts of the Pacific." By Baldwin Möllhausen. With an Introduction by Alexander von Humboldt, and Illustrations in Chromo-Lithography. Translated by Mrs. Sinnett. 2 vols. London: Longman and Co. 1858.

and translated into admirable idiomatic English by Mrs. Percy Sinnett, conducts us from the Mississippi to the coasts of the Pacific. M. Möllhausen's active spirit has more than once led him into the retreats of savage life. His previous sojourn with the Indians on the Nebraska, or Platte river, had trained and disciplined his powers of observation. On a subsequent visit to America he was appointed topographer of a United States' expedition, headed by Lieutenant Whipple, and destined to follow 35th parallel, N.L. The present volumes, as we are told in the preface, make no pretensions to the character of a scientific work, though they contain much valuable information on the physical geography of the regions investigated. The Hordes, which occupy the country between New Mexico and the river Gila, are scattered along the line of march traversed from the sixth to the twelfth centuries by the various nations known as Toltecs, Aztecs, &c., memorials of whose architectural and industrial skill still excite our admiration and provoke our curiosity. These remains of the wandering nations of the North are well elucidated by M. Möllhausen's drawings. Baron von Humboldt mentions a valuable philological work, in which the traces of the Aztec idiom are followed along the western side of North America. Vivid descriptions of nature, animate and inanimate, sketches of the wild life of the Indian tribes, details of the habits of various species of animals, romantic adventure, entertaining anecdote, and historical or traditional illustration, impart a rich and various interest to the diary of a conscientious and intelligent reporter.

A new work on the "Holy Land," by Ludwig Frankl,<sup>10</sup> possesses some distinctive characteristics. It is written by a Jew; and has at least the novel merit of non-Christian prepossession. Herr Frankl, a man of cultivated mind, scholarly attainments, and reputed competence as a physician, was selected in 1855, to preside over an educational establishment, to be founded in Jerusalem by Madame Herz, the pious daughter of Edeln von Lümel, in memory of that excellent and honoured man. Thus, his position in the Holy City has been particularly favourable to calm and leisurely observation. In his view the material power and splendour of the old Jewish polity have for ever passed away. The lost inheritance is only to be spiritually regained. Israel is the Apostolic people, whose want of localised nationality is its highest privilege. It is the ideal mother of the human family, blessing the universal earth with the light of a divine wisdom. The number of Jews resident in the ancient capital of the kingdom is, according to Dr. Frankl, 5,700, being a third of the entire population, and the double of its Christian constituent. The Jewish Church has no less than eight sub-divisions, distinguished by speculative tenet and ritual observance. The sites and monuments of Biblical celebration, local traditions and Jewish legends, Oriental custom, and belief, form the various subject-matter of the second volume of Dr. Frankl's work, which bears the appropriate name of "Palestine." The first volume portrays the scenery and social life of Greece, Asia Minor, and Syria.

<sup>10</sup> "Nach Jerusalem!" Von Ludwig Aug. Frankl. Leipzig. 1858.

Captain Rhodes, H.M. 94th Regiment, has written a book on "Tents and Tent Life,"<sup>11</sup> which deserves attention. This essay is illustrated by various engravings of the civil and military tents of all nations and tribes from the days of Jubal to our own time. Among the Asiatic tents are included the Persian, Hindoostan, Tatar, and Samoyede; among the African, those of Abyssinia, Egypt, Fez, Hottentot and Central Africa; among the American, those of the Esquimaux and Indians; among the European, those of the Saxon Camp of Edward II., Richard II., of Lapland, France, Austria, Prussia, Sweden, and England. The essay concludes with a disquisition on the methods of encamping an army in ancient and modern times. The advantages which the author claims for his own patent tents are portability, power of resistance to storms, and facility of pitching and striking. The form of the tent is a curvilinear octagon, the shape least liable to catch the wind. It has no centre pole. The ends of the ribs are inserted into a wooden head, fitted with iron sockets. The butts are thrust into the ground, passing through a double twisted rope. In this position the outline of the tent closely resembles that of an open umbrella, with the stick removed. Further detail or critical comment would be irrelevant here.

The urgent need for practical information on the important subject of gunnery, has induced Mr. Greener to publish a systematic treatise on "Rifles, Cannons, and Sporting Arms."<sup>12</sup> Mr. Greener is honourably known as the inventor of the expansive principle applied in the Minié and Enfield rifles, and as the author of an essay entitled "The Gun." The present disquisition opens with a review of ancient arms, and ends with a chapter on shot, caps, and wadding. Among the topics treated are gunpowder artillery; manufacture of iron for gun barrels; the science of gunnery; the French "crutch;" rifle and revolving pistols. "The gun and its projectile," says our author, "will decide the victory in future fights; engineers being our generals and founders our admirals." The volume contains five illustrative plates and thirty-seven woodcuts.

We have a virtual protest against our English deification of work, in a large and goodly volume on "Rural Sports,"<sup>13</sup> containing a complete account, historical, practical, and descriptive, of hunting, shooting, fishing, racing, coursing, hawking, and even cock-fighting and boxing, with an appendix on pedestrian exercises. The barbarous pastime of cock-fighting is entirely inhibited, and pugilism is advocated only as a sport or as a manly way of settling differences. The author dedicates a section of his work to a consideration of the moral character of field sports and the benefits derived from them, and has some pleasing chapters on the natural history of the living objects of rural recreation. An outline is offered of the more popular athletic exercises of Great Britain. Tennis, skating, wrestling, and cricket; and the an-

<sup>11</sup> "Tents and Tent Life, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Time." By Godfrey Rhodes. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1858.

<sup>12</sup> "Gunnery in 1858." By William Greener, C.E. London: Smith, Elder, and Co.

<sup>13</sup> "An Encyclopædia of Rural Sports." By Delabere P. Blaine, Esq. A new edition. Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts. 1858.

cient and modern archery of our country is duly celebrated and described. An additional value is imparted to this encyclopædia—to which we hope to recur on a future occasion—by the 600 engravings from drawings by Leech, Landseer, and others, which illustrate the subjects.

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SCIENCE.

THE value of Sir John Herschel's "Outlines of Astronomy"<sup>1</sup> is so universally recognised, that we need no more than announce the publication of a new and revised edition, to secure for it the respectful attention of every one who aims to acquire more than a popular acquaintance with the general truths and doctrines of that science. But as the manner in which the additions have been introduced enables us readily to sift them out, we shall take advantage of the opportunity which this republication affords, to bring concisely before our readers the features of recent progress which its distinguished author considers most note-worthy; prefacing our catalogue with the following extract, for the sake of the admirable manner in which it expresses a profound truth that cannot be too constantly borne in mind:—

"No grand practical result of human industry, genius, or meditation, has sprung forth entire and complete from the master-hand or mind of an individual designer working straight to its object, and foreseeing and providing for all details. As in the building of a great city, so in every such product, its historian has to record rude beginnings, circuitous and inadequate plans: frequent demolitions, renewal, and rectification; the perpetual removal of much cumbrous and unsightly material and scaffolding, and constant opening-out of wider and grander conceptions; till at length a unity and a nobility is attained little dreamed of in the imagination of the first projector. The same is equally true of every great body of knowledge, and would be found signally exemplified in the history of astronomy. What concerns us more is, that the same remark is no less applicable to the process by which knowledge is built up in the mind of each individual, and by which alone it can attain any extensive development or any grand proportions. No man can rise from ignorance to anything deserving to be called a complete grasp of any considerable branch of science, without receiving and discarding in succession many crude and incomplete notions, which, so far from injuring the truth in its ultimate reception, act as positive aids to its attainment by acquainting him with the symptoms of an insecure footing in his progress. \* \* \* Astronomy is very peculiarly in this predicament. Its study to each individual student is a continual process of rectification and correction—the abandoning one point of view for another higher and better—of temporary and occasional reception of even positive and admitted errors, for the convenience they afford towards giving clear notions of important truths, whose essence they do not affect, by sparing him that contention of mind which fatigues and distresses"—pp. 9, 10.

It has been well said, that "Truth emerges sooner out of error than out of chaos;" or, in other words, it is better to have imperfect and erro-

<sup>1</sup> "Outlines of Astronomy." By Sir John Herschel, Bart., K.H., &c. &c. Fifth edition. 8vo, pp. 714. London. 1858.

neous notions about a subject, than no notions at all. And every thoughtful seeker after knowledge who looks back upon the history of his own mental acquirements, will be ready, we think, to admit the fidelity of Sir J. Herschel's description of the process by which he has attained his final elevation. How comforting it should be to the disciples of progress, to be thus not merely enabled, but required, to look upon what seem obstructive errors as necessary antecedents to the triumph of truth; and how charitable should they feel towards what they esteem the narrow-minded and absurd prejudices of such as have not yet been able to rise to the same level with themselves, in remembering that they have themselves had to pass through a series of mental states, which higher intelligences would have pronounced to be not one whit nearer to absolute truth than those with which they are disposed to quarrel,—nay, that their own existing conceptions may, in the estimation of those above, be only one remove from the same low grade!

The first considerable addition we find under the head of the "Rotation of the Earth," the physical evidence of which has of late years received important confirmation from two very different kinds of investigation; that, namely, of the phenomena of hurricanes and cyclones, which are now, we believe, for the first time applied to this use in a treatise on astronomy; and that of the actions of the gyroscope, the ingenious invention of M. Foucault, to whom we owe the well-known pendulum-experiment. It is shown by Sir John Herschel to be a necessary consequence of the earth's rotation, that if any considerable portion of the northern hemisphere becomes so much more heated by the solar rays than that surrounding it, as to determine an ascending current, the general current which sets in towards the heated region from all sides will have a rotation round the axis of the ascending column, arising from the difference of the diurnal rotatory velocities of the portions of the globe from which the northern and southern parts of that current proceed; and the direction of the rotation will, in the northern hemisphere, be contrary retrograde, or to that of the hands of a watch, whilst in the southern it will be direct, or correspondent to that of the hands. The force of this rotation, however, will depend upon several conditions. In high latitudes there is a deficiency of solar heat to produce a powerful ascensional current; but on and about the equator, the other efficient cause—viz., a considerable difference of diurnal rotatory velocity in the regions from which the general current flows in—is absent. Such movements, therefore, cannot exist on the equator, and their intensity must be chiefly confined to regions in moderate latitudes. Now, to use our author's words, "every one of these particulars is in exact conformity with the history of those hurricanes or cyclones, as they have been called from their revolving characters, which infest the Atlantic along the west coasts of the United States and the West Indies, the Indian Ocean, and (under the name of typhoons) the China seas. Their extent and violence are frightful; their rotation in the same hemisphere is invariably the same, and in each that which theory indicates; and they are utterly wanting on the equator. This grand result, the establishment of which we owe to the labours of Mr. Redfield, Colonel Reid, and Mr.



Piddington, forms a capital feature in the array of evidence by which the rotation of the earth, as a physical fact, is demonstrated."

We alluded not long since (vol. xiii. p. 591) to the principle of the gyroscope, when noticing Professor Piazzì Smyth's ingenious application of it to the support of a telescope for astronomical observations at sea. The tendency of a heavy body in rapid revolution, if freed from any disturbing attachment to surrounding objects, to preserve its plane of rotation unaltered, so that the axis about which it spins shall always remain parallel to itself, is applied by the apparatus of M. Foucault, which we must not now attempt to describe in detail, to render the earth's rotation evident to the senses; the method being concisely this—that the axis of the freely-suspended body, being made to point towards any given star, continues to do so as long as the rotation endures with sufficient power, and thus perceptibly changes its position from minute to minute, with reference to a graduated circle which rests on the table and partakes of the diurnal motion of the earth; so that while the axis is apparently moving within this circle, since *its* direction remains constant, it is really the circle which is moving round the axis—just as, in the pendulum experiment, the plane of oscillation remaining constant, the direction of that plane with reference to surrounding objects is changed from minute to minute by *their* participation in the earth's rotation.

Sir J. Herschel deems worthy of special notice, Mr. Dawes's researches on the nature of the solar spots, which have been made by means of a peculiar method of observation devised by Mr. D. himself. In order to scrutinize under high magnifying powers minute portions of the solar disc, Mr. D. intercepts the light and heat of the general surface by a metallic screen placed in the focus where the image is formed, and pierced with a very small hole, so as to allow only that minute portion to be scrutinized through the eyepiece, and to shut out from the observer's eye the glare of the rest; thus not merely protecting it, but enabling it to apply itself more advantageously to the examination of feebly-illuminated objects. In this manner, Mr. Dawes has ascertained that the blacker portion which occupies the middle of each spot, and which to former observers appeared so dark and uniform as to lead them to believe it to be the sun's actual surface seen through an aperture in an exterior envelope, is itself only an additional and inferior stratum of very feebly-luminous (or unilluminated) matter, which he has called "the cloudy stratum," and which in its turn is frequently pierced with a smaller and usually much more rounded aperture, which would seem at length to afford a view of the real solar surface, of most intense blackness. Further, in tracing the changes in the spots, from day to day, Mr. Dawes has been led to conclude that in many instances they have a movement of rotation about their own centres. Again, M. Schwabe of Dessau, and M. Wolf of Berne, have shown, by the comparison of all the observations recorded of solar spots, from their first telescopic discovery by Fabricius and Harriot in 1610; that their degree of copiousness is subject to a law of periodicity; the interval between the *minima*, which are marked by extreme paucity and sometimes almost entire absence of spots, averaging exactly one-ninth of a century, or

11.1 years ; whilst the *maxima*, in which the spots are often so copious that 50 or 100 have been counted at once upon the disc, do not appear to fall exactly in the middle year between the minima, but rather earlier. It is a remarkable confirmation of this generalization, that in cases in which the appearance of spots or groups of spots visible to the naked eye has been recorded by annalists, and in others in which a marked diminution of the sun's light has been recorded although no spots were visible, the dates corresponded very closely to the epochs of maxima as fixed by this law. And the phenomena presented by the solar surface since its announcement have been in exact conformity with it ; the year 1856 being remarkable for the deficiency of spots in the sun, whilst they began to show an increase in 1857, and have been remarkably large in 1858. The periodical recurrence of large numbers of solar spots has been lately found to correspond so closely with the periodical recurrence of "magnetic storms"—that is, of simultaneous disturbances of the magnetic needle over large areas of the earth's surface, that the relation of the two orders of facts cannot be doubted, notwithstanding that neither astronomical nor magnetic science is yet sufficiently far advanced to furnish its rationale. Some curious computations are given by Sir J. Herschel as to the intensity of the light and heat of the sun at the solar surface itself. The ball of quicklime ignited in the oxyhydrogen jet gives one of the most brilliant lights with which we are acquainted ; yet the intensity of this, according to the recent experiments of M.M. Fizeau and Foucault, has only 1-146th part of that at the surface of the sun. It is estimated by Professor Thomson, that to produce a dynamical effect in our manufactories equal to that of the heat given off from each individual square yard of the solar surface, the combustion of 13,500 pounds of coal per hour would be required, which would maintain the power of 63,000 horses. This result is deduced from calculations as to the amount of ice melted by the solar rays in a given time on the earth's surface, when exposed to its rays under the most favourable circumstances ; from which it appears that, at the surface of the sun, about *forty feet thickness* of ice would be melted *every minute*.

One of the most remarkable additions contained in the volume before us, consists of a *suggestion* of the author's own ; which is one of those profound and sagacious thoughts that mark the highest order of philosophic penetration. Every one knows that the non-existence of any atmosphere surrounding the Moon has been regarded as a fact demonstrated by the absence of all perceptible refraction when the sun or stars are eclipsed by her disc ; it being certain that refraction does not take place to the amount of even a single second of a degree—a quantity that would indicate the existence of an atmosphere having only the two-thousandth of the density of that of the earth. The non-habitability of the moon by living beings, at all analogous to those tenanting the earth, seems a necessary corollary to this fact ; and of this again there would appear to be independent confirmation, in the circumstance that no appearance indicating vegetation, or the slightest variation of surface fairly ascribable to change of season, can anywhere be discerned. But Sir J. Herschel now throws in an important *caveat*

against the unqualified acceptance of such a conclusion. "How do we know," he inquires, "that this absence of atmosphere is general over the entire surface of the moon? Are there any indications which support a contrary idea?" The following is the substance of his reply:—It has been remarked by Professor Hansen that the fact of the moon always turning the same face towards the earth is in all probability the result of an elongation of its figure in the direction of a line joining the centres of both bodies, acting conjointly with a *non-coincidence of its centre of gravity with its centre of figure*. The distribution of any fluid, whether air or water, on the surface of such a globe, must necessarily be greatly modified by a peculiarity of this kind; for, if not sufficient in quantity to drown the whole mass, it will run towards the level which is nearest, not to the centre of figure, but to the centre of gravity; so that water would form an ocean, of greater or less extent, according to the quantity of fluid, directly over the heavier nucleus, while the lighter portion of the solid material will stand out as a continent on the opposite side; and air, in like manner, would form an air-lake resting on the ocean, whilst the land on the other side would be almost destitute of atmosphere. Now this, to a limited extent, is actually the case with the Earth; for nearly all our land is collected in one of its hemispheres, and much the larger portion of the sea in the opposite; so that there is evidently an excess of heavy material vertically beneath the middle of the Pacific; while not very remote from the part of the globe diametrically opposite rises the great table-land of Northern India and the Himalayan chain, on the summit of which the air has not more than a third of the density it has on the sea-level, and from which animated existence is for ever excluded. Now supposing, in the moon's case, that the excentricity of the centre of gravity should amount to thirty or forty miles, such would be the general elevation of the lunar land (or the portion turned earthwards) above its ocean, so that the whole of that portion of the moon which we see, would, in fact, come to be regarded as a mountainous elevation above the sea-level. But it by no means follows that air and water are equally deficient on the other side of her sphere, the contrary, in fact, being indicated by the analogy of the earth; so that sentient beings may exist there, who would no more be able in such a case to get a sight of the splendid moon than *we* furnish to the lunar surface opposite to us, than the earth's inhabitants would be to live upon the summit of one of the Andes piled upon the top of the highest of the Himalayas.

Another topic as to which we shall avail ourselves of Sir John Herschel's admirable summary of recent researches, is the Density of the Earth; the determination of which has been the object of some of the most beautifully-contrived and laboriously-executed experimental investigations that the annals of science contain. Three different methods have been devised of obtaining data for its estimation. The first was the observation of the amount of deviation of the plumb-line occasioned by the neighbourhood of a mountain mass; from which the relative attractive force vertically exerted by the earth's globe, and laterally by the mountain could be computed; so that, their relative

bulks being compared, the specific gravity of the globe may be estimated from that of the mountain, the latter being assumed from examination of its mineral components. The first inquiry upon this plan, the results of which are at all reliable, was that of Dr. Maskelyne, who found that the joint amount of the local deviations on either side of the mountain Schehallien, in Scotland, was 11.6 seconds; from which the mean density of the earth was computed by Professor Playfair to be 4.713 times that of water. More recently, an inquiry of like nature has been conducted by Colonel James (of the Ordnance Survey) in regard to the local deviation occasioned by Arthur's Seat, near Edinburgh; this was found to be 2.21 sec. on the north side, and 2.00 sec. on the south; and the earth's density, computed from the comparison of relative bulks with relative powers of attraction, was 5.316.—Another method consists in observing the rate of a vibrating pendulum at different altitudes above the sea-level, or at different depths beneath it; removal further from the earth's centre producing a retardation of its oscillations, modified by the local attraction of the mountain; whilst by a nearer approach to the centre of the earth we cut off by our descent the attraction of the whole spherical shell exterior to the point of observation, and so should reduce the entire amount (if the earth were homogeneous throughout) in the proportion which the radius of the internal sphere bears to that of the earth. The former plan of observation was pursued by the Italian astronomers, Plana and Carlini, on Mount Cenis, in Savoy; and computation from their results has given 4.950 as the mean density of the earth. The latter has recently been followed by the Astronomer Royal in Harton Colliery, near South Shields; and an acceleration of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  sec. of time per day having been ascertained to be produced by carrying the pendulum down to a depth of 1200 feet, the mean density is thence computed at the comparatively high figure of 6.565.—The third method consists in making a more direct comparison between the attractive force of the earth and that of another small mass whose bulk and specific gravity can be exactly determined, by means of the balance of torsion: this, which is known as the experiment of Cavendish, is free from many sources of error to which the other methods are liable, but it has new disturbing elements of its own; and for the avoidance of these, or their reduction to their lowest point, the greatest experimental skill is requisite. This method has been put in practice three times; in the first instance by Cavendish, who obtained, as the computed result, 5.480; secondly, by Reich, whose determination was 5.438; and thirdly, by Baily, whose investigation of the problem was made with as near an approach to perfection as the present state of science permits, and whose result was 5.660. The much nearer coincidence that exists between these three estimates, than between any two of the others, whether obtained by similar or by different methods, recommends them as peculiarly trustworthy; it will be seen that they agree pretty closely with the result of Colonel James's observations upon the local attraction of Arthur's Seat; and it is not a little remarkable that they also correspond with the *mean* between the *highest* estimate of the earth's specific gravity (that of Mr. Airy, from his pendulum

experiments), and the *lowest* (that of Playfair, from Maskelyne's observations on Schehallien). Nor is it less remarkable, that Newton, by one of what Sir J. Herschel truly calls "his astonishing divinations," should have expressed his opinion that the density of the earth would be found to be between five and six times that of water.

In the last place we may notice some highly interesting contributions, which have been recently afforded by astronomical computation to the accurate determination of the dates of important historical events, which thus stand as fixed epochs from which other dates may be safely deduced. No celestial phenomena would be more likely to be recorded, than total eclipses of the sun; but for the determination not only of the precise times of their occurrence, but of the exact course of the moon's shadow over the earth—especially when the computation has to be carried back for many centuries—extreme perfection is required in the "lunar theory," on which all such calculations must be based. This perfection was wanting until the publication of Professor Hansen's "Lunar Tables;" "the accuracy of which," says Sir J. Herschel, "is such as to justify the most entire reliance on the results of such calculations grounded on them." Now, there is a celebrated solar eclipse, known as that of Thales, which is said by Herodotus to have been predicted by that philosopher, and to have caused the suspension of a battle between the Medes and Lydians, which must have taken place somewhere in Asia Minor. By the use of the best tables then in existence, Mr. Baily (whose computations were afterwards confirmed by M. Olmanns) had identified this eclipse with the total one of September 30, B.C. 610, which, according to those tables, must have passed over the mouth of the river Halys, where it had all along been assumed (though without any positive grounds) that the battle was fought. But Mr. Airy has conclusively shown by Hansen's tables, that the shadow in this eclipse must have passed altogether out of Asia Minor, and even north of the Sea of Azof; whilst on the other hand, the eclipse of B.C. 585, which was also total, passed over Issus, a locality satisfying all the circumstantial and general military conditions of the narrative even better than the Halys; so that there can be no reasonable doubt that this battle was fought at that time and in that place. So, again, the total eclipse of the sun, which was witnessed by the fleet of Agathocles in his escape from Syracuse when blockaded by the Carthaginians, and which was pronounced by Mr. Baily to be incompatible with that of the year B.C. 310, is now found to have passed on that date so near the southern corner of Sicily, that the fleet might have very probably entered it; whilst no other eclipse could by possibility have done so. Lastly, a solar eclipse is related by Xenophon to have caused the capture of the city of Larissa, by producing a panic among its Median defenders, of which the Persian besiegers took advantage. The site of Larissa has been satisfactorily identified with Nimroud; and as, according to Hansen's tables, the total eclipse of August 15, B.C. 310, passed centrally over Nimroud (the total shadow in this instance not exceeding twenty-five miles in diameter), it may be most confidently regarded as the "eclipse

of *Larissa*," of which the date is thus fixed far more unerringly than it could be by any historical records.

For a fuller exposition of the subjects which we have thus concisely brought under the attention of our readers, we must refer to Sir John Herschel's own pages, and to the various memoirs cited by him; and we have only to add, as the crowning merit of this admirable work, that in its Appendix will be found copious Synoptic Tables of astronomical elements, which have been carefully revised in conformity with the best current authorities. As no one is more competent than Sir John Herschel to estimate the relative value of those authorities, and as no one would execute the labour of revision more thoroughly or conscientiously, we feel sure that these tables are worthy of the fullest reliance, as the most accurate that astronomical science can at present furnish.

No contrast could well be stronger between the productions of two men of high scientific reputation, than that which is presented by the "Popular Astronomy" of M. Arago to the "Outlines" of Sir John Herschel; and no more complete justification could be given, than is afforded by the recent publication of the second volume (completing the work), to the representations of those who have all along asserted that Arago was a very much overrated man, and that his acquirements would not stand the test of a thorough examination. For whilst, on the one hand, this volume is characterized by that cleverness of exposition by which its author acquired distinction as a popular lecturer, it affords such abundant evidence of a want of thorough acquaintance with his subject, as to make it not a little surprising that he could have maintained his ground at all, among so many competent and not always favourably disposed critics. It is fortunate for such as may wish to avail themselves of the large body of valuable information conveyed in these lectures, that the English republication has been superintended by editors so competent as Admiral Smyth and Mr. Robert Grant; for they have applied themselves so carefully to the correction of the author's errors of fact and of conception, that their notes bear to the text a proportion by no means unimportant as regards amount, and still less so in point of value. Thus, in a single short chapter of scarcely two pages, on the mass of the planets, the editors find occasion to point out three considerable errors of statement; and in that which almost immediately succeeds, on the density of the earth, they have to notice the extraordinary omission of all reference to Mr. Baily's repetition of the Cavendish experiment, whilst we have Sir John Herschel's authority for the assertion that Arago's account of the principle of that experiment involves a total misconception of its real nature.

There are few scientific books which can better bear republication, at a considerable interval of time, than Dr. Buckland's "Bridgewater

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\* "Popular Astronomy." By François Arago. Translated from the original, and edited by Admiral M. H. Smyth, D.C.L., For. Sec. R.S. &c. &c. and Robert Grant, Esq., M.A., F.R.A.S. Volume II. With numerous illustrations. 8vo, pp. 844. London. 1858.

Treatise,"<sup>3</sup> the reason being that its able author wisely preferred to base his argument rather upon facts which remain unchanged, than upon deductions or theories which the progress of science is almost certain to modify, if not entirely to upset. With very few exceptions, and these of no great moment, the details of structure which he so ably wrought out are no less conformable to scientific truth now, than they were when he first elaborated them; and all necessary correction has been supplied in the form of notes by Professors Owen and Phillips, who have kindly given their assistance to the editor in the performance of a task for which he felt that the nature of his own pursuits had not specially fitted him. We could wish, in some few places, that they had done more than barely correct the errors of the text; since we feel sure, that had the accomplished author lived to perform this revision for himself, he would have felt the necessity of making more extensive changes; and it does not seem to us that respect for his memory need have prevented them from substituting their own matter for his; in such cases (for example) as the description of the palæozoic formations, according to that modern nomenclature and division of them which has now completely superseded (as every tyro knows) the old designations. Although the name of the late Mr. Robert Brown appears on the title-page, we have not been able to find evidence of his having taken any share of the editorial labour; but the deficiency is not injurious, since the progress of fossil botany has not been such of late years as to involve the necessity of any important addition or correction in the chapter relating to it. Of Mr. Francis Buckland's memoir, it gives us great pleasure to be able to speak in terms of high commendation. It is concise, simple, manly, and affectionate; placing the strong points of his father's character honestly before its readers; but showing no tendency either to an undue exaltation of his abilities, or to an over-estimate of his labours. Those who had the privilege of domestic intercourse with Dr. Buckland were aware how much he owed to the zeal and interest which his estimable wife took in his pursuits; all such will cordially subscribe to the tribute which is here paid to her worth, and will feel its appropriateness.

We have much pleasure in recommending, in spite of its somewhat exceptional title, a sensible and unpretending little volume by Dr. Ogilvie,<sup>4</sup> the purpose of which is "to bring forward, in a popular form, the views now generally held by philosophical naturalists, in regard to a common plan of construction traceable in each of the primary divisions of the animal kingdom." The author justly remarks

<sup>3</sup> "Geology and Mineralogy considered with reference to Natural Theology." By the late Very Rev. William Buckland, D.D., F.R.S., Reader in Geology and Mineralogy in the University of Oxford, and Dean of Westminster. A new edition, with additions by Professor Owen, F.R.S., &c., Professor Phillips, M.A., LL.D., &c., Mr. Robert Brown, F.R.S., &c., and a Memoir of the Author. Edited by Francis T. Buckland, M.A. 2 vols. With a portrait and ninety plates. 8vo, pp. 601. London. 1858.

<sup>4</sup> "The Master-Builder's Plan; or, the Principles of Organic Architecture, as indicated in the Typical Forms of Animals." By George Ogilvie, M.D., Lecturer on the Institutes of Medicine, &c., in the Marischal College and University, Aberdeen. With numerous illustrations. Post 8vo, pp. 196. London. 1858.

that all the popular expositions hitherto given in relation to this subject have been confined to the vertebrated classes; the organization of the invertebrata having attracted comparatively little attention, save on the part of professed naturalists. And as their discussion of the subject has been exclusively scientific, he has thought that the time has now come for collecting together their general conclusions, and for presenting them in such a form as to convey an idea of the laws of organization to those who, without making natural history a special object of study, may wish to have a right conception of its general scope. In his exposition of the *Vertebrate* plan of construction, he follows Professor Owen; wisely abstaining, however, from adopting his doctrines of the "Archetype Skeleton" and "Typical Vertebra," which, notwithstanding the currency they have gained on his authority, are found to be less and less satisfactory the more carefully they are examined;\* and noticing in the Appendix some of the principal points of detail as to which his views have been called in question. The *Articulata* are described on the general basis established by Audouin and Milne-Edwards, with additional details chiefly furnished by the researches of Newport and Darwin; and much acuteness is shown by the author in the discussion of the relation of the Articulated type to the Vertebrated. The *Mollusca* are sketched according to the views of Professor Huxley, the only naturalist who has attempted to work out the homologies of the several classes constituting this group. The *Radiata* of Cuvier, being a heterogeneous group which undoubtedly requires sub-division, do not admit of being treated in the same satisfactory manner; but we think it a pity that the author did not a little extend his sketch of the Echinodermata—a group in which typical form is especially apparent notwithstanding the great variety of its modifications—rather than attempt to combine with them a series of animal forms with which they have no kind of relationship, save that which is presented by the radial symmetry manifested by the majority of them. In adding that the book is clearly and agreeably written, being singularly free from the Scotch tendency to *preach* on these subjects, and extremely well illustrated, we shall have said enough to characterize it.

Of the vast extent of the class of Insects (the known species of which many times outnumber the known species of all other tribes of animals put together), we have a remarkable illustration in the recent appearance of a monograph upon a single family of beetles, which extends to no fewer than 433 closely printed octavo pages.<sup>5</sup> Dr. Gerstaecker is well known as a zealous and able entomologist; and we doubt not that this work, which is the first of a proposed succession of descriptive treatises on different groups of articulated animals, will add to his reputation, and excite a desire for a continuance of the series.

\* See especially a very able criticism of them in the "British and Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review," for October, 1858.

<sup>5</sup> "Entomographien. Abhandlungen im Bereich der Gliedertiere, mit besonderer benutzung der Königl. Entomologischen Sammlung zu Berlin." Von A. Gerstaecker, Dr. der Med. und Phil., Dozenten an der Universität zu Berlin. Erster Band. Monographie der Familie Endomychidae. Mit drei Kupfertafeln. 8vo, pp. 433. Leipzig. 1858.



Of the "Outlines of Physiology"<sup>6</sup> recently issued by Professor Bennett, we regret to be obliged to say that we do not think that they will add to his reputation either as a teacher or as a writer. We object on principle to such slight and imperfect *compendia* (avowedly not popular, but professional) of sciences with which every student of medicine ought to render himself thoroughly conversant; since it is the inevitable tendency of all books of this class to favour the idea that everything which it is essential to know may be comprised within a very narrow compass; and this tendency cannot but acquire increased force from the encouragement thus authoritatively given to it. The scientific training in the interpretation of the phenomena presented by living beings should constitute, even more than the imparting of technical knowledge, the special object of a Professor of the Institutes of Medicine, whether in his oral or in his written expositions. It was this training which gave such value to the lectures of Dr. Bennett's distinguished predecessor, Dr. Alison, whose published "Outlines" present as marked a contrast to those of his successor, as any one book can exhibit when compared with another on the same subject. To the solitary student, Dr. Alison's "Outlines" seemed dry and abstract, because they dwelt specially on those comprehensive principles of the science of life, of which their author had attained so profound a mastery, and required for their full comprehension the rich illustrations and clear elucidations of his oral discourses. The work was, what such works should be, a text-book for lectures; giving to each member of the class that key-note (so to speak) of the subject for the day, which would enable him to grasp the meaning of the lecturer through every part of his exposition of it. The "Outlines" of Dr. Bennett, on the contrary, have the merit of being easily read; but this very facility is the result of their superficiality; and we confidently predict that the principal use made of them will be by idle students, who will have recourse to them to "cram-up" just so much physiology as they may think requisite to enable them to pass their examinations.

But it is not merely of the general plan of the book that we feel called upon to speak with disapproval. Its execution is very unequal; marked deficiencies being apparent in some parts, and inaccuracies in others. We have no disposition to find fault with the author for basing his exposition of the science upon "the functions of the ultimate tissues and organs of the body in health and disease:" on the contrary, we agree with him that "such is the aspect in which physiology should be presented to those who desire to connect it with a scientific practice of the medical art." But those functions can only be thoroughly understood when *all* their conditions are studied; and Professor Bennett seems to have thought it sufficient to place in detail before his readers only one set of those conditions—those, namely, which are furnished by organic structure; passing by the other set, namely, those physical agencies on which all vital activity is in-

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<sup>6</sup> "Outlines of Physiology." By John Hughes Bennett, M.D., F.R.S.E., Professor of the Institutes of Medicine in the University of Edinburgh, &c. &c. With wood-engravings. 12mo, pp. 247. Edinburgh. 1858.

mediately and directly dependent, with so general a notice that the reader anxious only for facts is likely to ignore it altogether. But many even of Dr. Bennett's statements of fact are so far from being correct, as to inspire us with no very exalted notion of the soundness of his physiological teaching. Thus, at p. 39, he tells us that "fibrin forms nearly the whole substance of the muscles, but exists in small quantity in the blood;" just as if Liebig had not shown some years since, that the fibrin of the blood and the substance of muscle (syn-tonin) are essentially different in their chemical properties. So again, in p. 76, the student is given to understand that the interchange of oxygen and carbonic acid in the lungs takes place in accordance with the physical law of the diffusion of gases, one-sixth of the oxygen absorbed being retained within the body; no notice whatever being taken of the various researches which have shown that the law of "diffusion," if applicable at all to this case, is greatly modified in its results by other conditions, which conditions have been shown by the accurate experiments of MM. Regnault and Reiset to consist chiefly in the regimen of the animal. The account given by Professor Bennett of what becomes of the oxygen that disappears, is such as betrays an almost inconceivable degree either of ignorance or of carelessness. He first tells us that it "is supposed to combine with hydrogen furnished by the food and by the disintegration of the tissues, to produce water;" and he then goes on to say that "part of the water so formed is again exhaled in the form of vapour from the lungs, whilst another part is used in oxydizing the sulphur and phosphorus taken in with the food, and excreted chiefly in the condition of sulphuric and phosphoric acids." Surely any tyro in physiological chemistry could tell Dr. Bennett that the oxydation of phosphorus and sulphur must be effected in the living body, not by the decomposition of the water previously formed by the oxygenation of hydrogen, but by the direct union of phosphorus and sulphur with the oxygen introduced by respiration. Further on we notice, at p. 84, that the composition of the blood is given according to the analyses of Becquerel and Rodier, without the least hint that the researches of Schmidt and Lehmann have long since proved that the method of computation adopted by those chemists (who reckoned all the water of the blood as *water of serum*, and estimated the amount of the solids of the serum accordingly) was essentially vicious, and that their figures need much correction in order to make them represent the true proportions of the solid matters of the blood. We are sorry to find Professor Bennett assisting to give currency to Owsjannikow's representations of the structure of the spinal cord, whose correctness has been seriously called in question by those who have had the opportunity of examining his dissections; whilst he has not even mentioned the names of Lenhossek or Lockhart Clarke, the truth of whose delineations has been verified by many of the most eminent physiologists and histologists of the metropolis. On one point, of no mean importance, we find the author's carelessness leading him to contradict himself. After telling us (p. 161) that "the fact is well established in science that no ovule can furnish productive seeds unless the pollen has had access to

it" (a general doctrine, we may remark, to which there is at least one exception), he goes on to say that "in all animals in which ova are formed, the same thing takes place:" yet we subsequently (p. 182) find him fully admitting the doctrine of Siebold, that the very same ova deposited by the queen-bee become workers or drones, according as they are or not impregnated by contact with the seminal fluid.

Small as the entire bulk within which these "Outlines" are compressed, it is still further reduced by the allotment of no less than one-fourth of the treatise to what the author calls Pathological Physiology, which is what every one else calls Pathology. Fully recognising, as we do, the intimate relationship between normal and morbid phenomena, and being thoroughly satisfied that a sound pathology can only be erected on a sound physiology, we must protest against this most uncalled-for departure from the accepted use of these terms, each of which has its definite and well-understood meaning; and not less must we deprecate Dr. Bennett's attempt to compress within sixty-three duodecimo pages an outline of pathological science, which, we fear, will never be filled up by a large proportion of those who accept this production as their guide.

From Germany we have portions of two works on kindred subjects, to neither of which does our own literature furnish a parallel. The "Lehrbuch"<sup>7</sup> of Dr. Reich is the first part of an extensive treatise on the Causation of Disease, in which the various agencies affecting health are discussed with that minute elaboration and formularization of details which is specially characteristic of the German mind, and which, in our apprehension, tends to distract the attention from those general principles which every one ought to study and apply. The "Handbuch"<sup>8</sup> of Dr. Pappenheim promises to be, like many other German handbooks, anything but a portable manual, being a veritable cyclopædia, in which almost every conceivable subject relating to sanitary police is copiously treated in alphabetical order.

## HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

**T**HE first and most important Revolution of the Seventeenth Century, commonly known as the Great Rebellion, has recently received a double illustration in the historical essays contributed by Mr. John Forster,<sup>1</sup> and in the studies of Mr. J. L. Sanford.<sup>2</sup> Both these authors traverse the same ground, discuss the same subjects, consult

<sup>7</sup> "Lehrbuch der Allgemeinen Ätiologie und Hygiene." Von Eduard Reich, Med. Dr. 8vo. pp. 368. Erlangen. 1858.

<sup>8</sup> "Handbuch der Sanitäts-Polizei: nach eignen Untersuchungen bearbeitet. Von Dr. Louis Pappenheim, Docent an der Universität zu Berlin, &c. Zweiter Band, Erste Abtheilung. 8vo. pp. 362. Berlin. 1858.

<sup>1</sup> "Historical and Biographical Essays." By John Forster. 2 vols. London: John Murray. 1858.

<sup>2</sup> "Studies and Illustrations of the Great Rebellion." By John Langton Sanford. London: J. W. Parker. 1858.

the same authorities, arrive at the same general conclusions, and hold the same theory of the English Civil War; nearly the same estimate of the leading characters of this period, and especially of the great child and champion of this magnificent insurrection, against the intellectual and material despotism which Charles I., Strafford, and Laud proposed to inaugurate. Passing over, therefore, minor differences of view and divergences of opinion, we shall regard the two works as of cognate character and like aim, and bracket them together in our critical notice. Mr. Sanford's historical investigation commenced more than fifteen years ago, before the publication of Mr. Carlyle's "Letters and Speeches of Cromwell," in the second edition of which are included some of the results of his long and patient research. Further inquiry brought Mr. Sanford acquainted with the contents of D'Ewes' MS. "Journal of the Long Parliament," preserved in the British Museum Library; and in 1850 a comprehensive work, of which the present volume is only a portion, was ready for the press. Of the "Historical Essays" furnished by Mr. Forster, the first and second have not before been printed; the third, published two years ago in the "Edinburgh," now appears with some valuable additions. Both our essayists refer to the blotted manuscripts of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, in five volumes, as the authoritative source of the new facts adduced by them. Carlyle had previously drawn attention in his "Miscellanies" to D'Ewes' "Journal," and twelve years since a notice of this "precious record" and its writer appeared in the pages of the "Edinburgh Review." Neither Rushworth, Whitelocke, Nelson, nor Clarendon are trustworthy chroniclers. Of the "Historical Recollections" of Rushworth, only the first volume was published in his life, and the whole work is presumed by Mr. Sanford to have been slightly interpolated by a Royalist editor. Whitelocke's "Memorials" are, we are informed, a bookseller's compilation of very mixed authority, and, in the account of Strafford's trial, full of errors and fabrications. Nelson's "Collections," Mr. Forster tells us, is a farrago of violent party rubbish, compiled for the special delectation of Charles II., by an unscrupulous Royalist partizan. Highly eulogizing Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion," for rare beauties of thought and charm of style, Mr. Forster regards its authority as often worthless, and its author's imputations against former colleagues as never to be safely relied on. Clarendon, he says, has been confronted with the facts he has misrepresented; Sir Simonds D'Ewes has been heard; the Great Remonstrance itself has spoken, and the result is, "not merely that Clarendon turned king's evidence against his old associates, but that his evidence is completely disproved." The Grand Remonstrance, excavated from Rushworth's ponderous folios, Mr. Forster regards as a fact living and accessible; a solid piece of actual history, embodying the case of the Parliament against the Ministers of the king; the most authentic statement of the wrongs endured for fifteen years by the English people, and the most complete justification on record of the Great Rebellion. The authorship of this noble document, Mr. Forster ascribes to Pym. An abstract of the contents occupies forty pages in the first volume of his essays. It is interposed in the account given of the debates

on this most striking political procedure. The design of drawing up such a declaration as may be a faithful representation to *this House* of the estate of the kingdom had been previously entertained in committee in a more modified form; all the leading members of the House being members of the committee, and Lord Digby being its chairman. After a succession of remarkable scenes and struggles, the publication of this weighty document was determined on, by a majority of fifty-two. Mr. Forster's grave but animated account of the debates; his admirable analysis of the remonstrance; his historical revision; his critical elucidation, must be studied in detail to be rightly appreciated. An essay on the Plantagenets and Tudors follows, serving as a sketch of constitutional history, and intended to show that English freedom has "a pedigree and illustrating ancestors;" that in all the casualties of the fortunes of our old kings "a something which, under various names, represents the people is still on their track." The Petition of Right was the "affirmation of the precedents of three preceding centuries;" while the Great Charter of King John's barons was the lineal descendant of the enactment of the first year of Henry Beauclerc. Mr. Forster's third essay on the Civil Wars and Oliver Cromwell, contains some original criticism on Lord Falkland, whom he suspects to have been more of an apostate than Strafford; but whose prodigious learning, inimitable sweetness in conversation, flowing humanity, and primitive simplicity and integrity of life he fully and emphatically recognises. Mr. Sanford, on the other hand, characterizes Lord Falkland as the most conscientious of the Royalist seceders, but morbidly sensitive; deficient in judgment, and ever ready to be scared by possible evils on one side of the question, without balancing against them the certain evils attendant on the other. It is a noticeable fact that the three men who showed least forbearance to Strafford were the deserting partisans of the king's cause:—Culpepper, Falkland, and Hyde. By far the most valuable portion of Mr. Forster's third essay is that which relates to the Great Protector. Of the three views of this remarkable man's character, the view which attributes to him ambition, genius, and hypocrisy; the view which regards him as mainly sincere, but worldly, perplexed, interested, and "a traitor to liberty;" and that which regards him as "a man whose every thought was with the Eternal, as one of those rare souls which could lay on itself the lowliest and highest functions alike," that sought to do God's work "unmoved to the transient appearance of this world, and wrestling and trampling forward to the sublime hopes of another," Mr. Forster seems inclined to support the last. In this view, Mr. Sanford, too, acquiesces in his detailed and excellent narrative of the "Early Life of Oliver Cromwell." Both authors vindicate Cromwell's descent and family against the aspersions of the Royalists. In the parish register of Felsted, Robert Cromwell, who was buried there, 1639, and who is shown by Mr. Forster to be the son to whom the dying Protector so touchingly alluded, is described as "filius honorandi viri M<sup>rs</sup> (esquire), Oliveris Cromwelli," the sole "vir honorandus" mentioned in the records of birth and death kept, ere his name "grew famous beyond his native county," in that "small Essex parish." In addition to his sketch of

Cromwell's early life, Mr. Sanford has nine separate essays—one on the Tudor and Stuart period; one on the religious and social aspects of Puritanism; one on the antecedents of Charles I., and one on the Returns to the Long Parliament. The remaining sections are entitled, Strafford and Pym; Parliamentary Loyalism; The Earl of Essex; Long Marston Moor; and Cavalier and Roundhead Letters. His work does not supersede Mr. Forster's, nor is it superseded by it. Each writer throws a light of his own round the obscurities of the subject, and illustrates the same events under differing aspects. The abstract of the Grand Remonstrance is to be found in Mr. Forster's volume alone;\* the characteristics of Puritanism are philosophically considered by Mr. Sanford only. The result of this joint perusal is the increased conviction that Charles I., Strafford, and Laud were prepared for the destruction of the English constitution, and for the forced imposition of an entire and thoroughly organized system of civil and religious despotism, an Anglican Papacy and an Anglican Imperialism. Had the king possessed Strafford's energy and decision, the grand but malignant genius of that powerful and intrepid intellect would have translated this dream of absolute dominion over the bodies and souls of men into a present reality. Strafford, happily for England, was unsupported, and the conspiracy against liberty, right, and truth, was detected, exposed, and crushed by the illustrious leaders of the Long Parliament, and the eventual freedom of this country secured by the commanding abilities of Cromwell, and the courage and discipline of the Puritan soldiers.

The four biographical sketches in Mr. Forster's second volume are reprinted from the "Edinburgh" and "Quarterly," with revisions and amplifications. To his splendid estimate of the life and intellect of that impersonation of British manhood, De Foe, and his affectionate vindication of the literary abilities of Steele, in reply to Lord Macaulay's disparaging criticism, we particularly invite attention. The two remaining essays are on Churchill and Foote.

Widely divergent from the judgment passed on the House of Stuart by the two authors whose works we have just reviewed, is the verdict of Mr. Townend,<sup>3</sup> in his history of its descendants. To rescue from obscurity the genealogical records of this illustrious house, and to provide information relating to this exiled family, proving or disproving the existence of their descendants, with particular references to the Oath of Abjuration, are the motives that have impelled Mr. Townend to publish the present volume. He considers that the legislative alternatives are the substitution in the Act of the descendants of Charles I. for those of James II. or the repeal of the Act *in toto*. He writes as the eulogist or vindicator of the Stuarts, has apparently no national but only dynastic sympathies, regards Charles I. as a martyr, and Mary Queen of Scots as innocent. He vehemently opposes Macaulay's representa-

\* Mr. Forster implies that this important document has never been reprinted from Rushworth; but a writer in the *Leader* newspaper has pointed out that it is to be found in the bulky work of the industrious Rapin.

<sup>3</sup> "The Descendants of the Stuarts." By William Townend. Second edition. London: Longman and Co. 1858.

tions, and accepts Miss Strickland's conclusions as final. Mr. Townend's book has been industriously compiled. It gives a clear and vigorous sketch of the lives of the excluded Stuarts, introduces us to many of the Courts in Europe, and serves as a ready chronicle of the fortunes of a royal but ill-starred race. The pedigree of the Stuarts is illustrated in this volume by various genealogical tables.

From the Stuart period we descend to the time of the Guelphs.<sup>4</sup> Caroline Matilda, sister of George III. and posthumous daughter of Frederick Prince of Wales, was married, 1766, to Christian VII., King of Denmark. An estrangement had already grown up between the royal pair when the ambitious and licentious Struensée, the travelling tutor or physician of his majesty, was first presented to the queen. By his address a reconciliation was effected, and Struensée, who now held the rank of privy councillor, became daily more acceptable to both the king and queen. With the increase of his importance his ambition increased. To supplant Count Bernstorff, or at least to deprive him of his seat in the Council of State, he is said to have recommended the Count Rantzau Ascheberg. He also obtained the recall of his friend, Enewold von Brandt, who ere long succeeded von Holck as director of the royal amusements. Struensée, Brandt, and Rantzau formed a triumvirate at Travendahl, and took measures to procure the removal from the court of all who were personally opposed to them. The failure of a marine expedition furnished a pretext for the retirement and disgrace of Bernstorff. The dismissal of many eminent men from the public service followed; the Queen Dowager Juliana Maria was deserted, and Struensée became the First Minister, with nearly unlimited power, the fatuous and ill-conditioned king being little better than a nonentity: and under the auspices of this able and daring politician the party of the young queen triumphed. Urged by the new minister the king dissolved the Council of State, substituting for it a commission of conference. By this measure the nobility were deprived of their hereditary influence in the government of the country, and the Danish constitution was partially revolutionized. The appointment of the presidents of administration was vested in the Prime Minister. The new Chamber sat during his pleasure only, and its members retained neither rank nor power. Such a high-handed policy as this could not fail to defeat itself. The queen's cause was prejudiced, and numerous enemies were created. Among them none was more bitter than Count Rantzau, who, with his seat in the council, lost all his authority and importance. In revenge he joined the Queen Dowager at Friedensburg. Struensée's power, however, remained paramount; all business transactions were conducted by him; all State papers passed through his hands before they were ratified by the king. His two principal difficulties were the Exchequer and the Home Department, which had sustained great injury from the shameful incompetence of previous administrators. Assisted by his brother, Carl August, Struensée now attempted various financial improvements. Fresh taxa-

<sup>4</sup> "Struensée, et la Cour de Copenhague, 1760—1772, Mémoires de Reverdil, Conseiller d'Etat du Roi Chrétien VII. Publiés par Alexandre Roger. Paris, 1858.

tion, however, produced great popular dissatisfaction; and even among his most devoted adherents, coldness and reserve began to prevail. Meanwhile the profligate and imbecile king, pre-occupied and amused by Brandt, on whom devolved the especial office of keeping his majesty quiet and out of the way, remained ignorant of, or indifferent to, the unconstitutional proceedings of his minister. The queen's attachment to Struensée, which had hitherto been unavowed, but which was anything but platonic, at length became notorious, and if she felt a momentary indignation at the arbitrary conduct of her favourite, her silence was purchased by her fears. About two years before this period Struensée had conceded the liberty of the press. This privilege he now revoked; a measure which in his judgment the unrestrained freedom of discussion had rendered necessary for self-preservation, but which in reality only hastened his downfall.

Confiding in the genius of Struensée, the queen refused to listen to the warning representations of the English Ambassador, who predicted his approaching ruin. The prophecy was soon to be realized. A secret conspiracy was planned by the partisans of the Dowager Queen. On the 16th January, 1772, a ball was given in the royal palace, and on the morning of the 17th the Queen Matilda, Struensée, and his brother, with Brandt and all their adherents, were arrested during its progress. The indictment against Struensée consisted of nine counts, comprising adultery with the queen; complicity with Brandt in his insults to the king; cruelty to the Prince Royal; usurpation of authority; peculation; the sale of the queen's diamonds, and other misdemeanours implying interference with prerogative or established custom. Many of these accusations Reverdil contemptuously sets aside. The queen's diamonds, he says, were sold by her own order. The duel which Brandt fought with the king was a consequence of the royal command to regard the monarch solely as a private gentleman. All his favourites had had similar rencontres; and Brandt himself had received the king's pardon, and had afterwards held a palace appointment. The *liaison* with the queen was proved; nor does there seem any doubt that Struensée, originally, according to Reverdil, a man of noble and liberal instincts, availed himself of his powerful position to increase largely his own pecuniary emoluments. The extreme sentence of the law, with the atrocious accompaniment of mutilation, was pronounced on both these unfortunate men. And although the king's honour required that Brandt at least should be pardoned, the sentence in both instances was confirmed without any mitigation of penalties. Reverdil relates the conversion of Struensée, hitherto an unbeliever, to Christianity, and regards the frank and honest statements of the attending clergyman, Dr. Munter, as satisfactory evidence of the sincerity of the conversion. He strongly condemns, however, the European custom of publicly exhibiting the repentance of criminals as a proof of the truth of Christianity; of publishing their conversion as a triumph, of accrediting the dangerous opinion that in virtue of certain prayers, and submission to certain forms, the scaffold becomes the assured road to Paradise. Both Brandt and Struensée died in the odour of sanctity.

The queen's trial followed that of her lover and confidant. Her



name was removed from the offices of the liturgy, and she was henceforth to be regarded as a foreign princess. Bidding her daughter an eternal farewell, the unhappy lady embarked at Elsinore for Stade in Hanover. From Stade she proceeded to Zell, where she was supported by the King of England till her death; retaining the title of queen, and the external indications of royalty. She died at the early age of twenty-two. Such is the singular and tragic history recorded by Reverdil in these memoirs. His own relation to the King and Court of Denmark may be briefly described. Born 1732, at Nion, a little town in the Pays de Vaud, he appears to have been induced to visit Denmark by his cousin André Roger, who was then in high favour with the prime minister, the Comte de Bernstorff. In 1758 he was called to the mathematical chair in the Academy of Copenhagen; in 1760 he was appointed tutor to the Crown Prince. He filled this high office conscientiously, and availed himself of his interest with the monarch to suggest measures of national improvement. Though his project for the emancipation of the serfs was defeated by the jealous opposition of the war minister, the Count of St. Germain, Reverdil at least succeeded in preparing the way for their enfranchisement. By the machinations of Holck, Reverdil was at last ordered to quit Copenhagen. In 1771, however, he was recalled by the then triumphant Count Struensée, and with the encouragement and approbation of Bernstorff himself, he consented to accept an appointment in the palace. On the explosion of the conspiracy he quietly withdrew from the kingdom, returned once again to the country of his birth, and there lived in an honourable and patriotic retirement. His society was sought and valued by many eminent persons. Among others by Necker, Madame de Staël, Bonstetten and Voltaire. The wit of Ferney, in testifying to Reverdil's conversational talent, remarked, "On peut avoir autant d'esprit que Reverdil mais pas d'avantage." His "Memoires" are written in a facile and lucid style, and by all who wish to acquire a closer acquaintance with the worthless king and court of Denmark at the close of the last century, will be found to possess value and significance. They are preceded by a short notice of the author, and followed by several unedited letters by a descendant of Madame Reverdil's; himself a resident at Nion.

The first volume of the Correspondence of Napoleon I.<sup>5</sup> issued from the imperial printing press at the commencement of the present year, and was pronounced a remarkable specimen of typographical excellence. The splendour and costliness of the work, however, rendered it inaccessible to the million. It has accordingly been republished in a cheaper and more popular form. By an imperial decree issued at Boulogne, September 7th, 1854, a commission was appointed to collect, arrange, and publish the correspondence of the august predecessor of Napoleon III. That commission consisted of various senators and members of the Institute; Lefebvre, Chassériau of the Council of State, Perren, *chef de section* in the ministry of State; and acted under the presidency of Marshal Vaillant,

"Correspondance de Napoléon 1er." Publiée par ordre de l'Empereur Napoléon III. Tome premier. Paris. 1858.

minister of war. The volume before us is the product of their joint editorship. It is prefaced by the report of the commission addressed to the reigning Emperor, in which he is by implication assimilated to Augustus, his "august predecessor" to Cæsar, and the political, military, and administrative correspondence of "this incomparable genius" to the commentaries of the great Roman captain and statesman. The task assigned them is declared to be that of "reuniting and bringing to light the scattered traces of the thoughts of Napoleon." In pursuance of this object the commission ransacked archives and libraries, consulted the representatives of the oldest families in Europe, applied to foreign governments, and solicited aid from private sources. Ten thousand works published on Napoleon or the events of his reign have been catalogued and examined; the letters addressed by Napoleon to different European sovereigns, and his correspondence with the Prince Eugène have been put under contribution. In their rich store of disposable material the commissioners specify a collection of documents relating to the campaigns of Italy and Egypt in forty-seven volumes; 40,000 papers in the archives of the empire; 20,000 in the War Office; 2000 in the Foreign Office; 1100 in the Admiralty, and 1500 in the other State offices. After the labour of collection and examination, came the question of arrangement. The arrangement ultimately adopted was that of chronological order, from a conviction that it was the only effective method of "reproducing the succession of the great Emperor's thoughts," and forcibly and faithfully displaying "his universal aptitude and wonderful fertility." As a first instalment of this imperial literary enterprise we have the initial volume of the Correspondence of Napoleon I., containing a thousand and eighteen documents, a great part of which have never yet been published. The volume commences with a report on the artillery employed in the siege of Toulon, the details of which are discussed in twelve letters. The majority of the letters and papers which follow, relating to the operations of the army in Italy, are addressed to the Executive Directory; the Minister of War and Finance; the French Generals; various Italian officials; and Joseph Buonaparte. These letters and orders evince a terrible promptitude and vigour: they show an iron resolution; a quick insight into the exigencies of a situation; a fierce determination to succeed, an intrepid intellect and unsparing *tactique*. Napoleon's orders seem to have the precision and consequence of cannon balls, going right to the mark, with fatal aim. We find in these letters frequent complaints of the disorder and ill-conduct of the soldiers composing the army of Italy. In a report addressed to the Directory (No. 126), Napoleon declares that he found this army not only destitute but without discipline, and in a state of perpetual insubordination. To such a height had the general discontent proceeded, that a Dauphin's company had been formed, in which counter revolutionary songs were sang. Two of the officers, he says, accused of having cried *Vive la roi*, I have referred to a court-martial (*conseil militaire*). He directs General Domartin (331) to assemble the 84th demi-grade, to express the displeasure of the general commanding-in-chief.

In the order numbered (214), he complains of the horrible pillage which had been carried on for several days, and authorises the generals of divisions to shoot instantaneously those officers or soldiers who might be found exciting others to pillage. In a letter addressed to the Directory (24th April, 1796), he says—"The soldier without bread is guilty of such furious excesses as make one blush to be a man. . . . I will restore order, or I will cease to command these brigands." The general bravery of the French soldier, however, is never impeached; personal exploit is highly panegyricized, and tales of individual valour are related that border on the fabulous. On the other hand, the English are reported to have retreated with such precipitation at Toulon, that a great part of their tents and baggage fell into the power of the French (No. 12); while the officers commanding the Austrian army are not complimented either for their courage or their generalship. These letters of Napoleon sometimes possess an anecdotal value, to which we can only draw attention here; and not unfrequently contain indications of his theory of life and morals. To Lucy he writes (55), "Health, constancy, a light heart, and never say *die*. If you meet with bad or ungrateful men, remember the fine though comic saying of Scapin: '*Suchons-leur gré de tous les crimes que l'on ne commet pas.*'" There is an admirable table of contents attached to this volume, giving the number, dates, addresses, subjects, and references of all the orders and letters. It opens with the siege of Toulon, in the year II., and closes with the defeat of Wurmser, in the year IV. From the present French type of imperial greatness we are recalled by the narrative of the Sire de Joinville<sup>6</sup> to the ideal of medieval royalty realised in the most Christian king, St. Louis. The late Dr. Arnold regarded him as closely approximating to the type of a good king. With some allowance for the different conception of duty, which a different belief necessitated, and looking to the animating motive, rather than to the ascertainable consequences, we are inclined to accept Dr. Arnold's verdict. If the spirit of self-devotion to a cause which we believe to be holy and august, can justify the conduct which it dictates, irrespectively of the reasonableness of that conduct, then may Louis IX. be justified for his crusading enterprise; for to him that enterprise appeared in the light of a celestial mission. We cannot, however, in our soberer judgment, justify Louis IX. absolutely; for if love and devotion inspire action, reason and prudence must select and regulate it; and the self-sacrificing enthusiasm of this crusading king, unrestrained and undirected by intelligence, was in reality as disastrous in its consequences to others, as are the cold calculations of an exclusive self-interest. But if we cannot acquit Louis IX. of error in action, and mischief in result, we can at least pronounce him pure in motive and upright in practice. If his religion was alloyed by the superstition of the age, his moral perceptions were not distorted by ecclesiastical sophistries. He disdained to break faith with the Infidel when counselled to do so; indignantly rejected the advice, once tendered him, to

<sup>6</sup> "Mémoires de Jean Sire de Joinville." Publiés par M. Francisque Michel. Paris. 1858.

regard an agreement as cancelled because the seal had been broken and wisely and greatly refused to lend the spiritual power, in its decline, the support of his secular arm, unless the sentences of excommunication were first examined and approved by his own judges. Rightly has Michelet ascribed to St. Louis that elevation of mind which places equity above law. He denounced the custom of trial of battle, at least in its application to the poor and oppressed; he compelled his brother Charles of Anjou to restore an estate to its refractory possessor; he punished his barons when they did wrong; he discouraged the secret administration of justice, and declared that throughout his kingdom it should be done openly and before the people. Brave, and even warlike, when duty called him to be so, he laboured always to maintain and extend peace among foreign princes. Sensitively conscientious, he ever sacrificed his own interest to his love of right. The depth of his piety may be estimated by the words which he addressed to his daughter shortly before his death: "Dear daughter, the measure according to which we ought to love God, is to love him beyond measure." The love which he bore to his people appeared by what he said to his eldest son during a severe illness he had at Fontainebleau: "Dear son, I pray thee to gain the love of the people of thy kingdom, for truly I should prefer a Scot's coming from Scotland to govern the people of the kingdom well and loyally, to thy governing them ill." The middle ages seem to have culminated in King Louis: with Philippe le Bel, his grandson, begins our modern history. The age of man's rights has long since succeeded to that of man's duties; and gentle imaginative minds, believers in the good old times, sigh for that golden period which we all place in the past or in the future. "If this beautiful age ever yet existed, it must certainly have been, says one of the first of French critics, in those fifteen years of peace when St. Louis sat with his nobles in the forest of Vincennes, resting against an oak; and all who had business came to speak to him without hindrance." Of this saint king, of his actions, and his sayings, Joinville was the enthusiastic admirer and faithful historian. His narrative, in which he records his impressions and experiences, is simple, artless, inconsecutive. His garrulity makes him indifferent to logical connection, and the flow of his story is often suspended while he records some incident which an arbitrary association suggests. His manner, however, is animated, and his style characterized by a natural eloquence. Occasionally he mingles reflection with recital, but he is so little sceptical, that one of his critics says of him, we might suppose that objects were created the day on which he first beheld them. Everything surprises him. Everything to him is new, wonderful, miraculous. Cairo he believes to be Babylon. The Nile he pronounces to be a river which has its source in Paradise. He composed his "Mémoires" in extreme old age, though still "fresh in memory and young in heart." He never boasts of his own deeds, and never speaks ill of another. He writes always with a noble simplicity, and, if with a childlike credulity, yet with an open eye for facts which came under his own immediate cognizance. Joinville was born in 1224, in the family château in Châlons-sur-Marne, of distinguished ancestry. In 1248 he sold all his possessions, equipped ten knights,

and took the Cross with King Louis. He was present at the battle of Cairo, and recounts the exploits of the King, and the sufferings of the Crusaders. In the second ill-starred expedition of his beloved master (1270), Joinville refused to take part. For many years he occupied himself on his own domains in building and repairing churches. His presence was often required at Court, and he was employed more than once in the service of the State. His patriotism led him to resist the exactions of Philippe le Bel, but under Louis le Hutin, who repealed his predecessor's oppressive imposts, he withdrew his opposition to the Court, and at ninety years of age, in obedience to a royal summons, the stout-hearted seueschal of Champagne joined the force that had been raised to reduce the revolted Flemings. In 1317 he returned once more to Joinville, and died there two years afterwards, having lived to see six kings seated on the throne of France. The edition of these celebrated memoirs now before us is issued by the enterprising publisher, Firmin Didot. The text is based on that of the manuscript found by Marshal Saxe, at Brussels, in 1744. The volume is enriched with dissertations on the life of Joinville, his MSS., his family, his castle and tomb, and with appendices containing the instruction of St. Louis to his daughter, Sarrasin's narrative letter on the first crusade of St. Louis, and two ancient metrical compositions; and with four illustrations in steel.

Nearly three centuries after the death of King Louis, Fery de Guyon, Bailli-General of Anchin and Pesquencourt, wrote his memoirs.<sup>7</sup> The volume in which they are now comprised forms one of a series of narratives and chronicles published by the Historical Society of Belgium. These memoirs were first printed in 1664, at Tournay, about a hundred years after the death of the author. The copy which supplies the text of the present impression is that preserved in the Royal Library. The barbaric and chivalrous manners of the period in which Fery de Guyon lived are reflected in his unpretending recital. He paints with fidelity the man of arms, the warlike adventurer, the vicissitudes of the soldier's life, the abundance of one day, the destitution of the next. Our *chronicler* was born in Burgundy in 1507. Quitting the paternal roof at the age of sixteen, he followed the Seigneur de l'Estoile to Besançon, in the capacity of page. From Besançon he proceeded to Milan, where the Constable of Bourbon then sustained a siege. He recounts the defeat of the French at the passage of the Sesia, the death of the Chevalier Bayard; the expedition in Provence, that undertaken against Marseilles, and the capture of Francis I., without the dramatic incidents related by the French writers. He takes us with him, when Bourbon's army marched upon Rome, and makes us witness the sack of this city. We are present with him at the Siege of Naples, so gloriously defended by Philibert de Châlons, Prince of Orange. In 1532 Guyon's company was commissioned to put down the brigands of Calabria, and was afterwards incorporated with the imperial army, formed for the protection of Hungary against the Turks. Two years

<sup>7</sup> "Mémoires de Fery de Guyon." Par De Eobauix de Soumoy. Bruxelles. 1858.

later he took part in the expedition to Tunis, beheld the defeat of Khair-Eddin, known as Barbarossa II., the Corsair King of Algiers; returned to Italy, and passed the winter at Naples. In the spring of 1536 he accompanied the Emperor in his triumphal entrance into Rome. After the truce of Nice he proceeded to Spain, was received into the service of the Emperor, followed him to Germany, was present at the Diet of Augsburg, went once more to Italy, and then to Algiers. On this occasion the imperial army was wrecked on the African coast, and unprovided with food or ammunition, suffered terrible extremities. Returning to Spain, he remained there till 1543, when he was again summoned to the imperial standard, when war was levied against the Duke of Cleves. In 1544 Guyon married Jeanne de St. Raagon. He afterwards distinguished himself in the brilliant campaign terminated by the Peace of Cressy. Four years later he received letters patent of nobility; joined the expedition into Champagne, 1552, and in the following year was present at the Sieges of Therouanne and Hesdin. With the Peace of Château Cambresis, 1559, the army was disbanded. It was about this time that our author was invested with the office of bailli of Anchin, a rich abbey, situated near Douay. He resumed military service under the Sieur de Montigny, in the spring of 1566, and, in August of the same year, defeated a troop of Iconoclasts, who, after having pillaged the Abbey of Marchiennes, menaced that of Anchin with a similar fate. Later he accompanied the army of the Seigneur of Noircames to the Sieges of Maestricht, Bois-le-duc, and Holland. In 1568 he was deputed to follow and watch the march of the Prince of Orange through Brabant and Hainault. He was preparing to assume the Governorship of the Castle of Bouchain, to which office he had been appointed, when, on the morning of the day fixed for his departure, he was struck with apoplexy, and died an hour after at Pesquencourt. Guyon's narrative is written in a slow, laborious, prosaic style; he is inexact in his chronology, and his geographical notions are somewhat limited. The peculiar spelling under which he disguises the names of persons and places has been abandoned in this edition of his narrative, and an attempt has been made to reinstate in their native orthographical honours the names of his contemporary countrymen. The volume opens with a notice of the life of the author, and is furnished with an analytical table of contents, and an index.

From ancient chroniclers we pass to modern historians. Mr. E. E. Crowe,<sup>8</sup> the author of a compendious history of France in Dr. Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia, has presented to the public the first volume of a more minute and philosophical work, which, in recording the destinies of the French nation, professes to survey the subject from an English point of view. The author has purposely abstained from multiplying references; in fact, he rarely cites an original document; and the work thus loses in authority what it gains in typographical concinnity. The narrative is, however, clearly and forcibly

<sup>8</sup> "The History of France." By Eyre Evans Crowe. In 5 vols. Vol. I. London: Longman and Co. 1858.

written; the style is flowing, uninterrupted and animated. There is no splendour of diction displayed, no scenic arrangement attempted, no strength or subtilty of thought evidenced in these pages. A simple, unimpassioned, but lucid and comprehensive chronicle of the events that occurred from the days of Clovis, who died in 511, to those of Charles V., who expired in 1380, is what Mr. Crowe offers us in the first volume of his work. If the promised four volumes, designed to complete the history, should be equally meritorious, Mr. Crowe will have furnished the educated class of his countrymen with a luminous and instructive recital of the extraneous incidents and domestic vicissitudes in the national biography of France. "The noblest result of ages," says our author, "the greatest achievement of humanity, has been to found and produce a nation. The ancient world, with few and insignificant exceptions, only knew empires established by arms and maintained by force. The existence of a nation . . . is a phenomenon of modern times. . . . There is no country which more completely embodies the idea of a nation than France." These sentences serve to indicate the character and direction of Mr. Crowe's philosophical speculations. The history commences with an account of the successes of Clovis and Pepin, and the imperial organization of Charlemagne; the rise of feudalism; the incursion of the Northmen; the institution of chivalry and the foundation of the French monarchy, fill the opening chapters of this volume. We may refer to the sixth chapter for a circumstantial report of the political and legislative administration of St. Louis, and to the eighth for a description of the policy of Philip the Fair, which terminated in the premature reduction of the feudal nobles, and the compulsory unity of France under the paramount and despotic power of royalty.\*

From France we pass over to Italy, and in the "History of the Kingdom of Naples," by General Colletta,<sup>9</sup> recognise a work which will be read with pleasure and advantage by all who take an interest in the destiny of that beautiful but unhappy country. The author of the history was born in Naples on 23rd January, 1775. He entered the army as an artillery officer in the twenty-first year of his age, and distinguished himself in the war against the French in 1798. Involved in the ruin of the Parthenopean Republic he narrowly escaped with his life. On his dismissal from the army he adopted the profession of a civil engineer, and under King Joachim was appointed Councillor of State in 1814, having previously risen to the chief command of the military engineers. In the Austrian campaign he gained fresh laurels, and was employed to negotiate the treaty of Casalanza. Under Ferdinand his rank was confirmed, and after the revolution of 1820 he was sent to Sicily to suppress the revolt. Colletta succeeded Parisi as Minister of War in February, 1821. On March 26th the Germans were in possession of Naples, and among the destined victims was the new

<sup>9</sup> "History of the Kingdom of Naples, 1734-1825." By General Pietro Colletta. Translated from the Italian. By S. Horner. With a Supplementary Chapter, 1825-1856. Edinburgh: T. Constable and Co. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1858.

minister. For three months he had to endure the insults and menaces of Canosa in the castle of St. Elmo. Finally, he was conveyed to Brünn in Moravia "at the foot of that Spielberg which has been made a living tomb for so many Italian patriots." Here his health began to decline, and he was allowed after two years to reside in Florence. In Florence he commenced writing his history of Naples, and this book occupied the remaining eight years of his life. He died at Florence on 11th November, 1831. Coletta, while opposing demagogic influence and repudiating a shallow materialistic philosophy, was an undoubted admirer of the liberal Government introduced into Naples on the entrance of the French. He contends that the Neapolitans alone in Italy have preserved the seeds of the common political regeneration. By the decrees that emanated from King Charles of Bourbon, guided by his minister Tanucci, freedom, he asserts, was first redeemed from ecclesiastical tyranny. Under King Ferdinand the humiliating acknowledgment of vassalage was repudiated by the Neapolitans. The theories of political liberty, propagated in France in 1789, first became fruit-bearing in Naples, while the people were obedient to the laws and the revenue of the country continued to increase. On the conquest of Naples by the French, 1799, the nation armed to support the institutions of their country, and only a few fought on the side of liberty. Next followed the reign of the French kings, with the enjoyments of the civil franchises of the empire. In 1813 Italy was on the eve of being united, but diplomacy and arms prevented the union. The following year the Neapolitans returned to Italian rule. In 1815 the Neapolitan army unfurled the banner of freedom and marched through Italy, but the people of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany, joined the Germans. On the restoration of the old government the French code was preserved, but, in 1820, the people, by an admirably conceived revolution, passed better laws for themselves. In the course of thirty years, 100,000 Neapolitans have perished in the cause of political freedom and for the love of Italy. Though now sunk in misery they are ready for action, and though restless it is only from a desire to ameliorate their condition. This summary of the honourable deeds, attributed by the historian to his countrymen, will assist the reader in forming some notion of the spirit and import of his book. Commencing with the reign of Charles of Bourbon, it relates the conquest of the Sicilies, the victory of Velletri, the popular risings against the Inquisition, and the attempts of Charles to subvert the feudal system. The reign of Ferdinand IV. follows. The first effects of the French revolution in the kingdom of Naples, the preparations for war and defence, the triumph of the French army, the establishment and suppression of the Parthenopean Republic and the resumption of the throne by King Ferdinand, are recorded in the remaining chapters of the first volume. The changes introduced in the State, the trials and reforms of the Neapolitan people under Joseph Buonaparte and Joachim Murat occupy the next two books of this history. The measures of the Government at the restoration of the Bourbons, the foreign and domestic events under the two Ferdinands and Francis I., are comprised in the second volume. A supplementary chapter by the translator brings the



historical narrative down to the year 1856. It contains a succinct account of the revolutionary movement in Italy, the single-handed struggle of Venice against Austria, the hostilities with Austria under Charles Albert, the proceedings at Rome, and the expedition against Sicily. The secret societies, the diplomatic negotiations, the various revolts, and the results of papal and royalist reaction, are described with sufficient minuteness. The translator rests his hope of the future independence of the Italian people on their own virtue, courage, and unanimity; demands the exercise of foreign influence to prevent unfair interference in the interests of despotism, and deprecates "all servile imitation of France or even of England." The aspirations of the Italian historian are patriotic; his enthusiasm sustained rather than ardent; his narrative calm and flowing, his style sedate and measured.

A manual of the ancient literary documents, that may be profitably consulted as authorities by the student or writer of an history of Germany, from the most remote period of the middle ages to the middle of the thirteenth century, has been compiled with sufficient fullness for all practical purposes, if not with bibliographical exhaustiveness, by W. Wattenbach.<sup>10</sup> A prize had been offered by the Royal Society of the Sciences at Göttingen, in 1853, for a critical account of German Medieval Historiography, and the successful candidate was the author of this essay. The introduction describes the editions of the old writers published in the sixteenth century, and enumerates those issued in our own day by Lappenberg, Stenzel, Ficker, Cornelius, and others. The legendary and ecclesiastical contributions to historical *matériel* are referred to that early period which elapsed before the reign of Charlemagne. The second division includes all the writings that illustrate the Carlovingian era; the third particularizes those of the time of the Otthos; the fourth comprises those which appeared in the interval between the election of Conrad II. and the death of Henry V.; and the last section contains a notice of the narratives, annals, tales, and poetical compositions, calculated to assist the historian's labours, which belong to the period between the death of Henry V. and the middle of the thirteenth century. An index extending over eighteen pages registers the various historical documents specified in the text, cites the names of the authors, and gives the numeral references.

Pierre des Noyers was secretary to Maria Louisa de Gonzaga, Princess of Mantua and Nevers, and Queen of Poland; and wrote numerous letters on private and public affairs from 1655 to 1659.<sup>11</sup> These letters, collected in a volume of nearly 600 pages, were intended by their original editor to illustrate the history of Poland and Sweden during those four years of foreign invasion and domestic paralysis. In 1652 the *liberum veto* of the privileged class was carried to its true

<sup>10</sup> "Deutschland's Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter bis zu Mitte der dreizehnten Jahrhunderts." Von W. Wattenbach. London: Williams and Norgate. Berlin. 1858.

<sup>11</sup> "Lettres de Pierre des Noyers. Pour servir à l'Histoire de Pologne et de la Suède de 1655 à 1659." London: Williams and Norgate. Berlin: Behr. 1689.

“logical excess.” A single deputy in the Diet had the desperate courage to exercise this political right, and thus stopped the whole machinery of government. The King, John Casimir, had contrived to embroil himself with Sweden, and thus every circumstance seemed to conspire for the overthrow of Poland. The Muscovites entered her territories and advanced as far as Wilna; the Swedes penetrated on the other side, and their progress was only arrested at Warsaw; the Elector of Brandenburg, a tributary of Poland, joined the King of Sweden, while Ragotzi, Prince of Transylvania, marched with 50,000 men to the assistance of the Swedes. On the revolt of the Cossacks, Casimir in despair abandoned the country and retired into Silesia. The chivalrous courage of the Poles, however, saved their fatherland in this emergency. Everywhere they flew to arms. The Russians were defeated in a pitched battle, and various successes were obtained over the Swedes. On the declaration of war against Sweden, by the King of Denmark, Charles Gustavus was compelled to return to his country, and peace was finally concluded at Oliva, near Dantzic, in 1660. John Casimir then abdicated the throne, and Michael Wisnowiecki, a native youth, was elected king by the nation. It is of this period of dissension and invasion, of royal weakness and popular devotion, that Pierre des Noyers writes, in these semi-political, historical, gossiping letters of his. There is much of interesting detail, much of useful information in them, much of social incident and usage, and much of private comment and belief, that aid us in realizing the age and the men and women that lived in it. Now and then we catch a glimpse of the Swedish monarch and the English Protector; or we are introduced to that learned lady, Maria Cunitia, a famous linguist and *savante*; or we listen to the astrological fancies or therapeutic speculations of the secretary himself. In one place he tells us that he had an attack of fever, for which he can imagine no reason but the disastrous position of the planets about the time of his illness. He was ill for seven days, during which he was bled five times. On the fifth day the physicians, having done their worst, gave him up; but “I have recovered at last,” he says, “though I am still so weak that one can’t well be weaker.” Our good secretary evidently took a deal of killing.

The history of Poland receives a more formal illustration in a work by Friedrich von Smitt, which has the double title of “Suworow und Polen’s Untergang.”<sup>12</sup> It consists of three volumes, of which one is new, one has been published before, and one has not yet appeared. It is dedicated to the Emperor Alexander II., and is written from the Russian point of view. From the days of Stanislaus the author complains that Poland’s history has been unscrupulously misrepresented. It is time to hear the other side. Original and authentic documents are accessible. These he has consulted; and the result he tells us is a true and accurate statement of facts. M. Smitt appears to be not only a fatalist but an optimist. Poland perished, and nothing became her so well as her death. She was a perpetual menace to Prussia, Austria,

<sup>12</sup> “Suworow und Polen’s Untergang.” Von Friedrich von Smitt. Leipzig und Heidelberg. 1858.

and Russia. She had lived long enough. Rome grew, flourished, decayed, died. Poland did the same. The life of nations is in an eternal flow. Once Poland was strong and Russia weak. It came to Russia's turn to be strong, and she had an equal right with Poland to remove her deadly enemy, for her own moral and political security. She used this right, and is justified by the law of self-preservation and the evident indications of a Providential will. The *Deus ex machinâ* in this case was personated by the Empress Catherine. Under the coercion of her troops the Diet elected for king her lover, Stanislaus Poniatowski. When the patriot party became exclusive and intolerant, Russia, in common with Great Britain, Prussia, and Denmark, protested against its arbitrary measures. More Russian troops were sent into Poland. The dissidents formed a confederation under Prince Radzivil; the Catholics a counter confederation, known as the Confederation of Bar. The Russian soldiers sided with the dissidents, and were soon joined by an Austrian and Prussian force. It was in this crisis that Suworow first distinguished himself. He defeated the armies of both Pulawskies, took Craeow by storm, and was accredited with the triumphant termination of the campaign. The first partition of Poland soon followed, a treaty being signed at Petersburg, 5th August, 1772. The year after a war with the Turks broke out, and Suworow having won three victories over the troops of Mustapha III., effected a junction with General Kamenskay, and in a fourth victory put an end to the contest. In 1774, Pugatschew, a Cossack of the Don, organized a formidable insurrection. Suworow encountered and overthrew the insurgents. In 1783 he subjugated the Cuban Tartars. Four years after, the second Turkish war afforded him many opportunities for displaying his splendid strategic talents. The campaigns of 1788 and 1789 are circumstantially related by M. Smitt. This second campaign was terminated by the battles of Fokshani, Rymnik, and the storming of Ismail. To all this brilliant success Suworow mainly contributed. The Empress Catherine, in recognition of these services, raised him to the dignity of a Russian Count, with the title of Rymnikski, suggested by the victory gained on the banks of the river Rymnik. In 1792 Suworow was appointed Governor-General of the province of Yekaterinoslaw, the Crimea, and the district of the Dniester. In 1794 he reduced the revolted Poles: five years later he commanded the troops which fought in Italy against the French; and, returning to St. Petersburg in 1800, died a few days after his arrival, in the seventieth year of his age. We have anticipated M. Smitt's narrative, in this brief *resumé* of Suworow's actions, for the second volume concludes with the events of the year 1792. Suworow was a daring and dexterous officer, determined, prompt, and inventive. He is one of the few generals who never lost a battle. He was rough, uncouth, stern; temperate in his habits; orthodox in his religion, and strict in its observances. Though of a weak constitution, he recoiled from no privation or fatigue. Suworow has a foremost rank among the captains of war, and his story may be read with renewed satisfaction in the sharp, clear version of Friedrich von Smitt.

We may next notice a species of scandalous chronicle, entitled "Memoirs of the Empress Catherine II.," written by herself.<sup>13</sup> Shortly after her death, a MS. in her own handwriting is said to have been found among her papers, in an envelope addressed "to her beloved son, the Grand Duke Paul." Paul confided the secret to Kourakine, who copied the autograph. From this copy, twenty years after Paul's death, two other transcripts were made. Subsequently, by the direction of the Emperor Nicholas, all the existing copies were seized by the police, the original being carefully deposited in the imperial archives. From Constantine Arsenieff, the tutor of the present Emperor, M. Herzen derived his first information on this subject. It would seem that about three years ago, Alexander II. ordered the original document to be brought for his perusal. A few copies then once more found their way into circulation, one of which supplied the text for the present edition. Of the authenticity of these Memoirs M. Herzen entertains no doubt. They relate the events of the early years of the "Woman-Emperor," from her birth to its thirtieth anniversary. The living portraits drawn by her own hand are those of a young, ardent, intellectual girl, imprisoned in a palace, and gradually perverted by its corrupting influences: of a mean, cross, greedy, pedantic mother, boxing her daughter's ears, and appropriating her new clothes; of a jealous, envious, tipsy vixen, the Empress Elizabeth—and a drunken noodle of a husband, who made his young wife the confidante of his love intrigues; and when she pretended sleep, to escape the persecution, struck her a blow with his fist to awaken her. Young, ill-used, and unhappy, Catherine listened to the passionate solicitations of Soltikoff. Her union with the Grand Duke afforded no promise of offspring, and when it was suggested that she should sacrifice her scruples to the welfare of the State, and she was offered a choice of two lovers, she took both, says M. Herzen, and to Soltikoff and Narichkine subsequently added a third in Poniatowski. Such was the commencement of her erotic career. If the father of the Emperor is Sergius Soltikoff, and Herzen contends that Catherine's confession is sufficiently explicit on this point, the imperial family of Russia is connected neither with that of Romanoff nor that of Holstein Gottorp. What, then, becomes of Russian legitimacy and hereditary right?

From such a picture of moral degeneracy it is a relief to turn to the contemplation of a noble and philosophic life, that of Sir Humphry Davy.<sup>14</sup> The volume now published out of loving regard to a brother's memory, may be considered as supplementary to the biography by Dr. Paris, which appeared in 1831, and one by Dr. Davy, which was issued five years after. It contains a sketch of his birth and early education, an account of his studies and scientific researches, his

<sup>13</sup> "Mémoires de l'Impératrice Catherine II. Ecrits par elle-même, et précédés d'une Préface." Par A. Herzen. Londres: Trübner et Cie. 1859.

<sup>14</sup> "Fragmentary Remains, Literary and Scientific, of Sir Humphry Davy; with a Sketch of his Life, and Selections from his Correspondence." Edited by his brother, John Davy, M.D., F.R.S. London: Churchill. 1858.

travels, his last illness and death. It is enriched with the letters of many distinguished men—Southey, Coleridge, Landor, and others. The selection from Davy's own letters seems judiciously made. His descriptions, half poetic and half scientific, are often admirably done. His intellect was of a high and comprehensive order, philosophical, imaginative, and artistic. He was an accomplished painter, and by cultivation might have taken rank among poets. He is said to have lisped in numbers, and some of his verses are of undoubted merit. Such, however, were only the graceful recreations of his exalted mind. Scientific research and inventive genius form his true title to an enduring recognition. His great discovery, that of the metallic basis of the fixed alkalies, was an era in the history of chemistry. After a trial of forty years, his safety lamp maintains its reputation unimpaired. As a means of preserving the lives of thousands of poor men, he "valued it more than anything he ever did." His present biographer corrects a misstatement on this subject in the lately published "Life of G. Stephenson." The lamp invented by this remarkable man was, says Dr. Davy, as admitted by himself, formed entirely on mechanical principles, and had no pretensions to safety till constructed after the manner of the Davy lamp. Wise, liberal, and tolerant, both in politics and religion, Sir H. Davy anticipated little benefit from the diffusion of revolutionary opinion in Europe, and became more "apostolic in his creed" as he grew older. Yet he supported the emancipation of the Catholics, and was an ardent friend of rational liberty. Davy was no bookworm. He was fond of field sports; of hunting, shooting, and fishing. He conformed to the world, but his delight was in his intellectual being. With something of the Stoic's faith, he held that mental or moral enthusiasm destroys physical pain, and that the imagination is the only *creative* faculty of our nature. Born at Penzance, 17th December, 1778, he died at Geneva, 29th May, 1829. His last resting-place is in the burying-ground without the walls of that city, close to Professor Pictet.

During the boyhood of this wise and good man, John Wesley first visited the far west, and saw and blessed the young philosopher. The awakening of the religious consciousness in the fishermen and miners of Cornwall under Wesley's earnest efforts, the revival of evangelical Christianity in England effected by him and his coadjutors, is a noticeable fact in the last century. Methodism, with every deduction for its dangerous emotional fascination, and its melancholy self-delusions, yet represents some spiritual reality and testifies to the unspeakable greatness of the soul. The truth and nobleness, the falsehood, extravagance, and superstition that are in Methodism may be learned from Southey's life of its founder,<sup>15</sup> a reprint of which is now given to the world, edited by the Rev. C. C. Southey. It contains many valuable annotations by S. T. Coleridge, and remarks on the life and character of John Wesley, by the late Alexander Knox.

<sup>15.</sup> "The Life of Wesley, and Rise and Progress of Methodism." By Robert Southey. In 2 vols. London: Longman and Co. 1858.

We invite attention to another reprint of a far greater man. Lord King's "Life of Locke."<sup>16</sup> A cheap edition of this indispensable biography has long been a desideratum. It is now comprehended among the volumes forming Mr. Bohn's Standard Library. From this memoir, and from the letters and papers which accompany it, the general reader will obtain a true idea of the part that Locke took "in the irreconcilable war between truth and falsehood." The homely beauty of Locke's style; the plain wisdom of his profound common sense; the human character of his philosophy; and the noble sweetness of his life and disposition are traceable in the selected extracts from his letters and papers. In itself the book can lay claim to no special literary merit; but as the sole authoritative record of the life of one of England's greatest thinkers, it possesses a peculiar value.

An agreeable little work on the characteristics of a genius very different from that of the calm and patient Locke will reward perusal. Rousseau's fiery and tumultuous nature will long be a favourite subject for psychological disquisition. In a series of "Studies,"<sup>17</sup> which in a fragmentary form were read before the "Académie des Sciences, Morales, et Politiques" M. Gaberel has described the development of Rousseau's genius; estimated the influence of Geneva on his character; delineated his political system; reviewed his religious sentiments; and appreciated the personal relation in which he stood to his Genevese friends. In a concluding chapter, the state of Geneva, after the death of the revolutionary philosopher, is described. M. Gaberel writes throughout in a friendly and admiring spirit of the hero of his little essay; acknowledges the truth, though mingled with error, which his political theory discloses, and exculpates him from even an indirect participation in the excesses of the French Revolution through the influence of his insurrectionary ideas.

M. Hosemann complains that a school of historians and publicists represents the religious reform of the sixteenth century as hostile to established authority. In the conviction that the spirit of the Gospel condemns all revolt, he has produced an abridged history of the "Life of Luther and the Reformation,"<sup>18</sup> in which he undertakes to "refute" this "radical and dangerous error." The object of his book, however, is not entirely polemical. Its author aims to relate facts veraciously, and to exhibit the Divine action in the events of history. Thus the ordinary evangelical theory is adopted, and the familiar incidents in Luther's career are recited in regular sequence, without any pretension to originality of view, but in a compact and instructive narrative.

A "Universal Dictionary of Contemporary Biography,"<sup>19</sup> comprising

<sup>16</sup> "The Life and Letters of John Locke. With Extracts from his Journals and Commonplace Books." By Lord King. London: Bohn. 1858.

<sup>17</sup> "Rousseau et les Gênévois." Par M. J. Gaberel, ancien pasteur. Gênéve. 1858.

<sup>18</sup> "Histoire Abrégée de Luther et de la Réformation." Par J. J. Hosemann. Paris. 1858.

<sup>19</sup> "Dictionnaire Universel des Contemporains, contenant tous les Personnes notables de la France et des pays Etrangers." Par J. Vapereau. Paris: Hachette. 1858.

the most celebrated names in literature, art, theology, law, and politics, will be gratefully welcomed by a numerous and inquisitive public, who require correct and trustworthy information on the distinguished men and women of their own time. This alphabetically-arranged biography has been compiled with scrupulous care, conscientious treatment, and rare skill and discernment, by M. Vapereau, formerly of the *Ecole Normale*, and peculiarly qualified for his office by his philosophical studies and professional training. In the accomplishment of this arduous undertaking the compiler has had three principal ends in view:—1. To register biographical and historical facts with impartiality and exactness; 2. To signalize the prominent living actors on the political or literary stage; and 3. To furnish readers, writers, politicians, and travellers with information which they find absolutely indispensable. In giving effect to this purpose, the editor has sought to attain the utmost precision of statement, as distributed under the various categories of name, birth, family, education, commencement of public life, accession to office, change of career, State decoration and reward, participation in political events, characteristic facts, remarkable doings and sayings, titles, dates, and successive editions of literary productions. The labour thus expended on the work is incalculable; and whether we consider the difficulties surmounted, or the success achieved, the precision of statement attained, or the extent of subject explored, we are alike constrained to admire the patient diligence, indefatigable energy, discriminating taste, and fine sagacity evinced in the workmanship. We must draw attention also to the merely literary merit of the article. The criticism is in general concise, animated, and informing; the biographical sketches are executed, in the main, with a free, yet careful touch, and in cases where a diplomatic reticence and a prejudiced or accommodated narrative would have characterized the less courageous instinct or the more partial judgment of over-cautious or dogmatic men, we have noticed a generous freedom from personal prepossession, and an evident desire to give a fair and dispassionate report, in the highest degree honourable to the enterprising publisher, M. Hachette, and his laborious and conscientious editor. We have examined many of the articles contained in this work, and in those instances in which we have been able to apply the test of experience, we find them satisfactory in outline and nearly accurate in detail. No pains will be spared to render this *Opus Magnum* of biographical erudition increasingly meritorious; and as the present impression will remain permanently in type, opportunity will be afforded for the correction of trivial inaccuracies, the introduction of desired improvements, and the insertion of pretermitted or recently acquired reputations. That the catalogue of living celebrities is not already an exhaustive one will excite neither disappointment nor surprise. It is not occasional omission that impresses us, but the prevailing completeness attained that deserves our admiration. As instances of this exceptional treatment, we may indicate the names of Verdeil, Ségonde, J. B. Beraud, Mulder, R. W. Mackay, Dr. Carpenter, Herbert Spencer, Dr. Neil Arnott, J. A. Froude, W. Smith, author of "Thorndale," &c., and Miss Hosmer.

On the other hand names of very secondary interest will be found in this volume, a convincing proof of its designed inclusiveness,—an inclusiveness which repeated examination justifies us in asserting is proximately realised. This valuable work is comprised in one ample volume of the form called imperial, and contains eighteen hundred pages carefully and compactly printed.

Local history has a peculiar charm for us, and to rescue from oblivion topographical facts that have an immediate as well perhaps as a remote value, is ever a task well worth the doing. This task has been excellently discharged by Mr. Nicholls in his account of the Forest of Dean, in Gloucestershire.\* In antiquarian detail, real and legendary recital, botanical, zoological, and geological description, this admirable compilation is particularly effective. The illustrative plates, which are numerous, have usually an architectural or monumental reference, and are some of them extremely characteristic.

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#### BELLES LETTRES AND ART.

MR. LONGFELLOW seems likely to be spoilt by popularity, and to think that anything is good enough for a public which has received him hitherto with almost unqualified approbation. The heroic band which landed from the *Mayflower* on the inhospitable shores of New England in January, 1621, though pertaining more to the historian than to the poet, were by no means without poetical interest, to which Mr. Longfellow has now added a ridiculous element in his "Courtship of Miles Standish," and has thought it worth his while to record the same in somewhat halting hexameters.<sup>1</sup> Miles Standish, an elderly gentleman of short stature, and much valour and military experience, is chosen captain of the new settlement, though not of strict puritanical principles, and has for friend and private secretary a much younger man, John Alden, the ancestor possibly of that dignified diplomatist who was, according to Mr. Slick, so disgusted by the coarse advice of Mr. Abernethy. Miles Standish lost his wife early in the first year of the settlement, and was, somewhat too soon for a mature and military official, smitten by the charms of a puritan maiden, Priscilla, whom he seeks to win by proxy, contrary to his usual maxim of doing himself whatever he wished to be well done, while the sequel shows that he should by no means have made this occasion the exception to his rule. John Alden, the ambassador selected, is himself deeply enamoured of Priscilla, who reciprocates heartily, though neither has spoken to the other on the subject; nevertheless, Alden does his best

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\* "Forest of Dean: an Historical and Descriptive account." By H. G. Nicholls. London: Murray. 1858.

<sup>1</sup> "The Courtship of Miles Standish, and other Poems." By Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. London: Kent & Co. 1858.



to invest his principal with all the qualifications that could make him meet for a husband in Priscilla's estimation, but the young lady is naturally provoked at Alden's blindness to the real state of her feelings, and stops him in the midst of his unwelcome eloquence :

" But as he warmed and glowed in his simple and eloquent language,  
Quite forgetful of self and full of the praise of his rival,  
Archly the maiden smiled, and with eyes overrunning with laughter,  
Said, in a tremulous voice, ' Why don't you speak for yourself, John ? ' "

They do not even then come to an understanding ; Alden leaves her presence, accusing himself of treachery to his confiding friend, but is on his return obliged to apprise Miles of the real state of the case—and is vehemently upbraided with treachery and other moral enormities. Fortunately the presence of Standish is required in an expedition against a hostile Indian tribe, in which, though successful, a report is afterwards spread of his death by Indian treachery. In consequence Alden, who, moved by conscientious scruples, had purposed to return to England in the *Mayflower*, remains in the New World, unwilling to desert the helpless Priscilla, whom he loved only less than his honour ; he now considers himself at liberty to declare his passion, and weds her ; the ceremony is scarcely concluded when Standish reappears, and startles the wedding-party ; he acts, however, with great forbearance and good sense, like a gentleman as he is, and resigns Priscilla with the best grace in the world. There is a trace of Mr. Longfellow's earlier spirit in his description of the return of the pair to Alden's house in the forest, which is like a ray of mellow sunshine at the close of a somewhat dull day.

" Like a picture it seemed of the primitive pastoral ages,  
Fresh with the youth of the world, and recalling Rebecca and Isaac.  
Old and ever new, and simple and beautiful always.  
Love immortal and young in the endless succession of lovers,  
So through the Plymouth woods passed onward the bridal procession."

In the remaining short pieces, which occupy fully half of the little volume, we find nothing better than a not always harmonious mediocrity, sometimes defaced by downright doggerel, and a studied absence of the file—the " Phantom Ship " and " Warden of the Cinque Ports," for example ; and what can surpass the unblushing doggerel of such stanzas as

" Once the Emperor Charles of Spain,  
With his swarthy, grave commanders,  
I forget in what campaign,  
Long besieged, in mud and rain,  
Some old frontier town of Flanders.

" Up and down the dreary camp,  
In great boots of Spanish leather,  
Striding with a measured tramp,  
These hidalgos dull and damp,  
Cursed the Frenchmen—cursed the weather."

We gladly hail, however, as some compensation, the graceful tribute paid by Mr. Longfellow to the matchless lady who shed the light of her presence, and the blessing of her ministrations over the miserable

sufferers in that dark campaign which has thrown into the shade the miseries and the mistakes of Walcheren.

“ So in that house of misery  
A lady with a lamp I see,  
Pass through the glimmering gloom  
And slit from room to room.

“ On England’s annals through the long  
Hereafter of her speech and song,  
That light its rays shall cast,  
From portals of the Past.

“ A lady with a lamp shall stand,  
In the great history of the land,  
A noble type of good,  
Heroic womanhood!”—*Santa Filomena*.

It is well for the writer of the “Maid of Norway”<sup>2</sup> that he lives not in the days of the Dunciad; there surely never was even a comedy so perseveringly and respectably dull; a dulness of which the author is most innocently unconscious. The plot is complicated, no less than four kings, *videlicet*, of North and South Britain, of Norway, and of Denmark, appearing in person, or by proxy, among the personæ of the fable.

The first act opens in the capital of Essex (Trinovantum), at the court of Belinus, King of South Britain, who has reason to suspect the honesty of his brother, Breunius, King of Northumbria, and is arming against him. Brennius, however, proves to be a very honest fellow, who has been seduced into apparent league with Elsing, King of Norway, by the charms of his daughter, the Princess Matilda, the “Maid of Norway.” As Belinus marches north against his brother, he encounters the heroine herself, a fugitive from King Gothlax of Denmark, who had treacherously made her prisoner at sea, and been afterwards driven on the coast of Britain by stress of weather.

Conan, Earl of Cambria, is the schemer who sets everybody by the ears, and is of course finally unmasked, to the general satisfaction, by the defection of his secretary, Kienwit, a most elaborate joker, who, with the Lady Hilda, are the laboriously comic characters of the piece. Perseverance is a most valuable quality, generally sure of its reward, but it will scarcely pay Mr. Waddie to persist in comedy.

“Eric; or, Little by Little,”<sup>3</sup> is a book that follows in the track opened out by the author of “Tom Brown’s School Days.” It is a story of school-life, and appeals eloquently and forcibly to that barren and neglected thing, a schoolboy’s heart.

Every paterfamilias would consult his own and his children’s interests by furnishing them with an opportunity of perusing it.

The first volume of “Maud Bingley,”<sup>4</sup> is a tolerably vigorous and

<sup>2</sup> “The Maid of Norway, a Romantic Comedy, in Five Acts.” By John Waddie. London: E. Marlborough and Co. 1858.

<sup>3</sup> “Eric, or Little by Little.” By Mr. Farrar, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1858.

<sup>4</sup> “Maud Bingley.” By Frederica Graham. 2 vols. London: Bell and Daldy. 1858.

lively sketch in water-colours of a phase of English social life, which has found much favour with the writers of the school of Lady Blessington; the second volume reads a little too much like a reproduction of the first, but considerable power of discrimination and delineation is displayed throughout.

Maud herself is one of those charming and impossible characters which have been so often drawn; but we must take exception to the introduction of such a character as Edgeworth Bingley, a rough, selfish puppy, whose appearance is always disagreeable.

The authoress displays an Irishwoman's taste for military people, and not one clerical character figures in her book, notwithstanding the character of the heroine.

Miss Bingley is left an orphan, in very moderate circumstances, with two or three grown-up brothers, only one of whom, Arthur Bingley, is qualified to be her friend and adviser; but as he is obliged to go abroad with his regiment, she is unwillingly compelled to accept the offer of a maternal aunt, married to a wealthy Scotch merchant, residing near Windsor, and who (the aunt) is greatly enamoured of the military society to be found in that neighbourhood. Maud's social prospects may be augured from a breakfast-table discussion, which occurs shortly before her arrival, between her aunt, Mrs. Murray, and her cousin, Captain Julian Murray, who is, however, as unlike the aunt as possible:—

“Julian's eyes showed that he appreciated, to its full extent, Mrs. Murray's sisterly affection, otherwise he preserved a perfectly unmoved countenance, as he remarked—‘I suppose one or other of the brothers is coming with her to-day. Arthur was always a good fellow, but I have not seen him since I left Woolwich.’

“‘I am happy to say he is gone abroad with his regiment, for he is the one who would have given most trouble. I suppose I must make up my mind to keep the girl here; but I am resolved not to have young men hanging about the house.’

“‘Oh, I was thinking of bringing Vanston and Grey over for a couple of nights next week; but if young men are at a discount, perhaps I had better say nothing about it.’

“‘My dear Julian, your friends are always welcome; you might know that,’ said Mrs. Murray, with an air of reproach, which was meant to be both gentle and fascinating. ‘It is a very different thing from having those young Bingleys, who are almost penniless, always living upon one.’ Julian did not reply, and Mrs. Murray proceeded—‘After all, Herbert will be the only one of the brothers left in England, and when I see him I shall try and persuade him how much better it would be to go back to India at once. What does he want in England? he has no money, and can have no friends.’

“‘Bite him, roll him over, Rusty,’ exclaimed Julian to his dog, opening the glass-door, as a wretched starveling cur made its appearance on the lawn. ‘That's the way of the world, ain't it? trample on those who are down—eh, man?’

“Mrs. Murray did not even redden. ‘I have so often given orders that no tradespeople are to bring dogs up to the house, nothing makes Mr. Murray so angry. You may be sure this wretched puppy belongs to the butcher or baker, or some such person,’ continued she, as Rusty bustled back, finding his adversary beneath his notice.”

"The Gilberts and their Guests; a Story of Homely English Life,"<sup>5</sup> is precisely what its title professes, a quiet narrative of middle class domesticities, principally exhibited in dialogue, which is occasionally lively. Two episodes occur, which are perhaps intended to vary a story which the authoress feared might be monotonous—viz., Miss Dale's sick-bed adventures with her terrible nurse; and Mrs. Copeland's unhappy, and not uncommon story. There is much good feeling and good sense to be found in its pages.

"The Admiral's Niece,"<sup>6</sup> is well exemplified in the following extract:—

"Oh, do not weep, dear mamma! I am sure papa will be home soon; it is now a month since the papers said his ship left China on her homeward voyage, and I am sure he must be home soon;" and she fondly kissed the sufferer's cheek.

"Bless you, darling child, for your attempt to comfort me. But, my Ada, China is a great way off, and the *Amazon* will be long making the passage; she sails slowly, too slowly—too slowly," she murmured. Complaining of fatigue, her maid was summoned, and, with the assistance of Ada, she reached her own room."

Surely this must be by the authoress of that remarkable novel which so charmed and excited the susceptibilities of Mrs. Witterly.

Miss Bremer is like many other persons—critics especially—tired of love stories, and therefore seeks to interest her readers in a worthier, or at least less hackneyed theme; yet, true to the inevitable female instinct, she is compelled to make the passion which she wishes to eschew, the animating principle of almost the only interest which this somewhat epideiktical production possesses. The scene of the story<sup>7</sup> lies in Gothland, that dearly-loved "Eye of the Baltic," as its partial inhabitants term it, and opens in its little capital of Wisby, at the house of Professor Norrby, whose fair and accomplished daughter is on the eve of her twenty-first birthday. That filial affection which is to replace in this book the ordinary passion of novels, is strongly displayed in the first interview between father and daughter; there is then a sketch of a domestic Swedish interior, *à la Teniers*, and the young lady, who adds the fact of being an heiress to her other good qualities, shortly after proceeds on a lengthened visit to her aunt, the Baroness Norrby, a lady of family and fashion, of Stockholm. Axel Norrby, the son of the baroness, somewhat slowly develops a passion for his fair cousin, whose success in the "best" Swedish society is decided; but his mother thinks he may do considerably better, after the manner of courtly mothers. In the meantime Professor Norrby becomes blind, and, debarred from literary pursuits, has no other solace than in the affections of his eldest daughter; the younger, Rhoda, and the deaf but studious brother, Algott, appearing to be of very inferior interest in the old

<sup>5</sup> "The Gilberts and their Guests; a Story of Homely English Life." 3 vols. By Julia Day. London: T. Cantley Newby.

<sup>6</sup> "The Admiral's Niece, or a Tale of Nova Scotia." 2 vols. By Mrs. Edmund Heathcote. London: T. Cantley Newby. 1858.

<sup>7</sup> "Father and Daughter, a Portraiture from the Life." By Frederika Bremer, translated by Mary Howitt. Hall and Virtue. 1859.

man's eyes. She therefore determines to devote her whole time to him, though her heart is impressed by the obvious affection of her cousin Axel, who repeats, at intervals of some months, his visits to her father's house: but time shows that, with all his accomplishments and talents, he is scarcely worthy of the supreme place in her affection. He appears, indeed, to be subsequently pleased with her younger sister, and even trifles with her feelings; for Rhoda has given him all her heart, which she confesses to her elder sister, without the knowledge of Axel. After the death of the baroness, Axel proposes marriage to Rosa Norrby, but she refuses him with decision, though with some agitation; and tells him that, to her younger sister, and not to herself, the offer should have been made. He hears the just rebuke in manly and repentant silence, and ultimately Rhoda becomes his wife.

The most vivid and interesting chapter in the book, because it is a paraphrase from real life, describes the mortal peril encountered by the bearers of the mail-bags from the island of Aland to the opposite Gothland, in the depth of winter. Rosa Norrby is a passenger in the boat on the occasion, and survives the icy perils which prove fatal to three of her male fellow-travellers.

Mrs. Howitt has ably performed her task of translation, but there is much prolixity; and to introduce a young lady reading aloud a long passage from Cicero *De Senectute* in the first chapter, as Miss Bremer has done, savours of female pedantry, or *bas-bleuism*.

M. Marmir, who has evidently travelled a good deal, and picked up a polyglot smattering of languages, clearly rather desires to display in the "Betrothed of Spitzbergen,"<sup>8</sup> the information thus acquired, than any particular capacity for fictitious writing. Plot there is none, character not much, and the incidents are monotonous; nevertheless the author has visited Hammerfest, the last abiding-place of civilized trading mankind in the north, and is therefore able to describe a spot which must have the merit of novelty at least, to most of his readers. The story opens at Dunkirk, in the house of a rich merchant, M. Vanksep, who has an amiable, good-looking daughter, Rose Marie Vanksep, the light of his eyes. He has just determined to send a strong and well-found ship, then lying in the harbour, and named after his daughter, to Spitzbergen, for the chance of a cargo of whale-oil and morse-ivory. The lieutenant of this vessel (first mate with us), a spiritual young sailor, who venerates the memory of the great Portuguese and Genoese discoverers, is the hero of the story. Rose Marie Vanksep has a decided but *secret penchant* for him; but, though a good and pretty girl, she is not exactly formed to captivate the heart of a man devoted to the romance of his profession, and with anything but a taste for domesticities. His jolly old commander, Blondeau, at a *tête-à-tête* in a Dunkerque wine-shop, gives him to understand that he has no doubt of Miss Vanksep's strong predilection for the young mate; and urges him to pursue his good fortune. Marcel, however, professing respect and gratitude for the young lady, disclaims all matrimonial intentions, to the disgust and astonishment of his true friend, Blondeau;

<sup>8</sup> "Les Fiancés de Spitzberg." Par X. Marmir. Paris: Libraire de L. Hachette & Co., 1859.

the bit of dialogue on this occasion is the best thing in the story. The ship proceeds to Hammerfest in Finland, *en route* for Spitzbergen where winter yet reigns. They hear of an experienced pilot, one Lax, who is essential to their further progress, but who refuses to engage in that capacity, unless allowed to carry with him his daughter Carine, whose delicate health, he conceives, can only be benefited by residence in a colder climate, Hammerfest itself not being sufficiently frigid. M. Sparrman, the banker of Hammerfest, has in vain tried to turn him from this delusion, and now Blondeau and Marcel are equally urgent, but in vain; and Blondeau, who had been most unwilling to carry a female passenger on so perilous a voyage, and in a vessel unprepared for her reception, at last consents to take Lax on his own terms. A lady in the true sense Carine Lax is, though a pilot's daughter, and Marcel finds in her his ideal; they are obliged to winter at Spitzbergen, are deserted by nearly all the crew, and after the usual horrors of a Polar winter, with which we in England are familiar enough by description, unfortunately, Marcel and Carine return betrothed to Hammerfest, and Carine, whose health has been fading the whole winter, dies as she enters its harbour. Blondeau and Marcel return in the *Rose Marie* to Dunkirk, the latter vainly endeavouring to induce the bereaved pilot to accompany them, and overwhelmed himself with melancholy. On his return, though Miss Vanksep remains faithful, he almost immediately proceeds on a distant voyage, to dissipate his wretchedness, if possible. "Il n'a que vingt ans," says M. Marmir, "et Rosa Marie n'a pas cessé de l'aimer. Il épousera peut-être Rosa Marie."

Holbein's "Dance of Death"<sup>9</sup> must always be a work of interest to those who are studious of the earlier history of pictorial art and invention. It is, too, a satire and a sermon, a warning and a reproof to the vicious, the frivolous, and the over-worldly. Mr. Douce's learned explanatory dissertation is prefixed, and is a mine of information as to the history of ancient design and designers.

"*Horæ Subsecivæ*"<sup>10</sup> is an honest and heartily written book, the chief object of which is to reform the medical profession from within. The parallel between Locke and Sydenham is not, however, very obvious; but we do not think that the acute and sensible physician, who introduced so much rational reform, and so many improvements into practical medicine, has anything to fear in a comparison even with the author of the *Essay on the "Human Understanding."*

Dr. Brown, in his "Medical Observations," properly protests, as all sensible men have done, against that cramming of the memory made necessary by the requirements of a modern medical curriculum, where so much that is useless in the subsequent career of the practitioner, is forced upon his attention: yet, like all medical reformers, Dr. Brown expects too high a standard in those who enter a profession unrepresented in Parliament, and in which the man of the highest attainments is least confident.

He has inserted a paper by his cousin, John Taylor Brown, which

<sup>9</sup> Holbein's "Dance of Death, and Bible Cuts." London: Bohn. 1858.

<sup>10</sup> "*Horæ Subsecivæ, or Locke and Sydenham, with other Occasional Papers.*" By John Brown, M. D. Edinburgh and London: Constable & Co. 1858.

seeks to ascertain what was St. Paul's "thorn in the flesh," to which the apostle of the Gentiles alludes; he supposes it to have been weak and inflamed eyes—a conjecture which had previously appeared in print.

The best paper in the volume is "Rab and his Friends," which combines, with considerable skill, the humorous and the pathetic; that on the bones of the Black Dwarf is a not uninteresting scholium on one of Sir Walter's strangest characters.

It was not the least of the good deeds of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, that at the instance of Mr. (now Sir G. C.) Lewis, it commissioned Professor Karl Otfried Müller of Göttingen, to write, for valuable considerations, a History of Greek Literature, with an especial view to the tastes and requirements of the English public. Professor Müller was an enthusiastic Phil-Hellenist, and his thorough competency for the task had been demonstrated in his learned and sagacious work on the Dorians, (*Die Dorianer*). After some negotiation, this "opus magnum" was commenced; but Müller lived only long enough to complete about half as it now appears,<sup>11</sup> for he died of fever at Athens, in August, 1810.

Dr. Donaldson was engaged by the Society to translate the manuscript as it was transmitted to England, and further, upon Müller's decease, to continue the work itself; but it was shortly afterwards dissolved, and it was not till several years afterwards that the firm which had purchased its copyright, requested Dr. Donaldson to complete his learned labour. The result is a work of great utility and value, combining accurate knowledge, with an attractive and popular style.

Professor Müller's portion comprises a brief history of the origin of the Greek language, and of the character of its dialects; the ante-Homeric poetry, the Homeric mythology, a summary of the arguments that would indicate Smyrna as the probable birthplace of the greatest of epic poets; a demonstration of the numerous interpolations in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which were inevitable, and which no one but a fanatic would deny; of the Cyclic poets, so called because they attempted to complete the narrative of the cycle of events of which the *Iliad* recites but the middle series; the "Little *Iliad*" of Lesches, also intended to complete the Homeric story, the contents of which work of Lesches we know chiefly from the account in Aristotle's *Poetics*—Hesiod and his poetry, from the *Works and Days*, to the *Shield of Hercules*, and the minor epic poets who succeeded him.

The origin of elegiac poetry, with a notice of the somewhat copious elegiacs of Theognis, less valuable, however, than the scantier remains of Solon and Tyrteus.

Epigrammatic and Iambic verse, of which Archilochus and Simonides are the best exemplars.

Origin and progress of music among the Greeks, with notices of its chief cultivators, Terpander, Thaletas, Hierax, Echembrotus.

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<sup>11</sup> "A History of the Literature of Ancient Greece." By K. O. Müller, late Professor in the University of Göttingen, continued after the Author's death by John W. Donaldson, M.D. 3 vols. London: John W. Parker and Son. 1858.

Æolie lyric poetry, with remarks on Alceus, Anacreon, Sappho; and choral lyrics in their first and second stages; Aleman and Stesichorus the chief exemplars of the first; Simonides and Pindar of the latter.

Theological and philosophical poetry, chiefly cultivated by the so-called followers of the mystic Orpheus, and dedicated to the symbolic worship of Bacchus.

Early Greek history and historians, Cadmus, Hellanicus, and Herodotus.

The literary predominance of Athens among the states of Greece, and the glorious literary names which illustrated the capital of Attica during the Peloponnesian war, so fatal to its political influence.

A history of the Greek drama, which is the most elaborate and valuable portion of Müller's labours, and comprises an excellent analysis of the dramas of Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes.

A dissertation on the attractive subject of Greek oratory, which terminates with Isocrates, concludes the portion of the literary history of Greece, due to Professor Müller.

Dr. Donaldson has ably resumed the task where the pen fell from Müller's hand, and, beginning with the Socratic epoch at Athens, ends the history with the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453.

His account of the life and writings of Lucian (b. A.D. 125) is a good example of Dr. Donaldson's style and manner.

There is a valuable chronology of Greek literature at the end of the third volume.

One would be disposed to think that the dramas of the great Greek poets are scarcely to be further illustrated, even by the labour and ingenuity of German commentators; yet the professor of literature in the University of Besançon, Herr H. Wiel, has brought out another edition of the *Agamemnon* of Æschylus,<sup>12</sup> having carefully collated all the extant MSS.—which, however, are but transcripts, with conjectural emendations, of the Medicean MS., dating from the commencement of the eleventh century. A new and excellent edition of the *Wasps* of Aristophanes has also been issued by Dr. Richter.<sup>13</sup> Though almost a work of supererogation (for there can be little to add to the criticism of dramas which have received so complete an exegesis as those of the earliest and ablest of extant Greek comedians), yet the prolegomena are valuable as containing all that is or can be known on the subject of this particular play. If the wit of Aristophanes was coarse and unscrupulous, he is at least entitled to the respect due to dauntless courage in using it against the powerful and selfish democrats, of whom Cleon was the chief, who successively wasted the wealth and credit of Athens. If he sought to injure the memory of Socrates, it was because he viewed the character of that

<sup>12</sup> "*Æschyli Agamemno*," recensuit, adnotatione critica et exegetica adjunct, Henricus Weil, in facultate litterarum Vesontina, Professor. Williams and Norgate. 1858.

<sup>13</sup> "*Aristophanis Vespæ*." Edidit Julius Richter, Phil. Dr. Williams and Norgate. 1858.



great man through the 'discoloured medium of party prejudice, and was himself deceived. Dr. Julius Richter agrees with Michell and Müller in his high estimate of this comedy, rather than with the depreciatory criticism of August Wilhelm von Schlegel.

The copious prolegomena are devoted to the consideration of—1. the era of the composition of the *Wasps*, and its appearance, usually assigned to the second year of the 89th Olympiad, 422 B.C.; the distribution of character in the *Wasps*; the chorus; with a long dissertation on the *dikasteria* and the judicial machinery of Athens, which are ridiculed in the comedy.

Mr. Weale studies condensation and utility in his excellent little volumes; but this learned Handbook<sup>14</sup> is almost too condensed to do justice to the purpose and acquirements of its able author. The languages specially compared are those of the great Indo-Germanic family—viz., English, Anglo-Saxon, Frisian, Flemish, Hoch and Platt Deutsch, Danish, Swedish, Icelandic, Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, and Portuguese.

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<sup>14</sup> "A Short Handbook of Comparative Philology." By Hyde Clarke, D.C.L. London: John Weale. 1858.



THE  
WESTMINSTER  
AND  
FOREIGN QUARTERLY  
REVIEW.

APRIL 1, 1859.

ART. I.—YORKSHIRE.

1. *Picturesque Guide to Yorkshire*. Edinburgh: A. and C. Black. 1858.
2. *Eburacum; or History and Antiquities of the City of York*. By F. Drake, D.D. London: 1753.
3. *The History and Antiquities of Richmondshire, in the County of York*. By T. D. Whitaker, D.D. London: 1827.
4. *The History and Antiquities of Craven*. By T. D. Whitaker, D.D. London: 1807.
5. *The History and Antiquities of Cleveland*. By J. W. Ord. London: 1846.
6. *The History of Hallamshire*. By the Rev. Joseph Hunter. London: 1832.
7. *Vallis Eboracensis*. By Thomas Gill. Easingwold: 1852.
8. *Ancient and Modern History of the Famous City of York*. By Thomas Gent. York: 1730.
9. *Rivers, Mountains, and Sea-coast of Yorkshire*. By Professor Philips. London: 1852.
10. *Annals of Yorkshire*. Leeds: 1851.
11. *A Month in Yorkshire*. By Walter White. London: Longman. 1858.

THE shire of York is the largest, and therefore, according to Fuller, the best in England. All being good, that must be admitted to be best, which, by virtue of its size, has the greatest share of goodness. Lest any from North, South, East, or West  
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should demur to this conclusion, we may remind them of the many claims which Yorkshire has to superadd to her bigness. Nature and man have worked together to give her the pre-eminence. Her place in our island is in the very heart of it—in the vital part of Britain. Her land, rich in every form of native beauty, in mountain and sea-coast, in valley and moor, river and rock, and wood and pasture, in all that can delight the eye and gladden the desire, is the home of all that is most precious in the national sentiment. Her men—a sturdy, shrewd, and stalwart race, hard-headed and hard-fisted—have so notably done their day's work in all time as to have left their mark upon our English history, mainly contributing to make that history what it is. For two thousand years has Yorkshire held her foremost place among the counties, and during all that time has played a chief part in our transactions. Briton, Roman, Saxon, Northman—she has been the theatre of all their most remarkable achievements—a witness to every process by which out of those jarring elements has been wrought the England as we have it. As the nursery of the great Brigantian race—the principal scat of the Roman dominion, and the most powerful of the Saxon kingdoms, at every epoch of our history Yorkshire has held a rank corresponding to her size and natural position. To the Danes and Northmen no part of Britain opposed so long and so stout a resistance, and when finally overcome and added to the Norman conquest, none of the English shires held to its individuality and independence so bravely and steadfastly. And none to this day preserves a more distinct local character.

So there is some ground for the opinion which Yorkshiremen hold of their noble county. Well has her fond old historian observed that she is “the epitome of England; whatever is excellent in the whole land being to be found there.” Every English feature is represented in Yorkshire, which yields every English gift. Quoth Speed, “She is much bound to the singular love and motherly care of Nature, in placing her under so temperate a clime, that in every measure she is indifferently fruitful. If one part of her be stone, and a sandy barren ground, another is fertile and richly adorned with corn-fields. If you here find it naked and destitute of woods, you shall see it there shadowed with forests full of trees, that have very thick bodies, sending forth many fruitful and hospitable branches. If one place of it be moorish, miry, and unpleasant, another makes a free tender of delight, and presents itself to the eye full of beauty and contentive variety.” Especially fortunate indeed is Yorkshire above all other counties in the enthusiasm of her many native historians, from learned Dr. Drake and genial Professor Philips to painful Mr. Gill and ponderous Dr. Whitaker—not omitting qucer, plea-

sant, crazy Mr. Gent. At their hands she has received more justice than usually falls to the lot of British shires, and by their labours is this reviewer much fortified and refreshed unto a like undertaking.

For her land, Yorkshire—Ebona Yunc, Deira, Maxima Cæsariensis—well merits the distinction of having been coveted by every hungry race which came to Britain. Within the limits of the shire, from sea to fell, from Tees to Humber, is held a territory equal in extent to more than one sovereign state of Europe—being quite as large as Wurtemberg, and not much smaller than Greece. The three Ridings (Trithings, or Third-ings), would each make a respectable English county, and vary as much as any three contiguous shires in their natural features. Between Lunedale and Holderness the difference is as great as between Cambridgeshire and North Wales. No one British county presents a surface so diversified. The North Riding, with its sandstone hills, its black moors, its deep clay valleys intervening—the East, with its fat alluvial mud, its tertiary sands, and its chalk wolds—the West, with its lofty limestone ridges, cavernous mountains, and large inland cliffs, constitute between them a region which is a perpetual field of rapture to the geologist and the student of nature.

Accepting Professor Philips as our guide, we shall be at no loss to understand the general character of the surface of Yorkshire. Of its earliest appearance, we are presented by science with a picture too strange to be more than dimly realized. Without going back to that primeval age when jet was coal, and lias, mud—when Plesiosaurus walked the earth, and Ichthyosaurus swam the seas, and that obscene bird Pterodactyle made the air hideous—let us try to conceive those quite latter days when, these being dead and buried, the rhinoceros roamed through the tropical jungle at the base of Hambleton—when the hyæna prowled among the dales, and the hippopotamus sported in the lake which is now the vale of Pickering. Yet the bones of Kirkdale Cave—surely the most interesting of all British geological discoveries—testify that such were among the early inhabitants of Yorkshire. The great vale of York itself was once undoubtedly a sea, when the hill of Creyke was an island, and Whitstonecliffe and Giggleswick Scar were cliffs beaten by waves, just as Flamborough now may be. The singular solitary rocks, or *Mans* as they are called in the county (Cymric *Maen*), were once

Swill'd with the wild and wasteful ocean,

though now far removed from the salt air, and standing in the midst of corn-field and pasture. That the caverns of Ingleborough were hollowed out by the action of water is a most rational belief; and indeed “the main external features of York-

shire," says Professor Philips, "are strictly explicable on the simplest possible theory—viz., that of the long-continued action of the agitated sea on the strata which composed its bed, when this bed was raised to constitute land." The subsidence of the sea, or the upheaval of the land, has left Yorkshire with a vast valley in the centre of it—the richest, most fruitful, and perhaps the most extensive level in Europe—with, on either side, a succession of hill and dale, more frequent and diversified on the west. On this quarter, the spurs of the great Pennine range, aptly termed the backbone of Britain, constitute the boundary ridges of the several dales, which strongly resemble each other in being narrow and truncated at their upper extremities, and descending gradually to the level of the valley. It is here that Ingleborough, Pen-y-ghent, and Mickle Fell, rear their giant forms—here spring the Yorkshire streams, Tees and Lune, Swale and Ure, Wharfe and Aire, whose parallel dales are the homes of a wild beauty scarcely to be matched on our island. Eastward and northward are the lesser hills of Hambleton and Cleveland, rising to a maximum height of 14,000 feet, their sandstone forms presenting a marked contrast to the grander and more picturesque outlines of the western limestone. Farther south, the Wolds, corresponding to the downs which run along our whole eastern seaboard, betray in their bare round tops the presence of that monotonous maker of landscape—chalk.

In the days of the Kelt, and long after, the greater part of Yorkshire must have presented the appearance of one dense forest, inhabited by the red deer, the stag, the wolf, and the wild native cattle, whose descendants still linger in Ribblesdale. When Queen Cartismandua held her court at Aldborough, the Brigantian towns were no more than circular stone encampments on the wooded hill-tops—corresponding, excepting in their artillery, to such jungle-fortresses as Amathie and Shunkerpore, as sketched by the vigorous hand of "Our Own Correspondent." What clearance was made by the Romans and Saxons became again a wilderness during the troubled era of the Conquest; and William, who loved the stag better than the Saxon, turned whole wapentakes into wood again. In Edward the Second's reign, it was complained that there were not men enough in the county to fight the king's battles against the Scots. The last wolf is said to have been killed in the neighbourhood of Leeds by John of Gaunt about the commencement of the fourteenth century. The greater part of Sherwood Forest was in this county, extending in a straight line from Whitby to Nottingham town. It was here that Robin Hood held his domain—a hero whom soulless theorists would resolve into empty fable. Here was the scene of his most memorable exploits—here he chased

the king's deer, and shot his unerring shafts—here he met that “curtall fryer,” whom he compelled to carry him pick-a-back over the Skell, hard by Fountains Abbey—here he fought with the Pinder of Wakefield, beguiled the nuns of St. Hilda, and was basely bled to death by the nun of Kirklees. Traces of the famous ballad-hero, whom a late writer would somewhat absurdly convert into a Saxon champion as against the Norman domination, abound throughout Yorkshire; and at Kirklees Park, near Huddersfield, they still point out the shrine of the wood-god, with an apocryphal inscription, which concludes despairingly with the reflection that

Such outlaws as he and his men,  
Will England never see agen.

Let him rest, *mitissimus prædonum*. That sort of outlaw at least is extinct, with Sherwood Forest and its sylvan glories. Down to Elizabeth's time, indeed, it existed, occupying a space equal to the present New Forest. In Camden's days, the whole of Richmondshire was also a thick wood, abounding in wild animals, extending to the walls of York, near which city it bore the name of the Forest of Galtres.\* The Forest of Galtres has long since disappeared, and it is difficult even to trace the signs of its existence. Time and the Commons' Enclosure Act have worked together to obliterate every surface feature of the old county. The scenes of the past are hardly to be verified, amidst modern improvements. The sites of battle-fields are but painfully recognised; and over British and Roman camps antiquaries have fought as stoutly as ever did their original inhabitants. Which is Cataractonium, and where is Camulodunum, are questions yet agitating the souls of men. Nature herself is so altered that we can scarcely bring ourselves to believe that the savage and desolate county of our ancestors is the tame, populous, and peaceful shire of York. Yet the horrid craggy wilderness which affrighted the imagination of Camden still exists in almost its primitive condition, were we to seek it in the head of Swaledale, about Muker and Mallerstang. Here lies a district as wild as New Zealand, with inhabitants nearly as rude and simple—here, where the Hell-Becks are believed to designate their source, where the fairies still sport, and the giants still work, and the Boggle-Boggarts—which are a kind of Yorkshire Puck—invoigle

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\* A curious reminiscence of this period is preserved in a custom which is still maintained at St. Michael's Church in York, of ringing a bell at six o'clock every morning, to guide travellers through the forest. The Church of All Saints, in the Pavement, preserves also a lantern, which used to be hung on the tower, with the same object.

young maidens and frighten old men—where they still dance round the Beltane, and preserve more than an antique rite and picturesque superstition.

No county is so rich in local character and distinctive features, yet each Riding has a character and features of its own, not to be confounded but by ignorant Southerners. To the natives, Yorkshire is only a general term, and conveys no distinctive idea. The three Ridings differ as much *inter se*, as any three separate counties. The North is partly agricultural, partly pastoral, and, latterly, partly mining. The East is almost wholly agricultural, as the West is industrial and mechanical. Over the other two, the North Riding has always claimed precedence, geographically and in all otherwise. It is difficult to make its people believe that there is any air so pure, any corn so good, any "beasts" so fine, any horses so fleet, any manners so gentle, or any race so altogether well-bred elsewhere in the kingdom. And the impartial witness will allow that there is some ground for the preference which Yorkshiremen give to their favourite Riding. There is indeed no fairer portion of England. Although boasting of no great cities like Leeds or Bradford, and almost entirely overlooked by the genius of commerce, the North Riding is rich in natural endowments above most English counties. Nature has worked here in her most genial mood. All that should make a land happy, and a people blessed—all that tends to beget and keep alive the holy spirit of home feeling, is to be found here in rare plenty. Among its household possessions in hill and vale, there are none more excellent in their kinds than Rosebury Topping and Mickle-Fell, Swaledale and Wensleydale. For rivers, which are the dearest objects and the liveliest elements of the local sentiment, we have Ure, and Swale, and Esk, Rye, Lune, and Greta, with half of Derwent and Tees—more than heart can wish. (They name them in Yorkshire without the definite article, as being friends too old for that ceremony.)

To the natural treasures of the North Riding is to be added more than usual store of historic glory. No district in England, and that is a wide word, is more rich in kindling associations. From the earliest times it has been the stage of mighty men,—the theatre of famous deeds. Not a square mile but has its history, a history more than local. And as Yorkshire is the epitome of England, so the North Riding is the essence of Yorkshire. No part of England has led a busier life, none has exhibited a more vigorous vitality, or added more useful elements to the common life. Kelt, Roman, Saxon, Dane, and Norman, each has left his mark upon this favoured and coveted region; and from each it has drawn what was most precious in him to give. The Britons may yet be traced by palpable signs—by their

funereal mounds, old, rusty weapons, and relics of camps on the hill-tops—by the hills themselves, as the oldest things they have left us. The Romans live eternally in their legacy of jurisprudence, as in their monuments of valour, mechanic skill, and citizenship. The Saxons have left their honesty, love of order, and steadfastness; their rude religious foundations, with here and there a cross or a sun-dial. The Normans have endowed us more richly with their shrewd daring, their high-souled chivalry and far-reaching ambition; their noble piety and magnificent penitence, blossoming into rarest forms of grace and ædificial splendour.

Of all these ancestral gifts, the North Riding has had an overflowing share. From mountain to sea, from Filey Brig to Cronkley Scar, the country is strewn with monuments of its early masters, in tumulus and camp, in castle and abbey, in church and battle-field. There is scarce a hill without its tower, or beck in which the smallest trout might swim without its old religious house—the sin being usually side by side with the atonement. But to commence our survey in order, let us mount Rosebury Topping, and look over the famous district of Cleveland; famous for horses as well as for clay, and the Phthiotis of our British Thessaly. Rosebury Topping itself is to the Clevelander what the Wrekin is to the border Welshman—a sort of household god and tutelary influence.\* From the summit the view takes in the whole of this corner of Yorkshire, from the sea to the hazy western hills, and far away over the Durham coal-fields to the headlands of Northumberland, the latter being backed by the dark edge of the Whitby Black-a-Moor. To the north-east, where lie the broad lands of the Earl of Zetland, is a district of extraordinary note in our annals. This little nook of Cleveland has been the nursery, says the local historian, of “mighty monarchs, queens, high-chancellors, archbishops, earls, barons, ambassadors, and knights.” Here was planted the stock of Stuart, and hence flowed the blood which now runs in the veins of half the royal houses of Europe. For this was the early home of the Bruces, and here was born more than one hero of that great race before even King Robert, the mightiest of the name—a native Yorkshireman, as Scotland is slow to admit. The earliest De Brus was one of the most famous of the Conqueror’s allies, and received for his share of the booty no less than 94 manors in Yorkshire. For several centuries after him

\* According to the familiar local distich, it is among other things a barometer to the country round:—

When Rosebury Topping wears a cap,  
Let Cleveland then beware of a clap.



the family held supreme sway in Cleveland, and up to Robert Bruce's time were certainly more English than Scotch, although it also held the earldom of Annandale over the Border. These De Brus's lived at Danby and Skelton castles, in their Cleveland domain, the ruins of which attest their ancient grandeur. The second baron of the name was one of the chief leaders of the English at the battle of the Standard, and built Guisborough Priory, where lies buried the Bruce who was the competitor with Baliol for the Scottish throne—the Baliols being also from this district. Another famous De Brus was Peter, the sixth of the name, who signed Magna Charta, in company with no less than four other Cleveland barons, namely—Robert de Roos, Richard de Percy, William de Mowbray, and Roger de Mowbray. The Bruces, long since extinct in the male line, are faintly represented in the female by the present Marquis of Aylesbury, who still holds some of their old lands. Of the ancient North Riding families, how many, indeed, are extant in these days? How empty the modern boast of Norman blood! Where are the Fitz-Hughs, Fitz-Alans, Fitz-Ranulphs, the great seignorial houses? Where is Mowbray, Neville, Scroope, Eure, D'Arcy, De Mauley, Baliol, Aske, Clervaux, Bulmer, Melton, or Furnival? Marmion survives only in figment. The last of the Conyers—that famous house—died a pauper in a workhouse. The rich blood of the Rokebys thinned down and ran out into a carpenter a century ago. The sturdiest sceptic of hereditary virtue cannot but be moved to a sentiment of melancholy at the extinction of the old historic names. Yet the fact is a refutation of all the vulgar theories as to antique blood and long descent. Blood, like wine, it is certain, has its youth, its prime, and its season of decay. However much the old stock may be pruned and grafted on, the root will in some time be rotten. Let the Normans rest. They have done their work, and left their legacy. It is as idle to wish them back as to pretend that our modern noble houses do, any considerable portion of them, represent the race from which they borrow their names. We all know that the Duke of Northumberland is no Percy, any more than the Duke of Norfolk is a Mowbray. Here in Cleveland the changes are notable, for an Earl of Zetland holds Marske and Upleatham, and a Marquis of Normanby is lord of Mulgrave woods, though in vain shall you seek for either Phipps or Dundas in the rolls of the Norman baronage. Yet there are families of the middle class, and yeomen, who have clung for centuries to the soil. The Cholmleys still survive at Whitby, and the Chaloners, who gave us the great soldier-statesman, Sir Thomas, of the seventeenth century, are to be found flourishing in Guisborough; but Iofthouse has long since lost the memory of the "Snake-killer," and Kirkleatham knows no hero earlier than

Tom Brown, the bold Dettingen dragoon. There is now a new life in Cleveland. Since the discovery of the vast iron-stone deposits in its hills, it has advanced rapidly to a foremost place among British iron districts. Nearly 200,000 tons of metal were produced last year, and, from a purely agricultural, it is fast becoming a mining country—to the benefit neither of its morals nor its green woods, sadly befouled by furnace smoke. The town of Middlesborough has sprung up on the new industry with the rapidity of a young American settlement, and is now the capital of the district, with a population of ten thousand.

The northern seaboard of Yorkshire, from Tees-mouth to Whitby, is, for the first part, a flat, sandy shore, of no particular interest, rising, as it trends south and east, into bolder forms, and about Staithes—a queer little fishing village, hanging to the cliff like a cluster of martins' nests—into elevations of six hundred feet and more. At Redcar there is probably the dreariest of watering-places. Whitby, with its traditions of the Dane, and its noble abbey, so boldly fronting the sea, whose saint appears every day at a particular window (if you could only see her), and to whom the sea-birds do homage by dipping their wings when they come near, has a newer fame in connexion with Captain Cook, who made his first voyage from Esk-mouth, and ever held Whitby-built ships in peculiar esteem. It was in the abbey that the Monk Cædmon wrote his poem, and of the three barons who slew a member of the fraternity, and their penance, is it not written in *Marmion*?—They still show where the shafts of Robin Hood fell when the gentle outlaw, being a guest of the abbess, gave his notable proof of skill in wood-craft; and here are to be found those "headless snakes" of St. Hilda, the Ammonites—"certain stones," says Speed, "fashioned like unto serpents, folded and wrapped round in a wreath; even the very pastimes of nature, who, when she is wearied with serious workes, sometimes forgoeth and shapeth things by way of sport and recreation." But if any should wish to see how otherwise nature doth sometimes recreate herself, travelling in her power of beauty, let him pursue the course of the charming river Esk up to Arncliffe Woods and Beggar's Bridge. And if this will not content him, sated with wood, and rock, and river, in all their loveliest combinations, let him take the old coach road along the moor between Whitby and Pickering. Here lies what is vulgarly called the "Yorkshire Switzerland," but that it does not need to borrow any foreign name, having its own native beauty, which is no more Swiss than it is Dutch. Glimpses of this beauty are caught even on the railway which runs along the natural cutting made for it—a line the most romantically conceived of any in the kingdom, and which, we learn without any

disappointment, does not pay. That outrage has been spared at least to the *genius loci*. To the left of this line, coming downwards, is some wild country up to the sea-edge, with dales curiously intermixed, and looking as if they had been lost there; from which issue eccentrically the head springs of the Derwent, flowing past the domain of Hackness, and through the picturesque Forge Valley—standard show-places—until it enters the narrow valley which is the highway to Scarborough. This “Queen of English Watering-places,” as the guide-books have it, in many respects is worthy of the title. There is no finer sea-view in the kingdom than is had here, whether from the South Cliff or the Castle Hill. In the full tide of its September season, nothing can be gayer than the scene on the Scarborough promenade. It is Brighton *plus* sand, wood, grass, and scenery—everything but sea, in which one particular the southern watering-place has the advantage; the sea here being usually of a tame character, and a dull, unwholesome colour. Otherwise Scarborough is richly dowered in her grand old castle, so famous in all the northern troubles, in the Barons’ War, and the Pilgrimage of Grace, and for its stout defence against the Commonwealth, and, more lately, as the prison of the proto-Quaker, George Fox, who suffered much martyrdom of a mild sort within these walls, and has left a dolorous account of his woes. The local proverb—“A Scarborough warning—a word and a blow, and the blow first”—points doubtless to the vigilance with which the garrison kept watch and ward over passing ships; and not to the generally received story of Lord Stafford’s surprise of the castle from Sir Thomas Wyatt’s men. Oliver’s Mount, rising six hundred feet from the plain, and so called from a foolish tradition that Cromwell once planted his cannon here for the attack of the castle, commands a magnificent prospect over land and sea, defined sharply to the south by the bold outline of Flamborough Head, and taking in, on a clear day, even the towers of Castle Howard, full thirty miles inland.

Turning our backs on the sea, we enter the Vale of Pickering—once, the geologists tell us, an inland loch or estuary. It is now one of the most fruitful districts of the North Riding, with many interesting remains of antiquity scattered through its cheerful villages. Pickering itself has the usual castle, more than usually ancient, where King Richard the Second was confined previous to his removal to Pontefract; and where Fair Rosamond, it is said, was once a prisoner. Rosamond’s Tower still exists almost perfect; and the Devil Tower points to some yet grimmer tradition. At Cropton, in the neighbourhood, are some remarkable British mounds, at Cawthorne a Roman camp, and at Lastingham a church with much fine Norman work in its simple circular arches and vaulted crypt. Malton, which Professor Philips

will not have to be the Roman *Camulodunum*, is a fine bustling agricultural town, with what Lord Carlisle would call a "well-conditioned" air about it, being the centre of a fruitful and prosperous district. The old manor of the Vescis is now, man and soil, the property of the great Whig house of Wentworth—it being a familiar saying, that the wind dare not blow down the High-street of Malton without the permission of the Lord Fitzwilliam. The Earls of Carlisle have their famous seat—Castle Howard—in this neighbourhood, where that lightest of dramatists and heaviest of architects, Sir John Vanbrugh, has laid one of his painfulest loads on the earth. The house is a wonder of cumbrous magnificence, yet holds some of the greatest treasures of art—the "Three Marys," Vandyck's portrait of Snyders, Bellini's "Circumcision," and the grand Flemish masterpiece, the "Adoration of the Kings," by Jean Mabeuse. The pleasure-grounds are as charming as wealth can make them; and the view from the terrace looking over the park really lordlike and splendid.

It was here, while gazing at this scene but a few days before his strangely melancholy end, that Samuel Romilly said to Sydney Smith—"These are the things that make death terrible." Yet life was then less pleasant to the wit than to the lawyer. It was at the miserable little village of Foston-le-Clay, within sight of Lord Carlisle's domain, that the greatest master of English humour and common sense wore out the best years of his manhood, in the dull drudgery of parish duty, upon a pittance which his lordship's butler would have scorned; to the eternal shame of the party for which he fought with all the power of his great heart and fine intellect; the party to which he gave character, name, success, and place, nay, everything but a conscience and decency. If he had been endowed with no wit and less goodness; had he started a new theory of the Greek particles, or edited a fragment of Euripides, or rattled at a convenient season, or married Somebody's niece or cousin; had he only been plucked at college, and then taken to unctuous Evangelicism, he could hardly have escaped a bishopric. But being a simple good man with only genius, it was ordained that he should be perpetual curate of a dreary Yorkshire village in a clay country. Hid behind a friendly screen of trees stands Sydney Smith's parsonage; the house which he built himself with the aid of the village carpenter and the village mason, and which he termed the "ugliest and most comfortable in England." Leaving Foston in its clay, we come to the stately ruin of Sheriff Hutton Castle, built by Bertrand de Bulmer, and a famous fortress in the wars of King Stephen, going afterwards to the Nevilles of Wensleydale. At the little village of Sittenham

was born the poet Gower, the first of the Yorkshire worthies in that line, the others being George Sandys, Edward Fairfax, William Congreve, Samuel Garth, William Mason, and Ebenezer Elliott. Gilling, the ancient home of the Fairfaxes, and before them of the Mowbrays, is one of the cleanest and tidiest villages in Yorkshire; and for a neighbour has Newborough, the pleasant abode of the Wombwells, who descend from the old Fauconbergs, and, through the Lord Fauconberg who married Mary Cromwell, have some of that mighty blood in their veins. In their hall are exhibited some Cromwell relics, a sabre, a pair of pistols, a hat, and a saddle. The country about here is very finely wooded, the beeches being especially notable for their size and stateliness. Leaving Coxwold, the village of Lawrence Sterne, we come to Byland Abbey, a Cistercian house of Roger de Mowbray's foundation, and one of the most beautiful, in all but site, in Yorkshire. Enough remains of the great west window, larger in diameter than that in the south transept of York Minster, to prove its early magnificence. The monks, it is said, first settled themselves at Old Byland, opposite to Rievaulx, but the bells of that abbey sounded ungratefully near in their ears, and so they moved, and after many wanderings came to their present site. Their founder, Roger de Mowbray himself, lies buried in the chapter-house; and deserves a fuller record as one of the greatest of the Norman barons of the twelfth century; a model man of the age immediately succeeding the Conquest, when the invaders had lost their foreign character, and were already become Englishmen. And there is no phenomenon in our English history so remarkable, so fortunate in its consequences, as the ease and rapidity with which those hardy rugged Northern adventurers adopted a new nationality, and became merged into the great body of the people. Nor is it less to the credit of the Saxons that, unlike some of their neighbours, they like sensible men very speedily conformed to the new state of things, and instead of keeping up a chronic howl and whine, resolutely set themselves to make the best of it. This Roger de Mowbray, who was statesman as well as soldier, being one of King Stephen's chief partisans, and a comrade of King Louis in his crusade, must have been either an enormous sinner, or a very glutton for absolution, for he founded no less than thirty-five religious houses in the county of York. And for this, if for nothing else, let his memory smell sweet and blossom from his nettle-grown tomb where he lies in his favourite abbey. Too much account cannot be made of these old Gothic ruins, if not as exemplars of piety, at least for bringing down to us what would otherwise have been lost, the true art of building.

The Vale of Mowbray, so called from that great house whose

original fee it was, with Thirsk for its capital, is the pride of Yorkshiremen for that sort of trim and fruitful beauty which is only to be found in England, and is as impossible to the countries of Europe as a jockey or a whitethorn hedge, or that sweet green grass which grows on Hambleton Down, and makes the famous training-place for the famous Yorkshire races. Here, under the crest of the hill, is also a White Mare, as locally celebrated as that whose glories have so pleasantly occupied the author of "Tom Brown." Here, for an unrivalled prospect of all that is best in Yorkshire, take your stand on the edge of Hambleton End, above Whitestone Cliff, on a clear July afternoon. From a sheer height of a thousand feet, you look over the whole vast plain of York, away on the right to far Pen-y-ghent and Whernside—on the left to the cold barren Wolds, with their round monotonous forms. In the blue distance stands boldly out York Minster, like some tall ship at sea, while at your feet lies Gormire, smallest of lakes, glistening like a great jewel, as it is. No pleasanter or more extensive prospect is to be shown in England; and, if you can dispense with size and savagery, none more satisfying to the senses. No wonder that the district immediately surrounding the escarped end of Hambleton—the giant's wall, according to the legend, when the giants were here—is known as the *Happy Valley*; and if the happiness of Yorkshiremen, who are a shrewd people in that respect, lie in sweet air, a kindly soil, much corn, the vicinity of a training ground, and so pretty a village as Sutton for their centre and metropolis (a model village this, and not to be confounded with unnumbered other Suttons in the country,) then are the natives here supremely blest. But to the immediate east is a region scarcely less full of delight, over the high downs to Ryedale and Bilsdale, and the romantic district, once the barony of Walter de l'Espee, and now the property of the Duncombes. The old Cistercian Abbey of Rievaulx, founded by that great baron himself, a man of note, and one of the three English leaders at the battle of the Standard, is an exquisite exemplar of Early English—perhaps the most interesting, both for itself and its site, of all the Yorkshire abbeys. Less perfect and splendid than Fountains, and perhaps equalled by Bolton in point of scenery, there is a charm about Rievaulx such as no other ruin excites. If all else was lost of the beautiful old works of faith, this alone would serve to teach us how we English could once build; to the glory of God and the delight of man. Where is now that art and faith? Amidst all our formalisms, literalisms, and spiritualisms, what have we done in these days to equal the least of those old edifices? Great, and not sufficiently acknowledged, is the national burden of obligation to those poor monks who, in the early

days at least, must have had their hearts in their work, or else whence their feeling of truth in beauty—whence their will to plan, and their power to do these things? With all her wealth and means, what has Protestantism done to the service of God and art?—We are not even ashamed of an ex-Prime Minister who can get up among the assembled Commons of England, and talk of Gothic architecture as a “barbarism,” and who deliberately prefers Somerset House to Westminster Abbey.

To see Rievaulx aright, nature and the Lord Feversham have lent a terrace of grass, overlooking the sequestered vale of Rye, with its innumerable gorges and tangled woods. Hither let the pilgrim come in that period of the year which is the glory of our English climate—the brief, gay interval between spring and summer, when the dainty leaves have not yet lost their first delicate hue, and the tender ash is only just beginning to clothe herself—when the May-flower is yet in the bud, and the last of the violets still on the ground. Here, stretched on the soft turf, he may command a view of the ruin between the mountain-ashes which fringe the steep sides of the terrace, and give himself freely to its sweet influence, undisturbed but by the bubbling of Rye over its tiny falls, or

The moan of doves in immemorial elms.

He will thank the Lords Feversham, who, in erecting those two hideous temples at each end of the terrace, have done nothing more to spoil what is the best thing in all their wide domain, extending, as it does, thirty miles among the dales in a straight line. Duncombe Park is theirs, famous for its beeches, and its house, heavier and clumsier than even Castle Howard, and by the same builder; also the old castle of Helmsley, once the stronghold of the De Roos, who obtained the fee of “Hamlac,” by marriage, from Walter de l’Espece’s daughter. It afterwards came to the family of Villiers, and was bought from the second duke by Sir Charles Duncombe, from whom the present Lord Feversham inherits. Pope has made a note of the transfer, in his memorable picture of Buckingham—

And Helmsley, once proud Buckingham’s delight,  
Slides to a scrivener or a city knight.

The banqueting-house, built by this mad British Alcibiades, the scene of many a wild revel, exists now in ruins; also that house at Kirby Moorside, not far off, wherein the Duke died—by no means the “worst inn,” but a decent substantial tenement. The record of the great man’s death in the registry is literally in the language of Yorkshire, as follows—“Gorge Vilaus, Lord dooke of bookingum.” Here, in this neighbourhood, is Kirkdale, with its old Saxon church, and curious inscription, declaring it to have

been built when Edward was king, and Tosti earl; and its cave, so famous for the fossil bones therein discovered of tropical animals, which, when first found, still retained their animal gelatine.

The centre of the North Riding is occupied by the ancient district of Richmondshire, the most valuable, perhaps, of all the single feofs bestowed by the Conqueror upon his companions. Originally the patrimony of the Saxon earl Edwin—Edwin the Beautiful—it fell to the share of Alan, son of Howel, Earl of Brittany, who married William's daughter Hawise, and was among the most potent of the great barons in chief. This Earl Alan brought with him a great number of his countrymen, to plant them here; and it has been said that marks of this Armorican settlement are yet to be traced in the countenances and the speech of the men of Richmond. And doubtless it was to this immigration that the old sarcastic Saxon rhyme bore reference—

William de Cognisby  
Came out of Brittany,  
With his wife Tiffany,  
And his maid Manfras,  
And his dog Hardigras.

The fee of Richmondshire remained in the uneasy possession of the Dukos of Brittany, descendants of Alan, for upwards of two hundred years, its owners being sorely puzzled to choose between their two *suzerains*, and never being able to make up their minds whether they should be French or English. And long after these Breton Dukos had lost their fair Yorkshire earldom, they continued to hug themselves with the title, even until the marriage of the last legitimate heiress, Anne of Brittany, with Charles IX. Among the lineal descendants of Earl Alan was Constance, wife of Geoffrey Plantagenet; and another was Regent of Scotland, in King Edward the First's days. Richmond, the capital, is a fine old feudal town, nobly placed above the brawling stream of Swale, with its great Norman keep, built by Earl Conan, rising 100 feet above the rock, and 200 above the river. The whole castle, which occupies a space of nearly six acres, was, without doubt, one of the strongest places in the North, and for that reason has scarcely any history. It is a maiden fortress, and was never taken or besieged, even by the Commonwealth men—time being the only enemy who has made the present breaches. The vaults beneath the keep, with their curious groined arches springing from a common centre, are full of interest to the archæologist. Here to this castle did Ranulph de Glanville bring his illustrious prisoner, William the Lion, having taken the Scottish king in a daring foray at Alnwick; and here, in some



secret cave beneath, untrodden by man, sleep Arthur and his knights, awaiting the time when, according to the legend, England's deadly peril shall arouse them to life once more and fierce enterprise. There is a picturesque local tradition, which, often told in print, may be repeated here, for its fine spirit of romantic dreaming. Once on a time, very long ago, a man wandering about here found his way by some chance, "conducted by a mysterious personage," says one authority, into an underground vault, wherein he saw, to his great surprise, a company of knights all in a deep sleep. Observing the enchanted sword (doubtless that famous brand, Excalibur), he half drew it from its sheath, but a motion among the sleepers frightened him so that he let slip the blade to its place. As he fled in terror, the following mysterious words met his ear:—

"Potter, Potter Thomson!  
If thou hadst either drawn  
The sword, or blown that horn,  
Thou'd been the luckiest man  
That ever yet was born!"

So ended the Yorkshireman's adventure and the hopes of England.

This part of the North Riding has been happy in a topographer so careful, learned, and elaborate as Dr. Whitaker. Yet the greatest charm of his ponderous folios is the illustrations by Turner—then not be-Ruskined into his full fame. Richmondshire has no reason to complain of her painter, who has done even excessive justice to her castles and her abbeys, her rocks and streams—which, in a fine spirit of poetry, are made sometimes better than nature. St. Agatha's Abbey, at Easby, needed no exaggeration, for though singularly irregular in its architectural forms, it is one of the prettiest ruins imaginable. At Easby Church, close by, lie many generations of Scroope, and Aske, and Conyers. Aske Hall, once the property of the family of that name, has been since 1760 the chief seat of the Dundases, who are the great Whig house of the North Riding, and divide the political power with their rivals in birth and antiquity, as in estate, the Tory Duncombes. The Duke of Leeds, at Hornby Castle, represents the race of Conyers; while the Fitz-Hughs, whose great stronghold was at Ravensworth, in this county, have for centuries been extinct. Advancing up Tees, we come to the scenes of Scott's poem of "Rokeby,"—Rokeby itself, and Brignall Banks, made also memorable by Turner, Mortham Tower, Egglestone, and Deepdale, with all the exquisite combinations of wood and water in which this romantic district abounds. The spot where Greta mingles with Tees—

Issuing from her darksome bed  
To catch the morning's eastern red,  
And through the softening vale below  
Roll her bright waves in rosy glow—

is a scene to be remembered by all who have wandered here; though there is too much of "rosy glow" both in the poet's and the painter's picture. It might have been wished that they had been content to render just what nature has given, and no more. The tourist in Teesdale will have a surfeit of such beauty before he has reached the Westmoreland border; and if he is an angler, as he should be to know all the secret of the woods—to be made free of the Force, and to hear what the rocks roar and the alders whisper—let him tarry in Lunedale as in a land of content, coming in with the May-fly and going out with the dun. If an antiquary, he will observe what Scott has noted, the Runic names of the streams hercabout—as Woden's Beck, Thorgill, and Balder's Beck. Between Lunedale and Upper Swaledale is a wild, untrodden region of fell and moor, which let none enter who has not a bold heart, stout legs, and enduring bowels. The rude stone huts of its primitive people are almost Druidical in their form and structure; and there are other traces, such as the dance round the Beltane, to show how long the Druids lingered here. Yet the natives have a very proper notion of their own social value. "Mr. White, if you had wanted a wife, do you think you could choose one out of Swaledale?"—asked a strapping lass of our pleasant traveller; and indeed Mr. White might do worse. The dalesmen are a stalwart, comely race, the finest extant specimens, perhaps, of the pure Anglo-Saxons; for no Norman or Dane ever reached so far into the heart of the country. Their women have a deserved local celebrity for good looks. As to the rest, it is idle to suppose that nature is not nature, even in the dales. The notion of pastoral virtue has been formally dispelled by that useful public officer, the Registrar-General. Arcadian purity has gone out since shepherds have ceased to wear satin breeches and to carry crooks; and in this degenerate age it must be held that, in point of morals, an English country village is no better than a populous manufacturing city. Mr. White lends his testimony to the unsavoury fact that "Adam and Eve" balls are held in certain of the seemingly most correct rural towns of Yorkshire; and every inspector of rural police knows what a village feast means and how statute-hirings are concluded.

Wensleydale is larger, more attractive, and interesting than its neighbour valley, and has led a more stirring life. In point of natural beauty, it may be placed first among the Yorkshire dales; for there is nothing elsewhere to surpass the grandeur of the view

from the Buttertubs Pass, looking over Ingleborough and Whornside, or the soft beauty of the prospect from Leyburn Shawl, or Middleham Castle. Here was the castle of the great race of Neville—the most remarkable perhaps of all the early baronial families, for the number of its illustrious members. Indeed, it was to mediæval England almost what Douglas was to Scotland. Originally sprung from Waltheof, the great Saxon Earl of York, the Nevilles held in their veins the best Norman mingled with the best Saxon blood. The King-maker himself, who held his court at Middleham, is the grandest figure of our English fifteenth century. The Scroopes succeeded the Nevilles in the lordship of Wensleydale, and though of inferior descent, arrived at scarcely less renown. Bolton Castle, famous for its memories of Queen Mary, was their seat, and hence issued, in the course of 300 years, the following long train of notabilities, namely, an archbishop, two bishops, two earls, twenty barons, one lord chancellor, two chief justices, four lord treasurers, and five knights of the Garter. These Scroopes, it will be seen, were men of law and letters, as well as of arms; and an old historian remarks of them, that “they were uniformly devoted to their own advancement,” being none the worse Yorkshiremen for that. Yet, while attempting to mount the ladder on Bacon’s method, “by siding themselves in the rising,” they sometimes got an ugly tumble, as witness the fate of the Lord Scroope of Masham, the friend and councillor of King Henry V., whose base revolt his master likened to “another fall of man.” Among the illustrious men of this family was the Archbishop of York, “a hot and furious man,” who led a rebellion against Henry IV. for the sake of a “reformation of abuses,” turning, as the traitor Westmoreland declared,—

———His tongue divine

To a loud trumpet and a point of war.

The Archbishop’s execution was the first instance of capital punishment being inflicted in England upon any prelate. Another Scroope of fame was the

Lord Scroope of Bolton, stern and stout,

who led the men of Wensleydale to Flodden Field, and took so notable a revenge for the many injuries they had suffered from the Scots. Indeed, the greater part of Lord Surrey’s army seems to have been composed, on that memorable occasion, of the Yorkshire dalesmen. For the Cliffords were also there, with all the flower of Craven. But we cannot pretend within our limits to give even a bare catalogue of the Wensleydale worthies and their high achievements, or to describe a tithe of the wonders and beauties of this happy region. To Yorkshiremen of the latter days, not the least object of interest in this part of the country is Middleham Moor, which,

with Whitewall and Hambleton, is among the most cherished institutions of Yorkshire, being where the purest horse-blood in Europe is begotten and trained to that extreme tenuity of perfection which is the envy and boast of the British turf. In no part of England perhaps is the passion for horse-racing more genuine, or the skill in horse-craft more general. If there is indeed any one talent which a Yorkshireman may be said to possess, it is that of being able to breed, run, and sell a horse; and it may be seriously questioned whether any event of the present century has so agitated the universal race of *tykes* as the victory of Blink Bonny at Epsom, or the contest between the Dutchman and Voltigeur over Knavesmire course. Endless jokes are current at the expense of Yorkshiremen, and their passion for horses. "Shake a bridle over a Yorkshireman's grave," says the proverb, "and he will arise and steal a horse." None are fonder of alluding to their feats of bargaining than themselves, and there is no song more popular throughout the country than a certain ditty which tells how that, on one occasion, Greek meeting Greek, a *tyke* having "swopped" his dead horse for a supposed living one, discovers that his rival's steed was both dead and skinned! This is held to be a most exquisite joke, and one of the greatest triumphs of native wit. No ambition, indeed, may be said to be more hopeless than to outmatch a Yorkshireman in a horse bargain.

It is vain to seek among the people of the North Riding for distinct marks of their original parentage. Minute ethnology is perhaps the least exact and most profitless of sciences. The Englishman, said De Foe in spite, is the mud of all the races; and from that useful conglomerate called the Yorkshireman it is as difficult to detect and draw out the component elements as to a given quantity of Humber alluvium to assign every parent rock and every creative force. The analogy perhaps is not perfect, for the conditions under which man exists are subject to influences beyond the power of analysis or definition. A composite race has a character of its own, the proportions of which may not always be found in any of its germs. As in chemistry, the mixture of two animal forces may produce a third quite distinct in its nature from either. The effect of civilization must also be allowed. Common laws, common life, a common organization, have tended to obliterate generic distinctions. It is only very generally and broadly that we can pretend to distinguish Kelt or Teuton, Roman or Northman, in the modern Yorkshireman. That the Danish element prevails on the coast and along the great river-courses—the Norman and the Roman in the larger towns and richer valleys—the Saxon in the inland dales, and the British in the still more remote and inaccessible regions—are safe conclusions, in which we are con-

firmed by the evidences of form, language, and physiognomy. In the large-framed, muscular, and massive dalesman, fair-haired, and blue-eyed, and broad of speech, it is easy to recognise the Saxon type. The darker-haired, smaller-boned, thickset people of the coast, with their sterner countenance, and language approaching closely to modern Jute and Frisian, suggest the presence of the sea-loving race of Denmark. Their kinsmen, the men of the farther north, whether of the direct Norwegian breed, or of the filtrated Norman-French, may be indubitably found among the higher ranks—in the oval countenance, and the regular features, and by marks not less physical than moral. Of the Romans, who were no more than a garrison in Britain, with much admixture of Slavonian, Pannonian, Spanish, and even Scythian in their ranks, the traces are perhaps less evident, yet not altogether lost in York and some of the older towns.

The men of the North Riding, who may stand as fair representatives for the county in general, are, taken as a whole, as fine a success in judicious cross-breeding as their horses or their beasts. They have some of the best parts of the national character, being bold, industrious, sober, steadfast, and thrifty. They are a thorough, downright, hearty people, with a firm faith in themselves and their county—as free from the unrealities and the sentimentalities as from the delicacies of moral life. Honest, yet not romantically so, and keenly alive to the sense of gain, their favourite maxim is—“I don't want to chate or to be chated; but if it must be one or t'other, why, then I wouldn't be chated.” Yet they are credited with more liberality than their brethren of the West Riding, and are less ready to accept the alternative implied in their proverb. They are also less restless, and more content. Wages are good throughout the Riding, and agricultural work generally well understood, well done, and well paid. With fourteen or fifteen shillings a week, an ordinary labourer's earnings—and the minimum upon which English homes are to be kept, and English men and women reared—there is very little complaint of want of employment—the poor-rates and crime are below the average, and there is scarcely any emigration.

In all material and economical respects, the West Riding is the foremost district of England, having Lancashire alone for its rival in industry, skill, and enterprise. It is the native home of handicraft, or rather of steam-craft, contributing in extravagant proportion to the wealth and substantial greatness of the country. It clothes one-third of the human race in wool, and finds them in files and pen-knives. It furnishes our wardrobes, our dinners, and our armouries. It feeds, wraps, shaves, and stabs the greater part of humanity subject to those processes; and is the veritable final cause of sheep and iron.

The capital of the clothing district is Leeds, not without a struggle\* from Bradford. The rivalry between these towns is great and inextinguishable. It is said that a letter was once sent through the post addressed, "Leeds, near Bradford," to the infinite glee of the latter, which is much the younger town. But the Leeds people have survived that great blow and discouragement, and, as a recent assertion of superiority, have built themselves a magnificent Town Hall, wherein royalty has been entertained with much effusion. Woollen and linen cloths, iron, and machinery, are the principal manufactures of Leeds, employing between them no less than 13,000 persons—otherwise it is an uninteresting town, as are most of these great smoky seats of industry. The sentiment of manufacture has not yet at least superseded that of nature or history. We are bound to accept the change wrought by steam and spinning; but yet it is with some melancholy that we witness all the old beauty of Airedale destroyed, its clear streams turned to noisome sewers, its trees spoiled and slain, and one thick, eternal, murky cloud of smoke polluting God's air and oppressing man's breath and life. Our manufactures, with all they have done for us, are still in debt to the country; and he who doubts that the process which makes wealth to accumulate makes also men decay, has only to observe a regiment of West Riding militia, and compare it with one from the north country—to take note of the difference between the stunted, shambling, hollow-breasted men of the one, and the tall, square, lightsome, and muscular forms of the other.

It must be reckoned also a misfortune of these great manufacturing towns that they lie in the midst of the most beautiful and romantic scenery, with which they are singularly dissociated. Thus Leeds is in the heart of Airedale, and its chimneys smoke in full view of Kirkstall Abbey; Bradford, which makes "cashmeres, orlans, coburgs, merinos, lastings, alpacas, damasks, camlets, shags, plain bucks, mousselines de laine, paramattas, shal-loons, and waistcoatings," is in the immediate neighbourhood of some of the finest scenery in Wharfedale; Sheffield, smokiest, filthiest, foulest-tongued of towns, rears itself in the centre of Hallamshire, a famous old sylvan country, through which Robin Hood roved—the domain of Cedric the Saxon, and the scene of Wamba's and Gurth's wanderings—the country of which the proverb declares—

When all the world shall be aloft,  
Then Hallamshire shall be God's croft.

There is a certain incongruity in the association of manufacture with its favoured sites, and it is with difficulty we can realize the days when Wakefield had a Pinder, and was "Merry

Wakefield"—when the Duke of York, in Sandal Castle, was defied to the field by Queen Margaret, and lost that bloody battle which was ruin to him and his. Yet Wakefield has some claim to antiquity as a place of manufacture, it being one of the earliest settlements of the Flemings, who brought industry into these islands in King Edward the Third's reign. Sheffield also was noted for its whittles even in the time of Chaucer, as it now gives steel to all the world—the blade to the Briton for his beef, and the savage for his "long-pig"—to the Red Indian for scalping a foe, and the civilized American for solving a difficulty—to the brigand for cutting a throat, the sailor his tobacco, the priest his sacramental bread. One great branch of Sheffield's industry in these days consists in the manufacture of that mysterious article of feminine apparel which is used to give the female form its full development, and endow it with the essential bulginess. Sheffield thrives on the new fashion, which almost makes up to it for the decline in the tomahawk business, consequent on the evangelization of Polynesia. Halifax is another of the old industrial towns, now hardly able to hold its own against its younger rivals. It is noted as the largest parish in England, and otherwise by its name of terror to thieves—"From Hell, Hull, and Halifax, good Lord deliver us!"—was a part of the ancient thieves' litany, the last being dreaded the most, for its bloody law, by which felons taken within the liberty, either "hand-habend, back-berand, or confessand," as to any commodity of the value of thirteen-pence halfpenny, were liable to be beheaded within three days, by a species of guillotine. Not the least important of the manufacturing towns is Batley, the chief seat of that great latter-day staple of England—shoddy. This is the famous rag-capital—the tatter-metropolis, whither every beggar in Europe sends his cast-off clothes to be made into sham broadcloth for cheap gentility. Of moth-eaten coats, frowsy jackets, reechy linen, effusive cotton, and old worsted stockings, this is the last destination. Reduced to filament and a greasy pulp by mighty toothed cylinders, the much-vexed fabrics re-enter life in the most brilliant forms—from solid pilot-cloth to silky mohair and glossiest Tweed. Thus the tail-coat rejected by the Irish peasant—the gaberdine too foul for the Polish beggar—are turned again to shining uses, reappearing, it may be, in the lustrous paletot of the sporting dandy, the delicate riding-habit of the Belgravian belle, or the sad-sleek garment of her confessor. Mr. White, indeed, denies the truth of the popular belief, that there are men in Batley of a habit so thrifty that they spread their old cotton rags over their fields, and then, the land having imbibed the grateful greasiness, do send them to the shoddy-mill; but he reveals enough of the mysteries of the shoddy manufacture to make

us sit uneasily in our raiment. He tells a good story of how "once a portly Quaker walked into Batley just as the mill-hands were going to dinner: he came from the West, and was clad in the excellent broad-cloth which is the pride of Gloucestershire. 'Hey!' cried the hands, as he passed among them; 'hey! look at that, now! There's a bit of real cloth! Lookey! lookey! we never saw the like afore.'"

On the value of West Riding industry, whether exercised on shoddy or wholesomer manufacture, we need not dilate, for it is quite fully estimated. The West Riding has gentler associations, and is not all manufacturing. On many of its towns the wayward genius of handicraft has refused to smile, and they are as purely poetical in their dull repose as though they had never heard of a loom or a spindle. Ripon, for example, which dates from the Kelts, and lives in the proverb which celebrates the keenness of its spurs, and is possessed of that famous ordeal for chastity, called St. Wilfred's Needle, and where, since Alfred's time, a horn has been blown at the Market Cross every night, illustrating the persistence of custom in England; Knaresborough, with its memories of a saint, a witch, and a murderer, each eminent in his kind, and its noble castle and famous well—nigh to Harrogate, where health, on a bleak, barren common, has fixed her gayest, genteel seat; Boroughbridge, where the second Edward defeated his barons, and its neighbour Aldborough, the oldest town of Yorkshire, the capital of the Brigantes, and a great Roman garrison, even before York was; Tadcaster, where, on Towton Heath, thirty thousand Englishmen miserably slew each other on a fair spring day, and

Th' aspiring blood of Lancaster  
Sank into the ground—

where the red and white roses still bloom, as though in memory of that bloody carnage; Pontefract, with its dark and troublous history—

O Pomfret, Pomfret! O thou bloody prison,  
Fatal and ominous to noble peers!

—where tradition still points out the spot of King Richard's murder, and whose grim old fortress looks like nothing so much as a volcano top, with the fire and fury burnt out; Doncaster, neatest and cleanest of towns, with its race-course and spick-and-span new Gothic church, the glory of Mr. Gilbert Scott; Selby, where Conqueror William made his best atonement, and had his favourite abbey, whose church is perhaps the highest extant specimen of English-Norman art. These are the lesser West Riding towns, unbegrimed by the smoke of the factory chimney.

In the extreme West is a region of wild romance, the cradle of



Wharfe, Nid, Aire, and Ribble. Wharfedale resembles in character its sister valleys, and in beauty or interest is not inferior to any. Its scenery is beheld to the greatest advantage from the road between Kettlewell and Coverdale, from the new cold-water palace at Ilkley, or from Otley Chevin. Turner, who spent many a holiday in Wharfedale with his friend and patron, Mr. Fawkes of Farnley Hall, has painted every rock and tree hereabout. At Denton Hall, now the domain of one of the great clothing lords, was born Fairfax, the Parliamentary general, a man with never more than half a heart in his work, and who lived to repent of even that modicum of title to fame. Yet let him not be altogether forgotten as having preserved the painted windows of York Minster, when threatened with destruction at the hands of the fierce Cromwellian soldiery. Of Bolton Abbey and its glories, scenic and historic, have not the poets and painters sufficiently told? How "the noble boy of Egremound" fell into the Strid, and how out of the mother's affliction rose the stately Priory; and of the doe, "most beautiful clear-white," who to the sacred pile was wont to go, and look upon St. Mary's shrine, nor feared in the still moonshine upon the lonely turf to sit, forlorn but not disconsolate, whom the pile called Child of Time and Daughter of the Eternal Prince—are a portion of the heritage left us by poetry, which will survive long after these old stones have crumbled to dust, and history become a calendar. Of Craven and its ancient lords, the Cliffords, a volume might be written, which would be ~~to~~ imperfect epitome of our English annals. These Cliffords, whose seat was Skipton Castle, are among the most renowned of the old English families. In Yorkshire they have been long extinct in the male line; but a slip from the parent stock still survives in the Lord Clifford of Ugbrooke, in Devonshire. From the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries no house played a more busy part in the affairs of England. In the wars of the Roses, they were among the staunchest adherents of Lancaster; and the "Black Clifford" still survives in Shakspeare and tradition as the fell butcher of Wakefield fight. His son was the no less notable "Shepherd Lord" of Barden Tower, who in his old age led the men of Craven to Flodden Field. His son again was the famous admiral of Queen Elizabeth's time—"the best-born Englishman," says Fuller, "that ever hazarded himself in that kind." The Lady Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset, Pembroke, and Montgomery, is known for her proud spirit and her gallant defence of Skipton Castle against the Parliament's army. The Percies shared the Craven fee with the Cliffords, and were once a dominant house in the county, with possessions in all three Ridings, having their centre at Maiden's Bower, near Topcliffe.

A fair character of the West Riding people is hardly to be got

from their neighbours. That they are bold, active, and laborious all the world knows. That they serve Mammon with heart and soul is perhaps no peculiar reproach. They are "sleuth-hounds" after money, says Mrs. Gaskell, who knows them, and they have rather a pride in owning the impeachment. The strife for gain is nowhere more hot and fierce than in those manufacturing towns, with their hard, grinding life, and remorseless destiny. Their manners have an unhewn roughness, almost picturesque in its hideous abnegation of grace or feeling. Yet individually the victors in the great life-struggle for self are far from insensible to emotions of generosity, as rude and monstrous as is their passion for money. Some among the West Riding notables, softened by success, aspire to a high degree of intellectual cultivation, and there are no more liberal patrons of art and literature. Yet the one original genius which the Riding has produced, in Charlotte Brontë, owes nothing to the local sentiment. More Irish than Yorkshire, the Brontës derived nothing but their ruggedness from their wild dwelling among the Haworth moors.

The East Riding is a land of tilth and pasture—a broad, flat country, going down from the Wolds to Humber and the sea, barely able to hold its own against the German Ocean. That portion of it called Holderness (Höll-deira-ness), corresponds physically as well as etymologically with the Holland of the opposite coast. It is just as fat, and rich, and shifty; and most of the sarcasms which Andrew Marvell has levelled at the Dutchmen are as applicable to his own native district. There is here the same conflict of sea and land as in Holland, perpetually renewed in spite of every compromise. The sea is gradually getting the best of it; and every year Humber steals some fifty thousand tons of earth. Many a broad acre has been swallowed up from Bridlington to Spurn Head, and more than one busy village, with some such mournful record as the following—*Here stood Auburn, swept away by the sea.* Of the once famous port of Ravenspurn, where Bolingbroke landed, and Edward the Fourth after him, on the same pretence, not a trace remains. And the sea has, in all times, brought other invaders than itself. This whole coast was the favourite landing-place of the Danes and Northmen. The shores of Humber offered peculiar facilities to them for drawing up their shallow galleys; and no part of England preserves more vestiges of their occupation. From the time of Ida, the Flame-bearer who gave his name to Flamborough, to Harold Hardrada and his luckless enterprise, the Hollow-deira-land was an irresistible attraction to the restless race of Scandinavia. Here it took root most deeply, in spite of such terrible discouragements as Athelstane's victory of Brunanburgh, and Harold's, of Stamford

Bridge. Here *tons* and *hams* gave place to *bys* and *thorpes*, and proclaim the hardy people whose tongue still pervades the local speech. A native of Holderness could at this day make himself intelligible with little difficulty at Bergen or Copenhagen, and there is an old saying that—

Gooid brade, botter, and cheese,  
Is gooid Yorkshire and gooid Fricse.

Next to its sea-shore, the chief natural distinction of the East Riding is its group of chalk hills, the Wolds—forming in their smooth, rounded forms, so singular a contrast to the wooded and craggy mountains of West and North Yorkshire. The theory of their formation has been excellently elucidated by Professor Philips, who, for the physical topography of Yorkshire, may be trusted as a most sound and intelligent guide. The Wolds have an interest for the archæologist as well as the natural philosopher; for on most of their tops, as at Acklam and Leavening Brow, are undoubted traces of Keltic settlement. Driffield, loved of those who angle for the trout, is the wold-capital, as Hull is of the sea-coast, and Beverley of the Riding at large. Hull, though of comparatively modern creation, is memorable for its contributions to English liberty, in having been the first town to declare against King Charles, and in having produced Andrew Marvell, the incorruptible. Nor should it be forgotten that it was hence that Robinson Crusoe, mariner of York, took the sea upon that undying voyage which is Young England's Argonautic Expedition. Hull has little else of romance about it; but Beverley, the town of Athelstane, and long before him a famous British sanctuary, with its Saint John of that ilk, whose tomb "sweated blood" on the day of Agincourt, and its two noble churches, of which the Minster is second only to York in the county, and has that famous jewel of a tomb, the Percy shrine—and Austin's stone, whereon the saint stood to preach to heathen Yorkshiremen—is a town of great interest, not so much visited as it deserves. The same may be said of Howden, and Patrington, and Heminborough, all whose churches partake of that beauty and exquisite sense of fitness which inspired in so extraordinary a degree the early race of Yorkshiremen.

Agriculture is almost the sole calling in the East Riding, and it flourishes exceedingly. Though there are fewer yeomen than in the North or West Riding, the holdings are unusually large, and the tenures liberal and stable. The farmers are believed to know their work as well as any men in England; and nowhere is the condition of the agricultural labourer better understood or administered to. Wages are high—from fifteen to eighteen shillings a week; and there is none of that squalor and wretched-

ness which make a Dorsetshire labourer's hut, as a human habitation, several degrees worse than an Esquimaux cabin or an Australian *gunneeah*. "We get beef and mutton," said one to Mr. White, "and plenty of it." Happy Yorkshiremen!

The metropolis of this great English province of Yorkshire has a special renown too large for topography. No city has played so conspicuous a part in our annals, and none retains so many relics of its former life. Whether as the Brigantian *Caer-Ebrauc*, the Roman *Eburacum*, the Saxon *Yore-wic*, or the Danish *Jorvik*, it has been ever held a foremost place on the island. To the Romans it was *Altera Roma*—endowed with the title of "civitas," only given to Rome herself, and with a temple of *Bellona*, built in Rome alone and the principal imperial cities. That it was the centre of the imperial power in Britain we may argue from a thousand premises—from the countless relics of Roman grandeur and luxury which have been discovered here, from the Roman emperors born, crowned, or deceased here, and from the quartering here for three hundred years of the famous *Legio Sexta Victrix*. That it produced Constantine, lodged Hadrian, and killed Severus, we must believe in spite of some latest sceptics. That it gave learning to France and Christianity to Germany, is also more than a myth. During the period between the seventh and tenth centuries, it may be fairly questioned whether any city of Europe (excepting in Mahomedan Spain) was the seat of greater intellectual activity. And York can afford to abandon the honour of having kept the first English Christmas with Arthur Pendragon, in the undoubted possession of the learned *Alcuin*—the English Aristotle to the Frankish Alexander. During all the thick darkness of the tenth century, it is certain indeed that the capital of *Deira* continued to retain a glimmer of light, despite her grievous sufferings at the hands of the Dane. Afterwards made fairly Danish and the seat of an earldom, of which *Siward*, the avenger of *Duncan*, was the most notable possessor, no city made so stubborn a resistance to the Norman Conqueror, or was so terribly punished. Yet it was quick to revive, and became Norman as easily as the rest, and in the *Doomsday Book* is reckoned at 1711 houses, besides churches, castles, and palaces. During the early Plantagenets it maintained its distinction as the capital of the North, and raised more than one army in defence of the realm. To King Edward the First it was an abiding *point d'appui* in his Scottish campaigns; and to his unworthy son a refuge and rallying-point. King Edward the Third was no less partial to York than his predecessors, and here he wedded his lovely *Philippa*, amidst such magnificent revelry as excited the notice of *Froissart*. "There was nothing," says that chronicler, "but jousts, triumphs, and

tournaments in the day-time; maskings, revels, and interludes, with songs and dances, in the evening, along with continual feasting for three weeks." The citizens indeed always enjoyed a singular reputation as men endowed with a judicious sense of good feeding; and even in Fuller's time York is noted as the "staple place of good cheer." The archbishops especially distinguished themselves by the grandeur of their gastronomy; and the famous feast given by Archbishop Neville to his brother the King-maker, must ever be reckoned as one of the highest achievements of the art of dinner-giving. It must be owned that all our modern efforts in that line sink into insignificance before "80 fat oxen, 1000 wethers, 100 peacocks, 300 quarters of wheat, 330 tuns of ale, and 4000 cold custards,"—which are but a small portion of the archiepiscopal bill of fare. But revelry alone was not the business of York. The archbishops could fight as well as feed in those days; and were indeed a singularly pugnacious body of men. Archbishop Thurstan beat the Scots on Cawton Moor, near Northallerton; though it is true he had the aid of three saints on that occasion—St. Peter of York, St. John of Beverley, and St. Wilfrid of Ripon. Archbishop Melton was not less bold, though less successful, when he went out with his whole church militant, dean, canons, and prebendaries, and clergymen to the number of three hundred, to Myton-on-Swale, against the same enemy. Archbishop Scroope's rebellion we have already noticed. Archbishop de la Zouch commanded a division of Queen Philippa's army at Nevill's Cross, and behaved like a true knight and brave soldier of the Cross.

During the wars of the Roses, York inclined at first to the side of her namesake, as did the greater part of the county. Edward IV., though but coldly received upon his first landing, was crowned in the Minster on the 4th of May, 1464, with great splendour. Yet, on the whole, the citizens preserved a righteous impartiality, and showed by their conduct how little they recked of divine right or legitimacy. The truth is, that few in that age were swayed by any but personal influences—not from selfish calculation on their own account, but through carelessness of form and sentiment. They fought not for York or for Lancaster, but for Edward or for Henry, for Neville or for Clifford. Richard III. met in York with a splendid welcome, which was accorded just as readily to his rival Harry of Richmond. The dissolution of the monasteries met with greater disfavour in this county than in any other, owing to the great number and the vast influence of the religious houses; and the Pilgrimage of Grace added fresh heads to Micklegate Bar. The council of the nation, first established in this reign, restored to York much of the prestige it had enjoyed as the frequent seat of Parliament under the

Plantagenet kings. The great Civil War, which closed the reign of feudalism in England, was the last period of York's individual grandeur. It was here that Charles held his Council when London would not have him, and here he resolved to fight the Parliament. York was steadily loyal to the king's cause, and sustained a resolute siege against Fairfax's army, the dints of whose cannon are among the last wrinkles on the face of the old city. Nor did she surrender until after the fatal day of Marston Moor, when it was no longer a doubt who was master in England. The Parliamentarians celebrated their great victory by a solemn service in the Minster, the Earl of Leven's Scotch chaplain officiating after the Presbyterian fashion; and we can picture to ourselves the disgust and alarm of all true Churchmen in the city at this daring profanation of their beloved temple.

Since the restoration of the Stuarts, York has subsided into the tamest, dullest, and deadest of cathedral towns. The spirit has fled those grim old walls, and there reigns a new genius whose name is Conventionality. The old life, so rich in colour and character, has given place to the new, which is all a dull neutral tint. York has played out its part as an individual city; and what remains is but a second-rate provincial capital, and a Parliamentary borough.\* Every sign of separate existence is blotted out; and but for the grand old giant who sits enthroned in the midst, serene witness of the mighty change—the Minster—there would hardly be a living influence left to the city. Yet, though the centre of some sort of local sentiment, that famous house of God is felt only in its shadow by those who live around. This is too often the case with these old cathedral cities, which have as little as possible of any true feeling for their treasures of religious art. So Eddystone is a beacon and a beauty only to the far ships—while to those at the foot of it, all is darkness and a stench of burnt oil. Besides, our modern religion is not large enough to fill these grand spaces. We are a Protestant people,

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\* The latter parliamentary history of York is not without instruction. The great contest of 1807, when Wilberforce, Lord Milton, and the Honourable Mr. Lascelles were candidates, agitated the whole county from end to end. It was in reality a struggle between the two rival houses of Harewood and Fitzwilliam for county precedence; and was won by the latter by a narrow majority. The election is said to have cost the candidates not less than a hundred thousand pounds a piece. Wilberforce's expenses were defrayed by a public subscription, but at least one of the two contending families is said not to have yet recovered the effects of the contest. Lord Brougham's return in 1830, which excited scarcely less interest, and collected forty thousand persons in the York Castle-yard, though *unopposed*, cost a hundred thousand pounds. Even since the Reform Bill, though seats are quoted lower, York has maintained its character of being a dear constituency; and has ruined and killed at least two of its representatives through its costly suffrages.

and have a secret, uneasy conviction that painted windows and traceried capitals are inventions of the Scarlet Lady. So, abiding in Salems and in Bethels, we give up our beautiful cathedrals to the obscene influence of vergerdom. There is nothing more melancholy indeed than to observe such a building as York Minster, once glowing with a lively faith (such as it was), and crowded with worshippers, now lying waste and empty, and at the best but a raree-show. In vain have we endeavoured to detect anywhere about its precincts those "drowsy felicities" of which Mr. Ruskin speaks as being some among the results and the compensations of a modern cathedral establishment. There is the drowsiness indeed, but nowhere the felicity, unless we are to include in that term the sordid delight of a hungry verger over the abstracted sixpence. The noble pile, the patient labour of centuries, which was the centre and the object of many a good man's faith, and the product of the best art of a province—the cathedral of which Roger the Good laid the crypt, and Archbishop Thoresby built the choir, Archbishop de Gray raised the transept, and Archbishop Melton the nave—to which the Percies gave the wood, and the Vavassors the stone, and every good citizen and Yorkshireman contributed something, if only an honest prayer or a pious ejaculation—the Minster, like all its brethren, exists solely for a show and a means of alms—the solemnest, grandest, pitiablist of shams.

It is a question at least as interesting as any which can occupy the minds of Englishmen, whether this general and gradual breaking up of local influences, this dwindling down of individualisms, whether of men, or cities, or counties, denotes the health or disease of the system. The fact is undoubted that every year makes the distinction less between one part of England and another: village is becoming like village, town like town, county like county. At the present rate of progress, the topographer will, before many years, lose his occupation. The character of a county will be read in the history of the country. Centralism has already done much to obliterate local distinctions; and the railroad, which has been so fulsomely complimented for its service to civilization, is certainly chargeable with this, that it has ruled all England with one straight level measure. England, it is true, is the gainer, but it is at the expense of Englishmen. De Tocqueville has remarked, that the present generation of French resemble each other more closely than did the former; but the same may be said with even greater truth of the English. Indeed, but for Indian mutinies to suppress, Australian deserts to fertilize, or American settlements to plant, the world might know what England was, but hardly what Englishmen could do.

To cherish the local sentiment without encouraging localism

itself, in its accepted sense, would seem to be the part of true patriotism; and to this end let everything be done to keep alive all the influences which go to form the character of a city or a county. Let the people of Yorkshire continue to be Yorkshiremen, the dwellers in Cornwall to be Cornishmen, the denizens of Kent be men of Kent; and so may all and each best be Englishmen.

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## ART. II.—THE MORALS OF TRADE.

1. *The Complete English Tradesman.* By Daniel Defoe. London. 1726.
2. *The Times.* 1858.
3. *The Public Ledger.* 1858.

WE are not about to repeat, under the above title, the oft-told tale of adulterations: albeit, were it our object to deal with this almost threadbare topic, there are not wanting materials more or less new. It is rather the less observed and less known dishonesties of trade, to which we would here draw attention. The same lack of conscientiousness which shows itself in the mixing of starch with cocoa, in the dilution of butter with lard, in the colouring of confectionary with chromate of lead, and arsenite of copper, must of course come out in other less concrete forms; and these are nearly, if not quite, as numerous and as mischievous—some even more mischievous.

But that we grow up in daily familiarity with them, we should be startled by the many indications of dishonesty that meet us at every turn. Getting wide glimpses through small holes, the far-seeing moralist might even from the sights and sounds of our streets divine how lax are the principles of our trade. Hearing the costermonger cry all his fruits and vegetables as “fine,” and the itinerant fish-vendor invariably describe his supplies as “fresh” and “alive,” he might infer the generality of misrepresentation; and he would find his inference verified when, on turning to the advertising columns of the *Times*, he found all the ships and packets characterized as “splendid,” “first-class,” “very fast-sailing,” “beautiful,” “celebrated,” “magnificent”—when he read of the horses that they were all either “the finest grown,” or “first-rate,” or “invaluable,” or “the handsomest in town,” or “one of the grandest steppers in London”—when he saw that all the properties for sale were “exceedingly valuable,” “extremely well fitted up,” “most eligible,” “delightful site,”



“admirably adapted,” &c.—when he discovered that all the lodgings were “very comfortable,” all the medicines “infallible,” all the references “unexceptionable.” Casting his eyes over shop-signs and door-plates, and meeting as he would with such titles as “mechanical operative dentist” (implying that other dentists are not mechanical and operative), or “practical boot-maker” (tacitly referring, as it seems, to some class of theoretical bootmakers), he would have further evidence of the wish to give a false impression of superiority. While still more numerous facts of the same meaning would be furnished him in the grand names coined for very commonplace articles; and in the use of the words “patent” and “registered,” to imply improvements where there are none.

Between the many forms of this, which is vulgarly called humbug, and the direct crimes of which traders are sometimes guilty, there lie dishonesties of various grades of flagitiousness, and various degrees of prevalence; and these are committed, not by retailers only, but they vitiate the more extensive transactions of agents, wholesale houses, and manufacturers. It is not true, as many suppose, that only the lower classes of the commercial world are guilty of fraudulent dealing; those above them are to a great extent blameworthy. That the larger traders display in other shapes a like want of principle with the smaller, may indeed be suspected *à priori*. It can scarcely be that on the average those who deal in bales and tons differ widely in morality from those who deal in yards and pounds. We may presume that their misdoings simply take a less concrete form, or come less conspicuously before the public. And we are not deceived in this conclusion. Illicit practices of every form and shade, from venial deception up to all but direct theft, may be brought home to the higher grades of our commercial world. Tricks innumerable, lies acted or uttered, elaborately-devised frauds, are prevalent—many of them established as “customs of the trade;” nay, not only established, but defended. To a terrible extent dishonesty is, not an exceptional and temporary, but a general and permanent element of our mercantile system. Let us look at the evidence: first briefly noting the sins of retailers.

Of illustrations furnished by the shopkeeping class, many are so familiar as scarcely to need enumeration. All know something of the common manœuvres used in the clothing trades—the false announcements of “Great Reduction,” “Selling Off,” “Bankrupt Stock,” “Tremendous Sacrifice,” with which shop-fronts are made conspicuous, and the attention of the credulous arrested; the exhibition in the windows of ticketed samples that are superior to those sold as the same behind the counter; the

change of articles that is sometimes made after purchase, while the customer's eyes are directed elsewhere. Many, too, must have heard how unwary buyers are betrayed into taking as great bargains, things which are represented to them as slightly damaged, and therefore cheap; but which are really charged to them at the full price: and how indeed not unfrequently such articles are intentionally injured by fire or water in some inconspicuous place, the better to create in the buyer's mind the delusive belief that they are offered at a great sacrifice. But there are some methods of misleading that are less generally understood. A very common one is that of fractional rates—the three-farthing system, as it might be termed. The contents of a shop-window are marked at such prices as thirteenpence halfpenny, sevenpence farthing, and the like, with the view of suggesting the false inference that where the prices are adjusted to such small coins, the margin of profit must be very narrow; and this false inference is usually drawn. A kindred trick, which is general among the advertising drapers, is that of selling certain common goods, of which the public know the value, at a very low rate—a rate entailing loss—to produce the impression that other goods are being sold at corresponding rates. Such lures as calico at a penny farthing per yard, miraculously cheap bonnets, ribbons at a ridiculously small figure, are distributed through the window and about the doorway; and by the aid of this ground-bait (to use an angler's metaphor) not a few gudgeons are induced to purchase largely of things that are as dear as the lures are cheap. Add to which, that in such establishments much is done by sheer force of lying. "Fifteen per cent. below other houses" is reiterated in advertisements with unblushing audacity, when, as proved by those who have tested them, the prices are in some cases nine and ten per cent. higher. On many out of the passing crowd this assertion tells; and supported as it is by unscrupulous professions made over the counter by assistants whose promotion depends on their success in selling—who have ever hanging over them the penalty of dismissal if the memoranda of their sales daily filed and inspected do not come up to par—the falsehood prospers.

Among retail grocers—whose chief transgressions, however, come under the head of adulterations—there exist some practices analogous to those just mentioned. The use of lures is extremely general—indeed we might say, almost universal. Sugar and spices are mostly the commodities on which a sacrifice is made: the first because it is one of which all housekeepers know the current prices, in which they can therefore appreciate a reduction; the second probably because not being purchased in large quantities, a considerable percentage of relative loss does not

amount to a large total. Of course the profits made upon coffee, tea, cocoa, currants, rice, and the rest, must be correspondingly great. Judge what it is from looking at the figures. As we are told by a highly intelligent man engaged in the business, and familiar alike with its wholesale and retail practices, a retail grocer who makes his business pay, has to sell every 100*l.* worth of goods for 110*l.* Of this sum about 40*l.* represent the sale of sugar; and this 40*l.* worth of sugar is sold at a loss of five per cent. Of course therefore, on the remaining 60*l.* worth of commodities, nearly a double profit has to be made; and as competition prevents the doing of this by an adequate increase of price, it must necessarily be done by some kind of deception. It may be very pertinently asked—"What advantage is reaped by this system if all, or most, pursue it?" and the reply is—"There is now no advantage." Those who first thus deluded the public, and, by alluring customers with sugar below prime cost, obtained a large sale for chicoried coffee, &c., made large profits. But as fast as the trick has been adopted by a wider and wider circle, it has ceased to be profitable to any one; and like countless other established mal-practices of trade, has become an inconvenience, if not a loss. Perhaps its chief effect now is that of suggesting, fostering, and excusing further abuses. Whoso has used this deceit is less likely to hesitate in adopting others known to the fraternity: such as passing off articles of one quality for those of another; or giving in handbills some impossibly low price for a commodity of the "very finest" kind, and when it is asked for, selling some other called the "finest," under a pretended misunderstanding of the order. Nor will those habituated to such a policy fail to seize fit occasions for palming on their customers old stock as new: waiting until certain vessels are announced from China or the Mediterranean, and then before yet their cargoes are unshipped, placarding the windows with—"Finest new season's tea!" "Fresh fruits just in!" And it needs scarcely be added that men thus familiarized with untruths, direct or implied, will not be hindered by qualms of conscience from adding to the ever-widening flood of puffing advertisements; which, as characterized by a thoroughly competent judge, are "one mass of lies."

As already hinted, we do not propose to treat at much length the dishonesties of retail trade, of which most readers know something, and many a good deal. The foregoing brief description of a few of the commoner artifices which disgrace two of the dominant businesses, must suffice, as indicating the moral tone which more or less pervades the class. There is indeed reason to believe, that in most other cases the vices are not so great. In some, the nature of the commodities

is a hindrance to fraudulent practices ; in others, that have not experienced so long-continued and keen a competition, such elaborate methods of deception have not been developed. But as there is no reason to presume that those who deal in textile fabrics or plantation produce, are intrinsically worse in character than others, we must conclude that among retailers in general the like want of principle crops out with a frequency and clearness varying according to the circumstances. And whoever takes note of the deceptions that daily come under his observation—the ale-bottles that contain a third less than they should do ; the loaves that are under weight ; the pots of anchovies, and the like, which promise to contain twice what they really contain ; the *sac de nuit*, seemingly made of black leather, but really of varnished canvas ; the furniture that warps and cracks because made of green wood ; the good-looking houses in which bad material is concealed under paper and paint ; the faulty and diseased horses that are palmed on the unwary as sound ; the pluce served up at the dining-house under the name of turbot ; the pirated pieces of music differing in a few notes from the originals ; the numerous imitations, and conspicuous cautions against imitations ; will see that this conclusion is fully warranted.

Before passing on, however, we must not forget to name a vice of another order that corrupts retail trade—the bribing of servants. In the shape of Christmas-boxes and discounts on bills, this seems extremely general. Occasionally, as by a still remembered law-suit respecting the secret contract between a nobleman's butler and his wine-merchant, startling instances are made public. And the system in this case so gigantically developed, appears to prevail more or less throughout the transactions between shopkeepers and their wealthier patrons : uniformly when the bills are paid by the servants, and to a considerable extent even when they are not. Large sums are thus realized. A now prosperous farmer in the Midland Counties, narrating his previous life to a friend of ours, whose statements are thoroughly reliable, admitted that his capital had been wholly derived from the profits hence accruing to him, as chief servant in the family of a gentleman of large income. He paid all the accounts, and had a discount of 5 per cent. upon everything he paid. From the physician down to the sweep, this tax was uniformly levied, and submitted to. And from this domestic *octroi*, tacitly recognised by his master, he gained between two and three hundred a-year. Customs of this kind, extensively established as they now are, necessarily generate gross abuses. It is clear that under such circumstances, tradesmen will compete with each other in bribing ; and it is certain that they do so. Servants, greedy of these fees,

go where they can get the highest. Directly or indirectly they inquire of a shopkeeper what discount he allows; show dissatisfaction if it is not enough; hint that more is given elsewhere; and go elsewhere if their demands are not met. This is not a hypothetical statement: we have the facts fully authenticated. Tradesmen have described to us the necessity they are under of succumbing; the haughty manner in which a gentleman's servant will receive an insufficient present; and the inevitable withdrawal of custom that follows: for although it may seem that this penalty is beyond a servant's power to inflict, yet by misrepresentations, and even by malicious damage of the goods supplied, he can readily get it inflicted by his master. Now, the bribes he thus pays form a considerable deduction from a shopkeeper's profits; and it is clear that the higher he bribes, the more he must resort to indirect ways of increasing those profits. Competition forbids him to raise his prices; and he is therefore under the temptation to supply inferior commodities, to adulterate, to surreptitiously take from the master as much as he gives the servant. The one illicit deed inevitably generates others.

(Of the class which transacts the business between retail and wholesale dealers—commercial travellers—there is not much to be said; further than that, depending as their prosperity does on their success as salesmen, they are under a stimulus to use all means tolerated by their employers, who, as we shall see, are not very punctilious! Of course they habitually facilitate their business by more or less treating; and sometimes they carry this policy to a considerable extent. We are told that not uncommonly travellers who spend large sums in giving their clients champagne suppers, make great returns with comparatively little trouble. And although at first sight it seems strange that retailers should thus allow themselves to be deluded with their eyes open; yet it needs but to remember how habitually in men's minds a small proximate benefit outweighs a greater remote one, to see that it is in human nature to be thus manoeuvred.

The business of wholesale houses—in the clothing trades at least—is chiefly managed by a class of men termed “buyers.” Each wholesale establishment is usually divided into several departments; and at the head of each of these departments is placed one of these functionaries. A buyer is a partially independent sub-trader. At the beginning of the year he is debited with a certain share of the capital of his employers. With this capital he trades. From the makers he orders for his department such goods as he thinks will find a market; and for the goods thus bought he obtains as large a sale as he can among the retailers of his connexion. The accounts show at the end of the year

what profit has been made on the capital over which he has command; and according to the result, his engagement is continued, perhaps at an increased salary, or he is discharged.

Under such circumstances we should scarcely have supposed—what we nevertheless find on unquestionable authority to be the fact—that buyers habitually both bribe and are bribed. The giving and taking presents, as a means of obtaining custom, is an established and understood practice between them and all with whom they have dealings. Their connexion among retailers they extend by treating and favours of various kinds; and they are themselves influenced in their purchases by like means. It might be presumed that self-interest would in both cases negative this. But in most cases it appears that no very obvious sacrifice is entailed by yielding to these influences. When, as usually happens, there are many manufacturers producing articles of like goodness at the same prices, or many buyers between whose commodities and terms there is little room for choice, there exists no motive to purchase of one rather than another; and then the temptation of some immediate bonus turns the scale. Whatever be the cause, however, the fact is testified to us alike in London and the provinces. Not only is it that by manufacturers, buyers are sumptuously entertained even for days together, and are plied throughout the year with hampers of game, turkeys, dozens of wine, &c.; but it is that they receive actual money bribes, sometimes, as we hear from a manufacturer, in the shape of bank-notes, but more commonly under the form of a discount on the amount of their purchases. The extreme prevalence—universality we might say—of this system, is proved by the evidence of one who, disgusted as he is, finds himself inextricably entangled in it. He confessed to us that all his transactions were thus tainted. "Every one of the buyers with whom I deal," he said, "expects an occasional bonus in some form or other. From time to time I have to make a handsome present—perhaps a dozen of choice port, or else to give a round sum as discount. Some require the bribe to be wrapped up, and some take it without disguise. To an offer of money, such an one replies—'Oh, I don't like that sort of thing;' but nevertheless he does not object to money's-worth. While my friend So-and-so, who promises to bring me a large trade this season, will, I very well know, expect a one per cent. discount in cash. The thing is not to be avoided. I could name sundry buyers who look askance at me, and never will inspect my goods; and I have no doubt about the cause—I have not bought their patronage." And then our informant appealed to another of the trade, who agreed in the assertion that in London their business could not be done on any other terms. To such an extent is the system carried, and so greedy of perquisites do some of these

buyers become, as to absorb a great part of the profits; and to make it a question whether it is worth while to continue the connexion. And then, as above hinted, there comes a like history of transactions between buyers and retailers—the bribed being now the briber. One of these above referred to as habitually expecting douceurs, said to the giver of them whose testimony we have just repeated—“I’ve spent pounds and pounds over —— (naming a large tailor), and now I think I have gained him over.” To which confession this buyer added the complaint, that his house did not make him any allowance for sums thus disbursed.

Under the buyer, who has the absolute control of his own department in a wholesale house, come a number of assistants who transact the business with retail traders; much as retail traders’ assistants transact the business with the general public. Working as these higher class assistants do under the same pressure as the lower, they are similarly unscrupulous. Liable to prompt dismissal as they are for non-success in selling; gaining a higher position as they do in proportion to the quantity of goods they dispose of at profitable rates; and finding that no objection is made to any dishonest artifices that they may use, but rather that they are applauded for them; these young men display a scarcely credible demoralization. As we learn from those who have been of them, their duplicity is unceasing—they speak almost continuous falsehood; and their tricks are of all kinds, from the simplest to the most Machiavellian. Take a few samples. In dealing with a retailer, it is an habitual practice to bear in mind the character of his business, and to endeavour to delude him in the direction in which he has least experience. If his shop is in a neighbourhood where the sales are chiefly of inferior goods (a fact that may be ascertained from the traveller), it is inferred that, having a comparatively small demand for superior goods, he is a bad judge of them; and advantage is taken of his ignorance to deceive him respecting the qualities of such superior goods as he buys. Again, it is a common practice purposely to present samples of cloths, silks, &c., in such order as to disqualify the perceptions. As in tasting different foods or wines, it is a familiar fact that the palate is disabled, by something strongly flavoured, from appreciating the more delicate flavour of another thing afterwards taken; so with the other organs of sense, a temporary disability follows an excessive stimulation. This holds not only with the eyes in judging of colours, but also, as we are told by one who has been in the trade, it holds with the fingers in judging of textures; and cunning salesmen are in the constant practice of thus partially paralysing the perceptions, and then selling second-rate articles as first-rate ones. Another very general manœuvre is

that of raising a false belief of cheapness. For example, a tailor is laying in a stock of broad cloths. He is offered a bargain. Three pieces are put before him—two of good quality, of which the full price is, say 14s. per yard; and one of much inferior quality, of which the full price is 8s. per yard. These pieces have been purposely a little tumbled and creased, to give a colourable ground for a pretended sacrifice upon them. And the tailor is then told that he may have these nominally damaged cloths as “a job lot,” at 12s. per yard. Misled by the appearances into a belief of the professed sacrifice; impressed, moreover, by the fact that two of the pieces are really worth considerably more than the price asked; and not sufficiently bearing in mind that the great inferiority of the third just balances this; the tailor probably buys: and he goes away with the comfortable conviction that he has made a specially advantageous purchase, at the same time that he has really paid the full price for every yard. A still more subtle trick has been described to us by one who himself made use of it when engaged in one of these wholesale houses—a trick so successful, that frequently he was sent for to sell to customers who could be induced to buy by none of the other assistants, and who ever afterwards would buy only of him. His policy was to seem extremely simple and honest, and during the first few purchases to exhibit this honesty by pointing out defects and inferiorities of quality in the things he was selling; and then, having gained the customer's confidence, he proceeded to pass off upon him inferior goods at superior prices. These are a few out of the various manœuvres in constant practice. Of course there is a running accompaniment of falsehoods, uttered as well as acted. It is expected of the assistant that he will say whatever is needed to effect a sale. “Any fool can sell what is wanted,” said a master in reproaching his shopman for not having persuaded a customer to buy something quite different from that which he asked for. And the unscrupulous mendacity thus required by employers, and encouraged by example, grows to a height of depravity that has been described to us in words too strong to be repeated. Our informant was obliged to relinquish his position in one of these establishments, because he could not lower himself to the required depth of degradation. “You don't lie as though you believe what you say,” observed one of his fellow-assistants. And this was uttered as a reproach!

As those subordinates who have fewest qualms of conscience are those who succeed the best, are soonest promoted to more remunerative posts, and have therefore the greatest chance of establishing businesses of their own; it may be inferred that the morality of the heads of these establishments is much on a par with that of their *employés*. The habitual mal-practices of the wholesale houses fully confirm this inference. Not only as we



have just seen, are assistants under a pressure impelling them to delude purchasers respecting the qualities of the goods they buy, but purchasers are also deluded in respect to the quantities; and that not by an occasional unauthorised manœuvre, but by an organized system, for which the firm itself is responsible. It is the general, and indeed almost universal practice, to make up goods, or to have them made up, in short lengths. A piece of calico nominally thirty-six yards in length, never measures more than thirty-one yards—is understood throughout the trade to measure only this. And the long accumulating delinquencies which this custom indicates—the successive diminutions of length, each introduced by some adept in dishonesty, and then imitated by his competitors—are now being daily carried to a still greater extent wherever they are not likely to be immediately detected. Articles that are sold in small bundles, knots, packets, or such forms as negative measurement at the time of sale, are habitually much shorter than they profess to be. Silk laces called six quarters, or fifty-four inches, really measure four quarters, or thirty-six inches. Tapes were originally sold in grosses containing twelve knots of twelve yards each; but these twelve yard knots are now out of all lengths, from eight yards down to five yards, and even less—the usual length being six yards. That is to say, the 144 yards which the gross once contained, has now in some cases dwindled down to 60 yards. Not only in lengths, but also in widths, is this deception practised. French cotton braid for instance (French only in name) is made of different widths, which are respectively numbered 5, 7, 9, 11, &c.: these figures indicating the number of threads of cotton which the width includes, or rather should include, but does not. For those which should be marked 5 are marked 7; and those which should be marked 7 are marked 9: out of three samples from different houses shown to us by our informant, only one contained the alleged number of threads. Fringes, again, which are sold wrapped upon card, will often have a width of two inches at the end exposed to view, but will diminish to one inch at the end next the card; or perhaps the first twenty yards will be good, and all the rest hidden under it will be bad. These frauds are committed unblushingly, and as a matter of business. We have ourselves read in an agent's order-book the details of an order, specifying the actual lengths of which the articles were to be cut, and the much greater lengths to be marked on the labels put upon them. And we have been told by a manufacturer who was required to make up tapes into lengths of fifteen yards and label them as "warranted 18 yards," that when he did not label them falsely, his goods were sent back to him; and that the greatest

concession he could obtain was to be allowed to send them without labels.

In their dealings with manufacturers, it is not to be supposed that these wholesale houses have a code of morals differing much from that which regulates their dealings with retailers. The facts prove it to be much the same. A buyer for instance (who exclusively conducts the purchases of the wholesale house from the manufacturer) will not unfrequently take from a first-class maker a small supply of some new fabric, on the pattern of which much time and money have been spent; and this new pattern fabric he will put into the hands of another maker to have copied in large quantities. Some buyers again, as we hear from a manufacturer who has himself suffered from the practice, will give their orders verbally only, that they may have the opportunity of afterwards repudiating them if they wish; and in a case narrated to us, where a manufacturer who had been thus deluded, wished on a subsequent occasion to guarantee himself by obtaining the buyer's signature to his order, he was refused it. For other unjust acts of wholesale houses, the heads of these establishments are, we presume, responsible. Small manufacturers working with insufficient capital, and in times of depression not having the wherewithal to meet their engagements, are often obliged to become the dependents of the wholesale houses with which they deal; and are then cruelly taken advantage of. Either they have to sell their accumulated stock at a great sacrifice—thirty to forty per cent. below its value—or else to mortgage it; and when the wholesale house becomes the mortgagee, the manufacturer has little chance of escape. Being in the wholesaler's power, he is obliged to work at his terms, and ruin almost certainly follows. This is more especially the case in the silk-hosiery business. As was said to us by one of the larger silk-hosiery makers, who had watched the destruction of many of his smaller brethren—"They may be spared for a while as a cat spares a mouse; but they are sure to be eaten up in the end." And we can the more readily credit this statement from having found that a like policy is pursued by some provincial carriers in their dealings with small shoe-makers; and also by hop-merchants and maltsters in their dealings with small publicans. We read that in Hindostan the ryots, when crops fall short, borrow from the Jews to buy seed; and once in their clutches are doomed. It seems that our commercial world can furnish parallels.

Of another class of wholesale traders—those who supply grocers with foreign and colonial produce—we may say that though, in consequence of the nature of their business, the malpractices are less numerous and multiform, as well as less glaring

ing, they are of much the same stamp as the foregoing. Unless it is to be supposed that sugar and spices are moral antiseptics as well as physical ones, it must happen that wholesale dealers in them, under like pressure of competition, will transgress much as other wholesale dealers do, in those directions where the facilities are greatest. And the truth is, that both in the qualities and quantities of the articles they sell, they take advantage of the retailer. The descriptions they give of their commodities are habitually misrepresentations. Samples sent round to their customers are characterized as first rate when they are really second rate. The travellers are expected to endorse these untrue statements. And unless the grocer has adequate keenness and extensive knowledge, he is more or less deceived. In some cases, indeed, no skill will save him. There are frauds that have grown up little by little into customs of the trade, which the retailer must perforce submit to. •In the purchase of sugar, for example, he is imposed upon in respect alike of the goodness and the weight. The history of the dishonesty is this. Originally the tare allowed by the merchant on each hogshead was 14 per cent. of the gross weight. The actual weight of the wood of which the hogshead was made, was at that time about 12 per cent. of the gross weight. And thus the trade allowance left a profit of 2 per cent. to the buyer. Gradually, however, the hogshead has grown thicker and heavier; until now, instead of amounting to 12 per cent. of the gross weight, it amounts to 17 per cent. And as the allowance of 14 per cent. still continues, the result is that the retail grocer loses 3 per cent. : to the extent of 3 per cent. he buys wood in place of sugar. In the quality of the sugar he is deluded by the practice of giving him a sample only from the best part of the hogshead. During its voyage from Jamaica or elsewhere, the contents of a hogshead undergoes a certain slow drainage. The molasses, of which more or less is always present, filters from the uppermost part of the mass of sugar to the lowermost part; and this lowermost part, technically known as the "foot," is of darker colour and smaller value. The quantity of it contained in a hogshead varies greatly; and the retailer, receiving a false sample, has to guess what the quantity of the "foot" may be, and to his cost often under-estimates it. As will be seen from the following letter, copied from the *Public Ledger* for the 20th Oct., 1858, these grievances, more severe even than we have represented them, are now exciting an agitation:—

*"To the Retail Grocers of the United Kingdom.*

"Gentlemen,—The time has arrived for the trade at once to make a move for the revision of tares on all raw sugars. Facts prove the evil of the present system to be greatly on the increase. We submit

a case as under, and only one out of twenty. On the 30th August, 1858, we bought 3 hogsheads of Barbados, mark TG  
K

Invoice Tares.				Re Tares.				
No.	cwt.	qrs.	lb.	lb.	No.	cwt.	qrs.	lb.
1 . . .	1	2	14	6 drift.	1 . . .	1	3	27
7 . . .	1	2	7		7 . . .	1	3	20
3 . . .	1	2	21		3 ; .	1	3	27
	4 3 20					5 3 18		
			Deduct . . . . .			4 3 20		
								s. £ s. d.
						0 3 26	at 42 -	2 1 3

“We make a claim for 2*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.*; we are told by the wholesale grocer there is no redress.

“There is another evil which the retail grocer has to contend with, that is, the mode of sampling raw sugar: the foots are excluded from the merchants’ samples. Facts will prove that in thousands of hogsheads of Barbados this season there is an average of 5 cwt. of foots in each; we have turned out some with 10 cwt., which are at least 5*s.* per cwt. less value than sample, and in these cases we are told again there is no redress.

“These two causes are bringing hundreds of hard-working men to ruin, and will bring hundreds more unless the trade take it up, and we implore them to unite in obtaining so important a revision.

“We are, Gentlemen, your obedient servants,

“WALKER and STAINES.

“Birmingham, October 19, 1858.”

Since we were put in possession of these facts, a more subtle method of imposition has been brought under our notice. It is the practice of sugar-refiners to put moist crushed sugar into dried casks. During the time that elapses before one of these casks is opened by the retailer, the dessicated wood has taken up the excess of water from the sugar; which is so brought again into good condition. When the retailer, however, finding that the cask weighs much more than was allowed as tare by the wholesale dealer, complains to him of this excess, the reply is—“Send it up to us, and we will *dry it* and weigh it, as is the custom of the trade.”

Without further detailing these mal-practices, of which the above examples are perhaps the worst, we will advert only to one other point in the transactions of these large houses—the drawing-up of trade-circulars. It is the practice of many wholesalers to send round to their customers periodic accounts of the past transactions, present condition, and prospects of the markets. Serving as checks upon each other, as they do, these documents are prevented from swerving very widely from the truth. But it is

scarcely to be expected that they should be quite honest. Those who issue them, being in most cases interested in the prices of the commodities referred to in their circulars, are swayed by their interests in the representations they make respecting the probabilities of the future. Far-seeing retailers are on their guard against this. As instance a large provincial grocer, who thoroughly understands his business, who said to us—"As a rule, I throw trade-circulars on the fire." And that this estimate of their trustworthiness is not unwarranted, we gather from the expressions of those engaged in other businesses. From two leather-dealers, one in the country and one in London, we have heard the same complaint against the circulars published by houses in their trade, that they are misleading. Not that they state anything untrue; but that they produce a false impression by leaving out facts which they should have stated.

In illustrating the morals of manufacturers, we shall confine ourselves to one class—those who work in silk. And it will be the most convenient method of arranging the facts, to follow the silk through its various stages, from its imported state to its state as ready for the wearer.

Bundles of raw silk, from India, China, or elsewhere—not uncommonly weighted with rubbish, stones, or rouleaux of Chinese copper coin, to the loss of the buyer—are disposed of to the dealers in silk by auction. The purchases are made on behalf of the silk-dealers by a class of "sworn brokers;" and the regulation is, that these sworn brokers shall confine themselves solely to their function as agents. From a silk manufacturer, however, we learn that they are currently understood to be themselves speculators in silk, either directly or by proxy; and that as thus themselves interested in prices, they become faulty as agents. We give this, however, simply as a prevailing opinion, for the truth of which we do not vouch.

The silk bought by the London dealer, he sends into the manufacturing districts to be "thrown;" that is, to be made into thread fit for weaving. In the established bargain that exists between the silk-dealer and the silk-throwster, we have a strange instance of an organized and recognised deception, which has seemingly grown up as a check upon a previous deception. The throwing of silk is necessarily accompanied by a certain amount of waste; from broken ends, knots, and fibres too weak to wind. This waste varies in different kinds of silk from three per cent. to twenty per cent.: the average being about five per cent. The percentage of waste being thus variable, it is obvious that so long as there was no restraint upon him, a dishonest silk-throwster

might abstract a certain portion of the silk, and on returning the rest to the dealer, might plead that the great diminution in the weight had resulted from the large percentage of loss in the process of throwing. Whatever be the cause, however, there has arisen a system, known in the trade as "working on cost," which requires the throwster to send back to the dealer the same weight of silk which he receives: the meaning of the phrase being, we presume, that whatever waste the throwster makes must be at his own cost. Now, as it is impossible to throw the silk without *some* waste—at least three per cent., and ordinarily five per cent.—we see that this arrangement necessitates a deception: if, indeed, that can be called a deception which is tacitly understood by all concerned. The silk has to be weighted. As much as is lost in throwing has to be made up by some foreign substance introduced. Soap is the material most largely used. In small quantity this is requisite to facilitate the running of the threads in the process of manufacture; and the quantity is readily increased. Sugar is also employed. And by one means or other the threads are made to absorb a sufficient quantity to produce the desired weight. This is a system to which every silk-throwster is obliged to succumb; and some of them carry it to a great extent, as a means of hiding either carelessness or something worse.

The next stage through which silk passes is that of dying. Here, too, there are impositions that have grown chronic and general. In times past, as we learn from a ribbon-manufacturer, the weighting by water was the chief dishonesty. Bundles came back from the dyer's, if not manifestly damp, still, containing such an amount of moisture as to make up for a portion of the silk that had been kept back. And various precautions had to be adopted to escape losses thus entailed. Since then, however, there has arisen a method of deception which leaves this far behind—that of employing heavy dyes. The following details have been furnished to us by a silk-throwster. It is now, he says, some five-and thirty years since this method was commenced. Before that time, silk lost a considerable part of its weight in the copper. It appears that the ultimate fibre of silk is coated, in issuing from the spinneret of the silk-worm, with a film of varnish that is soluble in boiling water. In dying, therefore, this film, amounting to twenty-five per cent. of the entire weight of the silk, is dissolved off, and the silk rendered that much the lighter; so that originally, for every sixteen ounces of silk sent to the dyer's only twelve ounces were returned. Gradually, however, by the use of heavy dyes, this result has been reversed. The silk now gains in weight, and sometimes to a scarcely credible extent. According to the requirement, silk is sent back from the dyer's of any weight from twelve ounces to

the pound, up even to forty ounces to the pound. The original pound of silk, instead of losing four ounces, as it naturally would, is actually, when certain black dyes are used, made to gain as much as twenty-four ounces! Instead of twenty-five per cent. lighter, it is returned 150 per cent. heavier;—is weighted with 175 per cent. of foreign matter! Now as, during this stage of its manufacture, the transactions in silk are carried on by weight; it is manifest that in the introduction and development of this system, we have a long history of frauds. It is true that at present all those concerned are aware of it, and on their guard against it. Like other kinds of adulteration, in becoming established and universal, it has ceased to be profitable to any one. But it sufficiently serves to indicate manufacturing morality.

The thrown and dyed silk passes into the hands of the weaver; and here again we come upon dishonesties. Manufacturers of figured silks sin against their fellows by stealing their patterns. The laws that have been found necessary to prevent this species of piracy, show that it has been carried to a great extent. Even now it is not prevented. A maker of ribbons, who has himself suffered from it, tells us that manufacturers still get each other's designs by bribing the workmen. Moreover, in their dealings with buyers, some manufacturers resort to deceptions; perhaps tempted to do so by the desire to compensate themselves for the heavy tax paid in treating, &c. Thus, as in cases we have heard narrated, certain goods that have already been seen and declined by other buyers, will be brought before a subsequent one with artfully devised appearances of secrecy; accompanied by professions that these goods have been specially reserved for his inspection: a manœuvre by which an unwary man is sometimes betrayed. That the process of production has its delusions scarcely needs saying. In the ribbon-trade, for example, there is a practice called "top-ending;" that is, making the first three yards good, and the rest (which is covered when rolled up) of inferior or loose texture—80 "shutes" to the inch instead of 108. And then there comes the issuing of countless imitations made of inferior materials—textile adulterations as we may call them. This practice of debasement, not an occasional, but an established one, is carried to a surprising extent, and with a surprising rapidity. Some new fabric, at first sold at 7s. 6d. per yard, is supplanted by successive counterfeits, until at the end of eighteen months a semblance of it is selling at 4s. 3d. per yard. Nay, still greater depreciations of quality and price take place: from 10s. down to 3s., and even 2s. per yard; until at length the badness of these spurious articles becomes so conspicuous that they are unsaleable; and there ensues a reaction, ending either in the re-introduction

of the original one, or in the production of some novelty to supply its place.

Among our notes of mal-practices in trade, retail, wholesale, and manufacturing, we have many others that must be passed over. We cannot here enlarge upon the not uncommon practice of using false trade-marks; or imitating another maker's wrappers; and so deluding purchasers. We must be satisfied with simply referring to the disclosures that have been made relative to the doings of apparently reputable houses in the purchase of goods known to be dishonestly obtained. And we are obliged to refrain from particularizing certain established arrangements, existing under cover of the highest respectability, which seem intended to facilitate these nefarious transactions. The facts we have above detailed are given simply as samples of a system of things which it would take a volume to describe in full.

The further instances of trading immorality which it seems desirable here to give, are those which carry with them a certain mitigation; showing as they do how insensibly, and almost irresistibly, men are thrust into these vicious practices. Always, no doubt, some utterly unscrupulous trader is the first to introduce a new form of fraud. He is by and by followed by others who wear their moral code but loosely. Of the more upright traders, each, incited by example, is tempted to adopt this questionable device which those around him are adopting. The greater the number who yield, and the more general and familiar the device becomes, the more difficult is it for the remainder to stand out against it. The pressure of competition upon them, becomes more and more severe. They have to fight an unequal battle, debarred as they are from one of the sources of profit which their antagonists possess. And they are finally in some sort compelled to follow the lead of the rest. Sundry cases brought before us, have very clearly illustrated this process. Take for example what has happened in the candle trade. As all know, the commoner kinds of candles are sold in bunches supposed to weigh a pound each. Originally the nominal weight corresponded with the true weight. But at present the weight is habitually short, by an amount varying from half an ounce to two ounces—is sometimes depreciated  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. If now an honest chandler offers to supply a retailer at, say six shillings for the dozen pounds, the answer he receives is, "Oh, we get them for five-and-eightpence." "But mine," replies the chandler, "are of full weight; while those you buy at five-and-eightpence are not." "What does that matter to me?" the retailer rejoins—"a pound of candles is a pound of candles: my customers buy them in the bunch, and wont know the difference between yours



and another's." And the honest chandler, being everywhere met with this argument, finds that he must either make his pounds of short weight, or give up business. Take another case, which, like the last, we have direct from the mouth of one who has been obliged to succumb. It is that of a manufacturer of the elastic webbing, now extensively used in making boots, &c. From a London house with which he dealt largely, this manufacturer recently received a sample of webbing produced by some one else, accompanied by the question, "Can you make us this at — per yard" (naming a price below that at which he had before supplied them); and hinting that if he could not do so they must go elsewhere. On pulling to pieces the sample (which he showed to us), this manufacturer found that sundry of the threads which should have been of silk were of cotton. Indicating this fact to those who sent him the sample, he replied that if he made a like substitution, he could furnish the fabric at the price named; and the result was that he eventually did thus furnish it. He saw that if he did not do so, he must lose a considerable share of his trade. He saw further, that if he did not at once yield, he would have to yield in the end; for that other elastic webbing makers would one after another engage to produce this adulterated fabric at correspondingly diminished prices, and that when at length he stood alone in selling an apparently similar article at a higher price, his business would leave him. This manufacturer we have the best reason for knowing to be a man of fine moral nature, both generous and upright; and yet we here see him obliged, in a sense, to implicate himself in one of these processes of vitiation. It is a startling assertion, but it is none the less a true one, that those who resist these corruptions often do it at the risk of bankruptcy; sometimes the certainty of bankruptcy. We do not say this simply as a manifest inference from the conditions as above described. We say it on the warrant of instances that have been given to us. From one brought up in his house, we have had the history of a draper, who, carrying his conscience into his shop, refused to commit the current frauds of the trade: he would not represent his goods as of better quality than they really were; he would not say that patterns were just out, when they had been issued the previous season; he would not warrant to wash well, colours which he knew to be fugitive. Refraining from these and the like mal-practices of his competitors, and, as a consequence, daily failing to sell various articles which his competitors would have sold by force of lying, his business was so unremunerative that he twice became bankrupt; and in the opinion of our informant, he inflicted more evil upon others by his bankruptcies, than he would have done by committing the

usual trade dishonesties. See then how complicated the question becomes; and how difficult to estimate the trader's criminality. Often—generally indeed—he has to choose between two wrongs. He has tried to carry on his business with strict integrity. He has sold none but genuine articles; and has given full measure. Others in the same business adulterate or otherwise delude, and are so able to undersell him. His customers, not adequately appreciating the superiority in the quality or quantity of his goods; and attracted by the apparent cheapness of other shops; desert him. An inspection of his books proves the alarming fact that his diminishing returns will soon be insufficient to meet his engagements, and provide for his increasing family. What then must he do? Must he continue his present course; stop payment; inflict heavy losses on his creditors; and with his wife and children turn out into the streets? Or must he follow the example of his competitors; use their artifices, and give his customers the same apparent advantage in price? The last not only seems the least detrimental to himself, but also may be considered the least detrimental to others. Moreover, the like is done by men regarded as respectable. Why should he ruin himself and family in trying to be better than his neighbours? He will do as they do.

Such is the position of the trader; such is the reasoning by which he justifies himself; and it is hard to visit him with anything like harsh condemnation. Of course this statement of his case is by no means universally true. There are businesses in which, competition being less active, the excuse for falling into these corrupt practices no longer holds; and here indeed we find corrupt practices much less prevalent. Many traders, too, have obtained a prestige and a connexion which secure to them an adequate return without descending to small rogueries; and they have no defence if they thus degrade themselves. Moreover, there is the class—commonly not prompted by necessity, but by greed—who introduce these adulterations and petty frauds; and on these should descend unmitigated indignation: not only as being themselves criminals without excuse, but as being the cause of criminality in others. Leaving out, however, these comparatively small classes, it should be constantly remembered that the mass of traders by whom all the commoner businesses are carried on, must receive a much more qualified censure than they at first sight seem to deserve: forced to give way as they are by the alternative of ruin. On all sides we have met with the same conviction, that for those engaged in the ordinary trades there are but the two courses—either to adopt the practices of competitors, or to give up business. Men in different occupations and in different places—men naturally conscientious, who manifestly

chafed under the degradations they submitted to, have one and all expressed to us the sad belief, that it is impossible to carry on trade with strict rectitude. Their concurrent opinion, independently given by each, is, that the scrupulously honest man must go to the wall.

But that it has been during the past year frequently treated by the daily press, we might here enter at some length on the topic of banking delinquencies. As it is, we may presume all to be familiar with the facts brought to light by recent inquiries; and shall content ourselves by making a few comments.

In the opinion of one whose means of judging have been second to those of few, the directors of joint-stock banks have rarely been guilty of direct dishonesty. Admitting notorious exceptions, the general fact appears to be that they have had no immediate interest in furthering these speculations which have proved so ruinous to depositors and shareholders; but have usually been among the greatest sufferers. Their fault has rather been the less flagitious, though still grave one, of indifference to their responsibilities. Often with very inadequate knowledge, they have undertaken to trade with a vast amount of property belonging in great part to needy people. Instead of using as much care in the investment of this property as though it were their own, very many of them have shown a culpable recklessness: either themselves being parties to the loaning of capital without adequate guarantee, or else passively allowing their colleagues to do this. Sundry excuses may doubtless be made for them. The notorious defects of a corporate conscience, caused by divided responsibility, must be remembered in mitigation. And it may also be pleaded for such delinquents, that if shareholders, unduly swayed by reverence for mere wealth and position, choose, as directors, not the most intelligent, the most experienced, and those of longest tried probity, but the men of largest capital or highest rank, the blame must not be cast solely upon those so chosen; but must be shared by those who chose them: and further, must fall on the public as well as on shareholders; seeing that this unwise selection of directors is in part determined by the known bias of depositors. But after all allowances have been made, it must be admitted that these bank-administrators who risk the property of their clients by loaning it to speculators, are near akin in morality to the speculators themselves. As these speculators risk other men's capital in undertakings which they hope will be profitable, so do the directors who lend them money. If these last plead that the money thus lent is lent with the belief that it will be repaid with good interest, the first may similarly plead that they expected their investment to return the

borrowed capital along with a handsome profit. In each case the transaction is one of which the evil consequences, if they should come, fall more largely upon others than upon the actors. And though it may be contended, on behalf of the director, that what he does is done chiefly for the benefit of his constituents, whereas the speculator has in view only his own benefit; it may be replied that the director's blameworthiness is not diminished by showing that he took so rash a step with so comparatively weak a motive. The simple truth is, that when a bank-director lends the capital of shareholders to those to whom he would not lend his own capital, he is guilty of a breach of trust. In tracing the gradations of crime, we pass from direct robbery to robbery one, two, three, or more degrees removed. Though a man who speculates with other people's money is not chargeable with direct robbery, he is chargeable with robbery one degree removed: he deliberately stakes his neighbour's property intending to appropriate the gain, if any, and to let his neighbour suffer the loss, if any: his crime is that of contingent robbery. And hence any one who, standing like a bank-director in the position of trustee, puts the money with which he is entrusted into a speculator's hands, must be called an accessory to contingent robbery.

If so grave a condemnation is to be passed upon those who lend trust-money to speculators, as well as on the speculators who borrow it, what shall we say of the still more delinquent class who obtain loans by fraud—who not only pawn other men's property when obtained, but obtain it under false pretences? For how else than thus must we describe the doings of those who raise money by accommodation bills? When A and B agree, the one to draw and the other to accept a bill of 1000*l.* for "value received;" while in truth there has been no sale of goods between them, or no value received; the transaction is not simply an embodied lie, but it becomes thereafter a living and active lie. Whoever discounts the bill, does it in the belief that B, having become possessed of 1000*l.* worth of goods, will, when the bill falls due, have either the 1000*l.* worth of goods or some equivalent, with which to meet it. Had he known that there were no such goods in the hands of either A or B, and no other property available for liquidating the bill, he would not have discounted it—he would not have lent money to a man of straw without security.\* The case is intrinsically the same as though A had taken to the bank a forged mortgage-deed, and obtained a loan upon it. Practically, an accommodation bill is a forgery. It is an error to suppose, as the majority do, that forgery is limited to the production of documents that are *physically* false—that contain signatures or other symbols which are not what they appear to be: forgery, properly understood, equally includes

the production of documents that are *morally* false. What, considered intrinsically, is the crime committed in forging a bank-note? It is not in the mere mechanical imitation: this is but a means to the end, and taken alone is no crime at all. The crime consists in deliberately deluding others into the acceptance of what seems to be a representative of so much money, but which actually represents nothing. It matters not whether the delusion is effected by imitating the forms of the letters and figures, as in a forged bank-note, or by imitating the form of expression, as in an accommodation bill. In either case a semblance of value is given to that which has no value; and it is in giving this false appearance of value that the crime consists. It is true that in most cases the acceptor of an accommodation bill hopes to be able to meet it when due. But if those who think this exonerates him from crime, will remember the many cases in which, by the use of forged documents, men have obtained possession of moneys which they hoped presently to replace, and were nevertheless judged guilty of forgery, they will see that the plea is insufficient. We contend, then, that the manufacturers of accommodation bills should be classed as forgers. Whether, if the law so classed them, much good would result, we are not prepared to say. Whether such a change would cause inconvenience by negating the many harmless transactions carried on under this fictitious form by solvent men?—whether making it penal to use the words “value received,” unless there *had* been valued received, would not simply originate an additional class of bills in which these words were omitted?—whether it would be an advantage if bills bore on their faces proofs that they did or did not represent an actual sale?—whether a restraint on undue credit would not result when bankers and discounters saw that certain bills coming to them in the names of speculative or unsubstantial traders were avowed accommodation bills?—these are questions we need not go out of our way to discuss. We are here concerned only with the morality of the question.

Duly to estimate the greatness of the evils here indicated, however, we must bear in mind not only that the number of fraudulent transactions thus entered into is very great, but that each generally becomes the cause of many others. The original lie is commonly the parent of further lies, which again give rise to a still more numerous progeny; and so on for successive generations, multiplying as they descend. When A and B find their 1000*l.* bill about to fall due, and the expected proceeds of their speculation not forthcoming—when they find, as they usually do, either that the investment has resulted in a loss instead of a gain; or that the time for realizing their hoped-for profits has not yet come; or that the profits, if there are any, do not cover the

extravagances of living which in the meantime they have sanguinely indulged in—when, in short, they find that the bill cannot be met; they resort to the expedient of manufacturing other bills with which to liquidate the first. And while they are about it, they usually think it will be as well to raise a somewhat larger sum than is required to meet their outstanding engagements. Unless it happens, which it but rarely does, that great success enables them to redeem themselves, this proceeding is repeated, and again repeated. So long as there is no monetary crisis, it continues easy thus to keep afloat; and indeed the appearance of prosperity which is given by an extended circulation of bills in their names, bearing respectable endorsements, creates a confidence in them which renders the obtainment of credit easier than at first. Add to which, that where, as in some cases, this process is carried to the extent of employing men in different towns throughout the kingdom, and even in distant parts of the world, to accept bills, the appearances are still better kept up, and the bubble reaches a still greater development. As, however, all these transactions are carried on with borrowed capital, on which interest has to be paid; as, further, the maintenance of this organized fraud entails constant expenses, as well as occasional sacrifices; and as it is in the very nature of the system to generate reckless speculation, the fabric of lies is almost certain ultimately to fall: and, in falling, to ruin or embarrass not only many of those who had given credit, but by implication many others.

Nor does the evil end in the direct penalties from time to time inflicted upon honest traders: there is also a grave indirect penalty which they suffer from the system. These forgers of credit are habitually instrumental in lowering prices below their natural level. To meet emergencies, they are obliged every now and then to sell goods at a loss: either this, or immediate stoppage, are the alternatives. Though with each such concern this is but an occasional occurrence, yet, taking the whole number of them connected with any one business, it results that there are at all times some who are making sacrifices—at all times some who are unnaturally depressing the market. In short, the capital fraudulently obtained from some traders, is, in part, dissipated in rendering the business of other traders deficiently remunerative: often to their serious embarrassment.

If, however, the whole truth must be said, the condemnation thus visited upon these commercial vampires is not to be confined wholly to them; but is in some degree deserved by a much more numerous class. Between the penniless schemer who obtains the use of capital by false pretences, and the upright trader who never contracts greater liabilities than his estate will liquidate, there lie all gradations. From businesses carried on entirely

with other people's capital obtained by forgery, we pass to businesses in which there is a real capital of one-tenth, and a credit capital of nine-tenths; to other businesses in which the ratio of real to fictitious capital is somewhat greater; and so on until we reach the very extensive class who trade but a little beyond their means. By insensible steps we advance from the one extreme to the other; and these most venial transgressors cannot be wholly absolved from the criminality which so clearly attaches to the rest. To get more credit than would be given, were the state of the business fully known, is in all such cases the aim; and the cases in which this credit is partially unwarranted, differ only in degree from those in which it is wholly unwarranted. As most are beginning to see, the prevalence of this indirect dishonesty has not a little to do with our commercial disasters. Speaking broadly, the tendency is for every trader to hypothecate the capital of other traders, as well as his own. And when A has borrowed on the strength of B's credit; B on the strength of C's; and C on the strength of A's—when, throughout the trading world, each has made engagements which he can meet only by direct or indirect aid—when everybody is wanting help from some one else to save him from falling; a crash is certain. The punishment of a general unconscientiousness may be postponed; but it is sure to come eventually.

The average commercial morality cannot of course be accurately depicted in so brief a space. On the one hand we have been able to give only a few typical instances of the mal-practices by which trade is disgraced. On the other hand we have been obliged to present these in a separate form, unqualified by the large amount of honest dealing throughout which they are interspersed. While, by an accumulation of these disclosures, the indictment might be made much heavier; by diluting them with the immense mass of equitable transactions daily carried on, the verdict would be greatly mitigated. We fear, however, that after all allowances have been made, the state of things is very bad. And our impression on this point is due less to the particular facts we have above given, than to the general opinion expressed by our informants. On all sides we have found the net result of long personal experience, to be the conviction that trade is essentially corrupt. In tones of disgust or discouragement, reprehension or derision, according to their several natures, men in business have one after another expressed or implied this belief. Omitting the highest mercantile classes, a few of the less common trades, and those exceptional cases where an entire command of the market has been obtained, the uniform testimony of competent judges is, that success is incompatible with strict in-

tegrity. To live in the commercial world it appears necessary to adopt its ethical code ; neither exceeding nor falling short of it—neither being less honest nor more honest : those who sink below its standard are expelled ; while those who rise above it are either pulled down to it or ruined. As, in self-defence, the civilized man becomes savage among savages ; so, it seems that in self-defence the scrupulous trader is obliged to become as little scrupulous as his competitors. The remark, made we believe by Dr. Darwin, that the law of the animal creation is—“ Eat and be eaten,” may be paralleled with respect to our trading community ; of which the law appears to be—Cheat and be cheated. Indeed a system of keen competition, carried on as it is without adequate moral restraint, is very much a system of commercial cannibalism. Its alternatives are—Use the weapons of your antagonists, or be conquered and devoured.

Of questions suggested by these facts, one of the most obvious is—Are not the prejudices that have ever been entertained against trade and traders thus fully justified ? do not these meannesses and dishonesties, and the moral degradation they imply, warrant the disrespect shown to the commercial classes ? A prompt affirmative answer will probably be looked for ; but we very much doubt whether it should be given. We are rather of opinion that these delinquencies are products of the average English character placed under special conditions. There is no good reason for assuming that the trading classes are intrinsically worse than other classes. And it is a very tenable position that men taken at random from higher and lower ranks would, if similarly circumstanced, do much the same. Indeed the mercantile world might readily recriminate. Is it a solicitor who comments on their misdoings ? They may quickly silence him by referring to the countless dark stains on the reputation of his fraternity. Is it a barrister ? His frequent practice of putting in pleas which he knows are not valid ; and his established habit of taking fees for work which he does not perform ; make his criticism somewhat suicidal. Does the condemnation come through the press ? The condemned may remind those who write, of the fact that it is not quite honest to utter a positive verdict on a book merely glanced through, or to pen glowing eulogies on the mediocre work of a friend while slighting the good one of an enemy ; and may further ask whether those who, at the dictation of an employer, write what they do not think, are not guilty of the serious offence of adulterating public opinion. Moreover, traders might contend that not a few of their delinquencies are thrust upon them by the injustice of their customers. They, and especially drapers, might point to the fact that the habitual demand for an abatement of price is made in



utter disregard of their reasonable profits; and that to protect themselves against this desire to gain by their loss, they are obliged to name a price greater than that which they intend to take. They might point to the further fact that the straits to which they are often brought by the non-payment of accounts due from their wealthier customers, is itself a cause of their mal-practices: obliging them as it does to use all means, illegitimate as well as legitimate, for getting the wherewith to meet their engagements. As extreme illustrations of the wrongs inflicted on them by the non-trading classes, they might instance the well-known cases of extensive shopkeepers in the West-end, who have been either ruined by the unpunctuality of their customers, or have been obliged periodically to stop payment as the only method of getting their bills settled. And then they might ask whether, when those without excuse show this disregard of others' claims, they, who have the excuse of having to contend with a merciless competition, are alone to be blamed if they display such disregard in other forms. Nay, even to the guardians of social rectitude—members of the legislature—they might use the *tu quoque* argument: asking whether bribery of a customer's servant is any worse than bribery of an elector? or whether the gaining of suffrages by clap-trap hustings speeches, containing insincere professions adapted to the taste of the constituency, is not as bad as getting an order for goods by delusive representations respecting their quality? No; it seems very probable that close inquiry would show few if any classes to be free from immoralities that are as great, *relatively to the temptations*, as these which we have been exposing. Of course they will not be so petty or so gross where the circumstances do not prompt to pettiness or grossness; nor so constant and organized where the class conditions have not tended to make them habitual. But, taken with these qualifications, we think that much might be said for the proposition that the trading classes, neither better nor worse intrinsically than other classes, are betrayed into their flagitious habits by external causes.

Another question, here naturally arising, is—Are not these evils growing worse? Many of the facts we have cited seem to imply that they are. And yet there are many other facts which point as distinctly the other way. In weighing the evidence it is needful to bear in mind, that the much greater public attention at present paid to such matters, is itself a source of error—is apt to generate the belief that evils now becoming recognised, are evils that have recently arisen; when in truth they have merely been hitherto disregarded, or less regarded. It has been clearly thus with crime, with distress, with popular ignorance; and it is very probably thus with trading dishonesties. Not only is it true of

individual beings, that their height in the scale of creation may be measured by the degree of their self-consciousness; but the like is true of societies. Advanced and highly-organized societies are distinguished from lower ones by the evolution of a *social self-consciousness*. Among ourselves there has, very happily, been of late years a remarkable growth of this social self-consciousness; and we believe that to this is chiefly ascribable the impression that commercial mal-practices are increasing. Such facts as have come down to us respecting the trade of past times quite confirm this view. In his "Complete English Tradesman," Defoe mentions, among other manœuvres of retailers, the false lights which they introduced into their shops for the purpose of giving a delusive appearance to their goods. He comments upon the "shop rhetoric," the "flux of falsehoods," which tradesmen habitually uttered to their customers; and quotes their defence as being that they could not live without lying. Add to which, he says that there was scarce a shopkeeper who had not a bag of spurious or debased coin, from which he gave change whenever he could; and that men, even the most honest, triumphed in their skill in getting rid of bad money. These facts sufficiently indicate that the mercantile morals of that day were, at any rate, not better than ours; and if we call to mind the numerous Acts of Parliament passed in old times to prevent frauds of all kinds, we perceive the like implication. Moreover, the fact may be safely inferred from the general state of society. When reign after reign, governments debased the coinage, it can scarcely be that the moral tone of the middle classes was better than now. Among generations whose sympathy with the claims of fellow-creatures was so weak, that the slave trade was not only thought justifiable, but the initiator of it was rewarded by permission to record the feat in his coat of arms, it is hardly possible that men respected the claims of their fellow-citizens more than at present. Times characterized by an administration of justice so inefficient that there were in London nests of criminals who defied the law, and on all the high roads robbers who eluded it, cannot well have been distinguished by just mercantile dealings. While, conversely, an age which like ours has seen so many equitable social changes thrust upon the legislature by public opinion, is very unlikely to be an age in which the transactions between individuals have been growing more inequitable. And yet, on the other hand, it cannot be denied that many of the dishonesties we have described are of modern origin. Not a few of them have become established during the last thirty years; and others are even now arising. How are these seeming contradictions to be reconciled?

We believe the reconciliation is not difficult. It lies in the

fact that while the *great* and *direct* frauds have been diminishing, the *small* and *indirect* frauds have been increasing: alike in variety and in number. And this admission we take to be quite consistent with the opinion that the standard of commercial morals is higher than it was. For, if we omit, as excluded from the question, the penal restraints—religious and legal—and ask what is the ultimate moral restraint to the aggression of man on man; we find it to be—sympathy with the pain inflicted. Now the keenness of the sympathy depending on the vividness with which this pain is realized, will vary with the conditions of the case. It may be active enough to check misdeeds which will cause great suffering; and yet not be active enough to check misdeeds which will cause but slight annoyance. While sufficiently acute to prevent a man from doing that which will entail immediate injury upon a given individual; it may not be sufficiently acute to prevent him from doing that which will remotely entail injuries upon unknown people. And we find the facts to agree with this deduction, that the moral restraint varies according to the clearness with which the evil consequences are conceived. We know that many a one who would shrink from picking a pocket does not scruple to adulterate his goods—that he who never dreams of passing base coin, will yet be a party to joint-stock bank deceptions. Hence, as we say, the multiplication of the more subtle and complex forms of fraud, is consistent with a general progress in morality; provided it is accompanied with a decrease in the grosser forms of fraud.

But the question which most concerns us is, not whether the morals of trade are better or worse than they have been? but rather—why are they so bad? Why in this civilized state of ours is there so much that betrays the cunning selfishness of the savage? Why, after the careful inculcations of rectitude during education, comes there in after life all this knavery? Why, in spite of all the exhortations to which the commercial classes listen every Sunday, do they next morning recommence their evil deeds? What is this so potent agency which almost neutralizes the discipline of education, of law, of religion?

Various subsidiary causes that might be assigned must be passed over, that we may have space to dwell upon the chief one. In an exhaustive statement, something would have to be said upon the credulity of consumers, which leads them to believe in representations of impossible advantages; and something, too, on their greediness, which, ever prompting them to look for more than they ought to get, encourages the sellers to offer delusive bargains. The increased difficulty of living consequent on the growing pressure of population, would also come in as a part

cause; and that greater cost of bringing up a family, which results from the higher standard of education, might be added. But all these are relatively insignificant. If we inquire what is the great inciter of these trading mal-practices, we find it to be—intense desire for wealth. And if we go a step further back and ask—Why this intense desire for wealth? the reply is—It results from the *indiscriminate respect paid to wealth*.

To be distinguished from the common herd—to be somebody—to make a name, a position—this is the universal ambition; and every one finds that to accumulate riches, is alike the surest and the easiest way of fulfilling his ambition. Very early in life all learn this. At school, the court paid to one whose parents have called in their carriage to see him, is conspicuous; while the poor boy, whose insufficient stock of clothes implies the small means of his family, soon has burnt into his memory the fact that poverty is contemptible. On entering the world, the lessons that may have been taught about the nobility of self-sacrifice, the reverence due to genius, the admirableness of high integrity, are quickly neutralized by counter experience: men's actions proving that these are not their standards of respect. It is soon perceived that while abundant outward marks of deference from fellow-citizens may almost certainly be gained by directing every energy to the accumulation of property, they are but rarely to be gained in any other way; and that even in the few cases where they are otherwise gained, they are not given with entire unreserve: but are commonly joined with a more or less manifest display of patronage. When, seeing this, the young man further sees that while the acquisition of property is quite possible with his mediocre endowments, the acquirement of distinction by brilliant discoveries, or heroic acts, implies faculties and feelings which he does not possess; it is not difficult to understand why he devotes himself heart and soul to business.

We do not mean to say that men act upon the consciously reasoned-out conclusions thus indicated; but we mean that these conclusions are the unconsciously formed products of their daily experience. From early childhood the sayings and doings of all around them have generated the idea that wealth and respectability are two sides of the same thing. This idea, growing with their growth, and strengthening with their strength, becomes at last almost what we may call an organic conviction. And this organic conviction it is which prompts the expenditure of all their energies in money-making. We contend that the chief stimulus is not the desire for the wealth itself; but for the applause and position which the wealth brings. And in this belief we find ourselves thoroughly at one with various intelligent traders with whom we have talked on the matter. It is

incredible that men should make the sacrifices, mental and bodily, which they do, merely to get the material benefits which money purchases. Who would undertake an extra burden of business for the purpose of getting a cellar of choice wines for his own drinking? He who does it, does it that he may have choice wines to give his guests and gain their praises. What merchant would spend an additional hour at his office daily, merely that he might move into a larger house in a better quarter? In so far as health and comfort are concerned, he knows he will be a loser by the exchange; and would never be induced to make it, were it not for the increased social consideration which the new house will bring him. Where is the man who would lie awake at nights devising means of increasing his income in the hope of being able to provide his wife with a carriage, were the use of the carriage the sole consideration? It is because of the *éclat* which the carriage will give, that he enters on these additional anxieties. So manifest, so trite, indeed, are these truths, that we should be ashamed of insisting on them did not our argument require it.

For if the desire for that homage which wealth brings, is the chief stimulus to these intense strivings after wealth; then is the giving of this homage—when given, as it is, with but little discrimination—the chief ultimate cause of those countless dishonesties into which these intense strivings betray mercantile men. When the shopkeeper, on the strength of a prosperous year and tolerably favourable prospects, has yielded to his wife's persuasions, and replaced the old furniture with new at an outlay greater than his income covers—when, instead of the hoped-for increase, the next year brings a decrease in his returns—when he finds that his expenses are outrunning his revenue; then does he fall under the strongest temptation to adopt some newly-introduced adulteration or other mal-practice. When, having by display gained a certain recognition, the wholesale trader begins to give dinners appropriate only to those of ten times his income, and other expensive entertainments to match—when, having for a time carried on this style at a cost greater than he can afford, he finds that he cannot discontinue it without giving up his position; then is he most strongly prompted to enter into larger transactions; to trade beyond his means; to seek undue credit; to get into that ever-complicating series of misdeeds, which end in disgraceful bankruptcy. And if these are the facts—the undeniable facts—then is it an unavoidable conclusion that the blind admiration which the mass of society gives to mere wealth, and the display of wealth, is the chief source of these multitudinous immoralities.

Yes, the evil is deeper than appears—draws its nutriment from far below the surface. This gigantic system of dishonesty, branch-

ing out into every conceivable form of fraud, has roots that run underneath our whole social fabric, and sending fibres into every house, suck up strength from our daily sayings and doings. In every dining-room a rootlet finds food when the conversation turns upon So-and-so's successful speculations, his purchase of an estate, his probable worth—upon this man's recent large legacy, and the other's advantageous match; for being thus talked about is one form of that tacit respect which men struggle for. Every drawing-room furnishes nourishment in the admiration awarded to costliness—to silks that are "rich," that is, expensive; to dresses that contain an enormous quantity of material, that is, are expensive; to laces that are hand-made, that is, expensive; to diamonds that are rare, that is, expensive; to china that is old, that is, expensive. And from scores of small remarks and minutiae of behaviour, which, in all circles, hourly imply how completely the idea of respectability involves that of costly externals, there is drawn fresh pabulum.

We are all implicated. We all, whether with self-approbation or not, give expression to the established feeling. Even he who disapproves this feeling, finds himself unable to treat virtue in threadbare apparel with a cordiality as great as that which he would show to the same virtue endowed with prosperity. Scarcely a man is to be found who would not behave with more civility to a knave in broadcloth than to a knave in fustian. Though for the deference which they have shown to the vulgar rich, or the dishonestly successful, men will afterwards compound with their consciences by privately venting their contempt; yet when they again come face to face with these imposing externals covering worthlessness, they do as before. And so long as imposing worthlessness gets the visible marks of respect, while the disrespect felt for it is hidden, it naturally flourishes.

Thus, then, is it that men are encouraged to persevere in these evil practices which all condemn: they can so purchase a homage which, if not genuine, is yet, so far as appearances go, as good as the best. To one whose wealth has been gained by a life of frauds, what matters it that his name is in all circles a synonym of roguery? Has he not been conspicuously honoured by being twice elected mayor of his town? (we state a fact) and does not this, joined to the personal deference shown him, outweigh in his estimation all that is said against him: of which he hears scarcely anything? When, not many years after the exposure of his inequitable dealing, a trader attains to the highest civic distinction which the kingdom has to offer; and that, too, through the instrumentality of those who best know his delinquency; is not the fact an encouragement to him, and to all others, to sacrifice rectitude to aggrandizement? If, after listening to a sermon that

has by implication denounced the dishonesties he has been guilty of, the rich ill-doer finds on leaving church that his neighbours cap to him; does not this tacit approval go far to neutralize the effect of all he has heard? The truth is, that with the great majority of men the visible expression of social opinion is far the most efficient of incentives and restraints. Let any one who wishes to estimate the strength of this control, propose to himself to walk through the streets in the dress of a dustman, or carry home a leg of mutton from the butcher's. Let him feel, as he probably will, that he had rather do something morally wrong than commit such a breach of usage, and suffer the resulting derision. And he will then better estimate how powerful a curb to men is the open disapproval of their fellows; and how, conversely, the outward applause of their fellows is a stimulus surpassing all others in intensity. Fully realizing which facts, he will see that the immoralities of trade are in great part traceable to an immoral public opinion.

Let none infer, from what has been said, that the payment of respect to wealth rightly acquired and rightly used is deprecated. On the contrary, we contend that in its original meaning, and in due degree, the feeling which prompts it is good. Primarily, wealth is the sign of mental power; and this is always respectable. To have honestly acquired property, implies intelligence, energy, self-control; and these are worthy of the homage that is indirectly paid to them by admiring their results. Further, the good administration and increase of inherited property, also requires its virtues; and therefore demands its share of approbation. Add to which, that not only for their display of faculty are men who gain and increase wealth to be applauded, but also as public benefactors. For he who, as manufacturer or merchant, has, without injustice to others, realized a fortune, is thereby proved to have discharged his functions better than those who have been less successful. By greater skill, better judgment, or more economy than his competitors, he has afforded the public greater advantages. His extra profits are but a share of the extra produce obtained by the same expenditure: the other share going to the consumers. And similarly the landowner who, by judicious outlay, has increased the value—that is, the productiveness—of his estate, has thereby added to the stock of national capital. By all means, then, we say, let the right acquisition and proper use of wealth have their due share of admiration.

But that which we condemn as the chief cause of commercial dishonesty, is the *indiscriminate* admiration of wealth—an admiration that has little or no reference to the character of the possessor. When, as very generally happens, the external signs are revered, not only where they signify no internal worthiness, but

even where they cover internal unworthiness, then does the feeling become vicious. It is this idolatry which worships the symbol apart from the thing symbolized, that is the root of all these evils we have been exposing. So long as men pay homage to these social benefactors who have grown rich honestly, they afford to others a wholesome stimulus to go and do likewise; but when they accord a share of their homage to those social malefactors who have grown rich dishonestly, then do they foster corruption by encouraging others to follow their example—then do they become indirect accomplices in all these frauds of commerce.

As for remedy, it manifestly follows that there is none save a purified public opinion. When that abhorrence which society now shows to direct theft is shown to theft of all degrees of indirectness; then will these mercantile vices disappear. When not only the trader who adulterates or gives short measure, but also the merchant who overtrades, the bank director who countenances an exaggerated report, and the railway director who repudiates his guarantee, come to be regarded as of the same genus as the pickpocket, and are treated with like disdain; then will the morals of trade become what they should be.

We have little hope, however, that any such higher tone of public opinion will shortly be reached. The present condition of things appears to be, in great measure, a necessary accompaniment of our present phase of progress. Throughout the civilized world, especially in England, and above all in America, social activity is almost wholly expended in material development. To subjugate Nature, and bring the powers of production and distribution to their highest perfection, is the task of our age; and probably of many future ages. And as in times when national defence and conquest were the chief desiderata, military achievement was honoured above all other things; so now, when the chief desideratum is industrial growth, honour is most conspicuously given to that which generally indicates the aiding of industrial growth. The English nation at present displays what we may call the commercial diathesis; and the undue admiration for wealth appears to be its necessary accompaniment—a relation still more conspicuous in the worship of "the almighty dollar" by the Americans. And while the commercial diathesis, with its accompanying standard of distinction, continues predominant, we fear the evils we have been delineating can be but partially cured. It seems hopeless to expect that the mass of men will distinguish between that wealth which represents personal superiority and benefits done to society, from that which does not. The symbols, the externals, have all the world through swayed the great majority, and must long continue to do so; and even the cultivated,



who are on their guard against the bias of associated ideas, and try to separate the real from the seeming, cannot escape the influence of current opinion. We must therefore content ourselves with looking for a slow amelioration.

Something, however, may even now be done by vigorous protest against adoration of mere success. And it is important that it should be done, considering how this vicious sentiment is being fostered. When we have one of our leading moralists preaching with increasing vehemence the doctrine of sanctification by force—when we are told that while a selfishness troubled with qualms of conscience is contemptible, a selfishness intense enough to trample down everything in the unscrupulous pursuit of its ends, is worthy of all admiration—when we find that if it be sufficiently great, power, no matter of what kind or how directed, is held up for our reverence; we may fear lest the prevalent worship of mere success, together with all the commercial vices which it stimulates, should be increased rather than diminished. Not at all by this hero-worship, grown into brute-worship, is society to be made better; but by exactly the opposite—by a stern criticism of the means through which success has been achieved, and by according honour to the higher and less selfish modes of activity.

And happily the signs of this more moral public opinion are already showing themselves. It is becoming a tacitly received doctrine that the rich should not, as in bygone times, spend their lives in personal gratification; but should devote them to the general welfare. Year by year is the improvement of the people occupying a larger share of the attention of the upper classes. Year by year are they voluntarily devoting more and more energy to the furtherance of the material and mental progress of the masses. And those among them who do not join in the discharge of these high functions, are beginning to be looked upon with more or less contempt by their own order. This latest and most hopeful fact in human history—this new and better chivalry—promises to evolve a higher standard of honour; and so to ameliorate many evils: among others those which we have detailed. When wealth obtained by illegitimate means inevitably brings nothing but disgrace—when to wealth rightly acquired is accorded only its due share of homage, while the greatest homage is given to those who consecrate their energies and their means to the noblest ends; then may we be sure that, along with other accompanying benefits, the morals of trade will be greatly purified.

## ART. III.—WEIMAR AND ITS CELEBRITIES.

1. *Geschichte des Hauses von Sachsen.* Von Dr. Eduard Veisse. Hamburg. 1848.
2. *Briefe an Seine Schwester Henrietta.* Von Karl Ludwig v. Knebel. Leipzig. 1857.
3. *Weimar der Museu Hof.* Leipzig. 1843.
4. *Gothe und die lustige Zeit zu Weimar.* Von Aug. Diezmann. Leipzig. 1857.

THERE is no country which presents so many difficulties to the national historian as Germany; none in which the principle of centralization was so long and so completely excluded, and in which it still exists in so imperfect a degree. The Roman Germanic empire was in its very essence opposed to that principle. It was the secular representation of the universality of the Church. Divided into above two hundred little States, which are completely independent of the other, being connected by no link save one common tongue, Germany, despite her poets' continual invocation of the "Fatherland," has never had any real existence as a nation. Indeed, until the present century, the patriotic attachments and sympathies of her sons had always been confined to the particular spot which gave them birth. Whether in the Middle Ages, after the Reformation, or during the Thirty Years' War, we find the same civil feuds and divisions. The Germans were Guelphs and Ghibellines, Saxons or Thuringians, Bavarians or Swabians. The triumphs of Frederick the Great, the most popular of German heroes, were the triumphs of one German over the other, the humiliation of the House of Hapsburg by that of Brandenburg. It was not till the galling yoke of Napoleon, by pressing with equal weight upon the whole empire, roused one universal thrill of shame and indignation, that for the first time, and for a brief space only, the Germans became indeed one nation. The peril over, the victory achieved, they relapsed once more into their former condition, and in this they still remain. This was strikingly exemplified in the revolution of 1848, when the mutual jealousies between the various States, large and small, prevented the realization of their long-cherished project of forming a "united Germany."

Under these circumstances, a national history must be admitted to be a most difficult undertaking. It is only within the last fifty

years that it has been attempted, and even now, despite the high merits and popularity of Wenzel, Häuser, and some others, with but partial success. On the other hand, the number of provincial and dynastic historians is particularly large. Justes, Möeser, Spittler, Schlosser, &c., have treated successively with more or less talent the origin and history of the little principalities to which they severally belong. Dr. Vehse has followed in their footsteps. His "History of the Prussian Court and People," which appeared in 1851, though very verbose and somewhat wearisome, still attracted sufficient attention to induce the author to follow it up by others of the Courts of Austria, Bavaria, Saxony, &c. It is the last of these which has just reached a second edition, to which we now invite the reader's attention, deriving as it does a peculiar attraction from the individuals of whom it treats,—the eccentric John Frederic Carl Auguste, the friend and patron of Goethe, his mother Amelia, the noble and high-minded Duchess Louise, who forced even the conqueror and oppressor of her native land to respect and admiration, and, above all, Goethe himself, and his contemporaries Wieland, Herder, and Schiller. The other volumes prefixed to this article also throw some new light on the habits, manners, and history of the Court of Weimar. We shall therefore freely avail ourselves of them while sketching, as we now propose to do, some of the more salient features and incidents of that Court.

Weimar, indeed, is but a little spot on the map of Europe; but in the history of the empire to which it belongs, and, above all, in the history of the human mind, it occupies a far more conspicuous place than the proud capitals of Austria and Prussia. Its most brilliant days were at the close of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century. This was the golden age of German philosophy and literature, and almost all the celebrated men of the epoch seem to have met in the capital of Carl Auguste's dominions. The German rulers had never evinced much inclination to favour the development of literary genius in their own land. They either despised it as unworthy their attention, or dreaded it as inimical to their authority. It was to a foreign monarch that Klopstock was indebted for his pension, and all his worldly advantages. Schubert languished for ten long years in the prisons of Hohen-Asberg, without one neighbouring sovereign interesting himself in his behalf, and was at length indebted for his freedom to the intercession of an English prince. Bürger, poor and neglected, applied in vain to the greatest of German kings in his distress. Lessing owed nothing to any earthly potentate. Thus unaided and unprotected, German poetry had slowly but successfully emerged from obscurity, and worked out its way to the light. As yet, indeed, it had achieved no signal triumph; no mighty master

of song, no Homer, no Dante, Milton, or Shakspeare had shone forth with dazzling splendour to form the wonder of succeeding ages. Even the "Messiah" of Klopstock, hailed as it had been with rapturous applause, could not claim a place beside the glorious monuments of human genius of which Greece, Italy, and England may be so justly proud. But enough had been achieved to give hope and promise of brighter days. It was at this moment that a woman-regent of a little principality, numbering scarcely thirty thousand inhabitants, and hitherto almost unknown and unnoticed, stepped forward as the good genius of her country's muse, and for ever associated her name with that of its most gifted sons. While Goethe, Schiller, Wieland, and Herder are remembered, Amelia of Weimar will not be forgotten in the literary annals of the land those great names adorn.

The founder of the present reigning House of Weimar (the younger branch of the Saxon line, the "Ernestonians," called after the first of their race) was the Duke William, born in 1598. He was one of eleven brothers, among whom was that Bernard, so famous in the Thirty Years' War, and the unfortunate John Frederic, whose strange and tragic story still lives in the recollection of his countrymen. Like his brother, John Frederic offered his sword to the Protestant cause; but the singularity of his character, and the dark reports already attached to his name, made him rather shunned than sought by his companions in arms. It was rumoured that he had devoted himself to forbidden studies, and the faith in witchcraft and demonology was at that time so universally diffused, that the tale found easy credence. Far from seeking to destroy this impression, John Frederic did his best to confirm it. Shutting himself up in his hereditary castle, he devoted his days and nights to the study of Paracelsus, Cornelius Agrippa, and other necromantic writers, in the hope of discovering the awful secrets of magic; his name became a by-word, and nothing but his rank and position saved him from the fate of a sorcerer. In the year 1625 he entered the service of King Christian of Denmark, then at the head of the Protestant cause, in whose ranks his younger brother, the famous Bernard, had already enlisted. But a dispute with a Danish officer, in which his violent and unjustifiable conduct excited general indignation, soon brought about his dismissal. Burning with rage, he abandoned the Protestant cause and faith, and joined the Imperial army, where he was well received. Ere long, however, he was compelled to fly in consequence of a duel in which he ran his adversary through the body, and falling into the hands of the enraged Protestants, was thrown into a dungeon and loaded with fetters, as at once a renegade, a traitor, a maniac, and magician—attributes, one alone of which would have sufficed to render

him an object of universal horror and detestation. The Court of Weimar claiming him, he was given up to it on condition of his being kept in close custody—a condition rigorously fulfilled. Caged like a wild beast, conscious that he was the object of general hatred and terror, the mind of the wretched captive, already deeply shaken, completely gave way, till, in a fit of despair or insanity, he declared he had entered into a pact with the devil, had signed it with his blood, and hourly expected his deliverance by the Prince of Darkness. What passed on a certain awful night in the captive's chamber has never been revealed to human ear; but the next morning the wretched man was found dead on the floor, bathed in blood. The report was industriously spread that the foul fiend, enraged by his disclosure of their secret intercourse, had destroyed the wretched prisoner, as he had destroyed Faust, and so many others who had pledged their eternal weal, and that in the dead of night unearthly howlings had rent the air, and that the very walls had trembled as though shaken by an earthquake. But the immediate reception of the guards, who had watched the captive, into the Duke's service, the lavish bestowal of presents on the captains and officers, and the absence of all investigation, seem to point to a more probable, though scarcely less horrid, solution of the gloomy tale. However this may be, the popular belief, as usual in Germany, inclined to the supernatural version of the story. The building which had been the scene of the tragedy was shut up, and such was the terror with which it was regarded, that an inhabitant of Weimar would have gone miles out of his way rather than pass it after sunset. At length, in 1817, it was pulled down, and its place supplied by modern houses, to which is attached no such fearful mystery. This crime of fratricide, if indeed it was committed by the Duke of Weimar, is strangely in contrast with his general character—that of an honest, open-hearted man. He reigned peacefully for twenty years; his successor was so deeply engrossed by theological pursuits, that he found little time for the duties of government; holding religious conferences, and examining his hearers on the state of their consciences, instead of attending to public affairs. His grandson, Ernest Augustus, was one of the most singular characters of the day, and occupies some amusing pages in the memoirs of the Margravine of Baireuth, who met him at her father-in-law's court in 1732. He was carried off by a fever when his son, the father of Carl Auguste, had attained his eleventh year; and that prince likewise dying at the age of one-and twenty, his widow, Amelia, became Dowager Duchess of Weimar.

Amelia of Brunswick was born the 14th of October, 1742. The Court of Brunswick was at that period the most highly cul-

tivated in Germany, and the princess enjoyed the advantages of a careful and solid education. Her youth, however, was far from happy. Her father stern, cold, and haughty, regarded his children, especially his daughters, as mere household appendages, to be disposed of as best suited his personal convenience and his political interests. The strict etiquette on which he insisted, not only deprived the young girl of all the delights of intimate friendship with those of her own age, but exercised a chilling influence even over the heart of her royal mother, and introduced itself, like a dark spectre between parent and child. In 1756 she was given in marriage to the Duke of Weimar: It was a union in which the heart had little share. "I was married as princesses generally are," she said; nevertheless, she could not but rejoice at her deliverance from the harsh treatment to which she had been subjected under the parental roof, and which, it appears, went even to the length of blows. Her gentle sweetness gained the confidence and affection of her not very congenial spouse, so as to render her married life at least supportable, if not happy. In 1757 she became the mother of Carl Auguste. A year later her husband died, leaving her *enciente* with her second son, Constantine. By the Duke's will, Amelia's father was appointed Regent and guardian of mother and children; but at the expiration of a twelvemonth, the fair widow was declared of age by the Emperor, and invested with the sole regency of her little realm.

Her position was a difficult one for a young, lovely, and inexperienced woman; but the zeal and earnestness with which she applied herself to her new duties went far to supply the place of the knowledge of affairs and practical wisdom in which she was necessarily deficient. The following document, found among her papers after her decease, will give some idea of her thoughts at this momentous epoch of her existence, and proves that it was not only in the family of Frederic William of Prussia that princesses were subject to corporeal chastisement:—

#### "MY THOUGHTS.

"From childhood my lot has been nothing but self-sacrifice. Never was education so little fitted as mine to form one destined to rule others. Those who directed it themselves needed direction; she to whose guidance I was entrusted was the sport of every passion, subject to innumerable wayward caprices, of which I became the unresisting victim. Unloved by my parents, ever kept in the background, I was regarded as the outcast of the family. The sensitive feelings I had received from nature made me keenly alive to this cruel treatment; it often drove me to despair; I became silent, reserved, concentrated, and thus gained a certain firmness, which gradually degenerated into obstinacy. I suffered myself to be reproached, insulted, *beaten*, with-

out uttering a word, and still as far as possible persisted in my own course. At length in my sixteenth year I was married. In my seventeenth I became a mother. It was the first unmingled joy I had ever known. It seemed to me as though a host of new and varied feelings had sprung into life with my child. My heart became lighter, my ideas clearer; I gained more confidence in myself. In my eighteenth year arrived the greatest epoch in my life. I became a mother for the second time, a widow, and Regent of the Duchy. The sudden changes which one after another had taken place in my existence, created such a tumult in my mind, that for some time I could scarcely realize what had occurred. A rush of ideas and feelings, all undeveloped, and no friend to whom I could open my heart! I felt my own incapacity, and yet I was compelled to find everything in my own resources. Never have I prayed with truer or deeper devotion than at that moment. I believe I might have become the greatest of saints. When the first storm was over, and I could look within and around with more calmness, my feelings were, I confess, those of awakened vanity. To be Regent! so young! to rule and command! It could not be otherwise. But a secret voice whispered, Beware! I heard it, and my better reason triumphed. Truth and self-love struggled for the mastery; truth prevailed. Then came war. My brothers and nearest relations were crowned with laurels. Nothing was heard but the name of Brunswick! It was sung alike by friend and foe. This roused my ambition. I, too, longed for praise. Day and night I studied to render myself mistress of my new duties. Then I felt how absolutely I needed a friend in whom I could place my entire confidence. There were many who courted my favours; some by flattery, others by a show of disinterestedness. I seemed to accept all, in the hope that among them I should find the pearl of great price. At length I did find it, and it filled me with the same joy which others experience at the discovery of a treasure. If a prince, and the individual he selects as a confidant, are both noble-minded, the sincerest affection may exist between them; and thus the question is decided, whether or no princes can have friends."

These extracts prove how deeply the young Duchess felt the responsibility of her new position. She soon displayed talents for government which, in a wider sphere of action, might have given her a name in history. The state of the little Duchy was lamentable; the treasury was empty, agriculture was neglected, and the people were discontented. With the aid of her faithful ministers she succeeded in restoring something like order to the exhausted finances, established schools and charitable asylums, and left untried no means of promoting the general prosperity. Disgusted by the wearisome etiquette of which her youth had been a victim, she banished all that was not absolutely indispensable to the due maintenance of her dignity; while in her love of literature she succeeded in drawing round her a galaxy of genius which recalled the Court of Ferrara in the days of Alfonso,

The first who answered her call was Herder. After spending some years at Bücheburg, one of the innumerable little principalities into which Germany was then divided, he accepted her proposal to settle at Weimar as chaplain and superintendent of the schools she had established there.

Few men have possessed greater virtues, or faculties more lofty and varied than Herder. Like Lessing, he may be regarded as one of the pioneers of the German intellect. But his temper was too uncertain, his sensibility too morbidly keen, to permit him to live on very good terms with those around him. He was perpetually imagining some offence where none was intended, and lending every word and action an import of which their authors probably had never even dreamt. He reminds us of an instrument of exquisite tone, in which, by some fault of mechanism, a slight but oft-recurring jar mars the delicious harmony. Perhaps his frequent attacks of all health, his position, which never exactly suited his taste or his temperament, may in some degree account for the fits of irritability and hypochondria which at times darkened his noble nature. These defects, however, did not prevent him from being generally loved and admired both as a writer and a man. A poet, in the highest sense of the word, perhaps he was not, for in the creative faculty he was deficient; but no man had a deeper sense of the beautiful, or keener powers of analysis and criticism. Indeed, whatever the defects of his works, they are forgotten amid their many beauties. In every line we trace a pure, noble, lofty spirit, the love of God and man; a mind equally removed from incredulity and bigotry. "He was inspired," says Edgar Quinet, one of his warmest admirers, "by something nobler than love of fame, by a sincere and constant desire to promote the best and highest interests of humanity."

Wieland played a more conspicuous part than Herder at the little Court of Weimar. When he first made his appearance, he was at the very zenith of his popularity, the pride and darling of his countrymen. His "Oberon," indeed, on which his celebrity principally if not entirely rests, the only one of his numerous productions which still maintains its place among the classic works of Germany, was not yet composed, but his poem of "Musarion," in which Goethe delighted, and the classic romance, the "Agathon," now almost forgotten, sufficed to raise him to the very pinnacle of literary fame. The latter, indeed, had called forth the unmingled praises of the severe Lessing, who, in his "Dramaturgie," declared it, without contradiction, "the most remarkable work of its era." Carl Auguste was then in his sixteenth year. The high and varied endowments, and the private virtues of Wieland, decided the Duchess on selecting him



as the preceptor of the young prince. The appointment, indeed, was not unopposed, for spotless as was Wieland's life, his works were by no means equally immaculate; and it was but too easy to point out passages, both in the "Agathon" and "Musarion," strangely at variance with that sound and lofty morality which ought to form the basis of every education, more especially that of one born to rule the destinies of his fellow-men. But the Duchess, who, despite her unsullied purity, was somewhat tainted by the philosophy of the day, and who held the delusive though plausible theory, that no license of tone, or warmth of colouring, could injure any really healthful and high-toned mind, cast these objections to the wind. We have Wieland's well-known honour as guarantee that he never betrayed the sacred trust reposed in him. But there were not wanting many who attributed that tendency to licentious habits—which was the only stain upon Carl Auguste's many virtues—if not to the instructions of his tutor, at least to the perusal of his works, the evil effects of which even his example could not suffice to neutralize. The emolument offered to Wieland was so small as to appear almost ludicrous in our eyes. He was to receive 1000 gulden, or 90*l.* per annum, for three years, to be followed by the magnificent pension of 300 gulden, or 23*l.* per annum for life. But in this world everything is comparative. The 90*l.* went further in Germany in the eighteenth century than 300*l.* would in England at the present day.

The tastes of the inhabitants were simple. The price of all the necessaries of life was comparatively small.\* Schiller, some years later, declared that he could live charmingly at Jena for 300 florins, or 60*l.* per annum, with wife and children; that he had a servant who, when necessary, could perform the part of a secretary, for 18*s.* per quarter, and a carriage and horses for 60*l.* per annum. Thus Wieland's salary, with what he gained by his literary labours, was sufficient for his wants and those of an increasing family. The close intimacy between the Duchess Amelia and her son's tutor was broken only by death. Nor could even the more brilliant glory of a Goethe or a Schiller eclipse his in the estimation of this devoted friend.

In 1776 the Duchess resigned the reins of government to Carl Auguste, then eighteen years of age, and set out for Italy, that land which had ever been the darling dream of her existence.

"My son," were her last words on quitting her little capital, "I confide to your hands the happiness of your subjects; be it your care, as it has been mine." In many respects Carl Auguste was no ordinary man. Frederick the Great, who saw him at

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\* Beef was 4 kruzers, (a penny farthing) per pound; wood 6 gulden, or 1*l.* a load; (it is now 28 gulden); and everything in proportion.

the Court of Brunswick in 1771, when he was but fourteen, declared he had never beheld a youth who at an early age justified such lofty hopes; and in 1775, the prince-primate Dalberg, writing to Görres, observes, "he unites an excellent understanding to all the frankness and true heartiness of his age; he has a princely soul such as I have never yet seen. Taught both by precept and example to place little value upon empty pomp and splendour, he carries his dislike to all courtly forms and ceremonials to an even exaggerated degree." How early and how well Carl Auguste had learnt to value genius, is evident from the discourse he addressed to his Council in his nineteenth year, in which he expressed his intention of inviting Goethe to his Court. "The judgment of the world," observes the young prince, "may perhaps censure me for placing Dr. Goethe in my most important university, without his having passed the grades of professor, chancellor, &c. The world judges according to its own prejudices; but I do not act like others for the sake of fame, or the approbation of the world; but to justify myself before God and my own conscience."

Occasionally the thoughtlessness and reckless love of pleasure, which in his earlier years contrasted so strangely with the Duke's loftier qualities of head and heart, may have led him astray; but his nature was essentially generous and noble; his ear ever open to the cry of the suffering and distressed, his hand ever ready, so far as his means allowed, to aid them. In 1774 the Duke left Weimar to celebrate his union with the Princess Louise. On his way through Frankfort, Goethe, already celebrated as the author of "*Götz von Berlichingen*" and "*Werter*," was introduced to him. Fascinated by the charm of his genius, by the grace and gaiety of his manner, the Duke invited him to visit his Court; and Goethe, only too happy to escape from Frankfort, and from the vicinity of the fair Lili—that bright being he had, at least as he imagined, once so passionately loved, but whom he had, as usual, discovered was not a meet partner for his glorious destinies—at once accepted the proposition.

It was arranged that the Duke's chamberlain, Herr von Kalb, who, having lingered behind at Strasburg to execute some commissions for his master, was to arrive at Frankfort on a certain day, should call for the new guest. But days and weeks passed on, and no Von Kalb made his appearance. Goethe's father was a burgher of the old school, and thoroughly disliking kings and princes, had always been exceedingly averse to the project. He now insisted that the whole affair was a hoax, and urged his son to wait no longer, but to set off at once on his long-proposed journey to Italy, and Goethe at length consented. In the journal he now commenced, which, however, was carried on only for a

very brief period, we find certain expressions which induce the belief that his resolutions to break off his marriage with Lili were aided by a dawning inclination for another, Augusta Stolberg, sister to the two counts of that name. "How shall I call thee," he writes, "thou whom I cherish as a spring blossom in my heart? Thou shalt bear the name of fairest flower. How shall I take leave of thee? Comfort—for it is time—the full time. A few days, and already— Oh, farewell! Am I, then, only in the world to involve myself eternally in involuntary guilt?"

The meaning of these last words is not very apparent, unless it be that Goethe's feelings towards Augusta were of a warmer nature than has generally been supposed. The correspondence is altogether of the most romantic cast; and many of the letters, written long before Goethe's engagement with Lili was broken off, sound not a little strange from a man passionately attached and already affianced to another. "My dearest," he writes, in one of the earliest of these epistles, "I will give you no name, for what are the names of friend, sister, beloved, bride, or even a word which would comprehend all these, in comparison with my feelings? I can write no more." To this he added his silhouette, entreating she would send him her's in return; the receipt of it seems to have filled him with delight. "How completely is my belief in physiognomy confirmed," he writes; "that pure thoughtful eye, that sweet firm nose, those dear lips. Thanks, my love, thanks. Oh! that I could repose in your heart, rest in your eyes." It is true that Goethe had never seen Augusta, and that her rank as Countess rendered a union with her in those days almost impossible; so strict was the line of demarcation between the nobles and burghers, that even Goethe's already brilliant fame would not have enabled him to surmount the barrier. Nor, perhaps, did the idea ever take a tangible form; but it seems pretty certain that this half-ideal, half-romantic passion for one whom imagination invested with every conceivable perfection, tended somewhat to cool his affection for the gay open-hearted young creature, who, while loving him with truth and tenderness, was too much accustomed to homage to hang upon his every word and look as Fredricka had done, and Augusta seemed inclined to do.\*

Goethe proceeded to Heidelberg, and from thence was about to depart to Italy when the long-expected messenger from Weimar arrived, and he set off post-haste for the little capital of which he was henceforth to be the brightest ornament. His appearance was the signal for fêtes and rejoicings, and he

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\* Mr. Lewis does not appear to attach any importance to this correspondence, and scarcely notices it; but it will be found published *in extenso*.

himself seems to have given free vent to the spirit of youthful gaiety and love of pleasure which at this time possessed him.

The author of the "Musen Hof," who is nevertheless one of his warmest admirers, declares that his *immediate* influence over the young Duke was not peculiarly beneficial, as he led him into dissipations prejudicial alike to his health and domestic happiness, and certainly the letters of his contemporaries,—of Bottiger, Berteuch, Knebel, nay of Madame von Stein herself—seem to have corroborated this assertion. "Goethe," says the latter, "causes a terrible commotion here; all our happiness has disappeared. A ruler dissatisfied with himself and every one about him, risking his life constantly in mad follies, with little health to sustain him, a mother annoyed and vexed, a wife discontented, &c." It is evident that the strange mode of existence in which the Duke and Goethe indulged, and the infelicity of the royal pair which seems to have been the result, must have attracted general attention, since it reached the ears of Klopstock, and induced the aged poet to address a letter to Goethe on the subject, which, like most advice of a similar nature, served only to displease all parties.

We will not enter further into this much-vexed question. At all events, Goethe soon grew weary of a mode of life so little in accordance with the higher aspirations of the poet's soul. He gradually retired more and more from the noisy pleasures of the court, spending a considerable portion of his time in the quiet retirement of his garden pavilion. A new and all-engrossing passion had likewise its share in withdrawing him from pursuits unworthy of his nobler nature. He loved, not indeed for the first, second, or third time, as his annals attest, but with a warmth, a tenderness, and above all, a constancy, which neither the fair, innocent, and trusting Fredricka, nor the bright and graceful Lili, had been able to inspire. And yet the woman to whom was reserved the triumph of lettering for ten long years the heart of one of the most gifted and most inconstant of mortals was no longer in the early bloom of womanhood; she had attained her 33rd year, and Goethe was but 28. Beautiful in the strict sense of the word she had never been, but there was a mingled grace, sweetness, and dignity in her glance and demeanour which exercised a singular fascination on all around her. Goethe, the young, the gallant, the admired of all admirers, was at once enthralled by her spell. "I can only explain," he writes to Wieland, "the power she exercises over me by the theory of the transmigration of souls. Yes! we were formerly man and wife. Now, I can find no name for us, for the past, the future." Unluckily, Charlotte von Stein was already the wife of another, the mother of six children. That she returned the passion of her

adorer cannot be doubted; but, if we are to believe the assurance of her son, in his preface to Goethe's letters to his mother, and the testimony of many of her contemporaries, among others, that of Schiller—she never transgressed the strictest bounds of virtue. She had been indoctrinated with the questionable morality of the eighteenth century, and was married while yet a girl to a man infinitely her inferior in all mental endowments, and for whom she had little sympathy or affection. She was thrown, by her position as lady of honour to the Dowager Duchess, into the constant society of the young and brilliant genius—already the day-star of his age and country. Proud in conscious virtue, it is perhaps not to be wondered at that she could not prevail on herself to break an intercourse so replete with every charm of intellect and fancy, to refuse an homage so flattering alike to her heart and her vanity, if she permitted herself to be the Laura of this new Petrarch:—

“Indeed,” observes Frederick von Stein, “if this correspondence proves that emotions even dangerous in their warmth were not far distant from this intercourse, it also serves to place in a still stronger light the virtue and prudence of the woman who, while keeping her young, gifted, and ardent lover within the limits of the strictest reserve, still contrived to reconcile him to her severity, by sincere sympathy in all his trials, both mental and material, by fully comprehending his glorious vocation, and by soothing him with the most sincere and lasting friendship.”

More than one German author, especially Adolphe Stahr, in his well-known work “Weimar and Jena,” has actually censured Madame von Stein in no measured terms for refusing to accede to Goethe's entreaties that she would obtain a divorce from her husband, the father of her children, against whom she had no just cause of complaint, and become his wife,—that is, when he found it impossible to induce her to listen to a suit of any other description. Upon this refusal is thrown the whole responsibility of the poet's subsequent *liaison* with Christina Vulpius. These authors seem never even to imagine that there may be some slight fault on Goethe's side; that if Madame von Stein was blameable in admitting him to an intimacy endangering her peace of mind, if not her conjugal fidelity, he was not perfectly justifiable in seeking with all the eloquence of genius to win the heart of a woman already bound by the most sacred ties to another. But Nemesis was not forgetful. The connexion which in a moment of ennui and weariness Goethe formed with Christina Vulpius—a connexion which he had not the courage or cruelty to break, and which he ultimately confirmed by marriage—embittered his latter years, and could not but exercise an unfavourable influence on his whole nature. Would not Fredricka

or Lili have been a more genial companion than Christina Vulpius for that great poet of whom his native land is so justly proud? Who could have dreamt of such a bride for the beautiful and gifted Apollo, as Adolphe Stahr calls him, when he first set foot in the dominions of Carl Auguste!

Weimar, consecrated to all lovers of poetry, scarcely deserved the name of a town when Goethe first lived there. Schiller, in a letter to Körner, calls it "something between a town and a hamlet." Goethe laughingly observed one day to his friend Zetter, when the latter spoke of building a theatre for the people, "How is it possible to talk of the people of Weimar in this little residence, where there are ten thousand poets and five hundred inhabitants?"

The park did not then exist. A few trees alone waved on the spot now so beautifully diversified with verdant wood and grassy lawn. On the Curplatz, now covered with stately houses, stood nothing save the straw-thatched huts of the Weimar peasants; one thing only have we to regret in the changes which have gradually transformed an insignificant village into a stately city. On the esplanade, which as late as 1770 was the favourite promenade of the good inhabitants, stands a dwelling so humble as scarcely to attract attention among the more conspicuous buildings around. It is the house of Schiller. Here, in this modest retreat, did the author of "Wallenstein" spend the latter years of his existence. He purchased it at the high price, as he called it, of 4000 gulden, 360*l*. He entered it on the 29th of April, full of delight at possessing one spot on earth he could call his own. A heavy domestic calamity soon came to damp this joy. Within a few days he received a letter informing him of the death of his mother, that mother to whom he was so devotedly attached. The blow was a heavy one. Amid every change of place and scene, domestic joys and sorrows, amid fame, homage, toil and suffering, his heart had ever clung with inexpressible fondness to the home of his childhood, and above all to the parent who had watched over his infant years.

"Would," he writes to his sister, "that I had been able to aid you in tending our beloved mother during her last illness. Oh, dear sister, now our parents are sunk to rest, the most holy bond which united us is torn asunder. It makes me unspeakably sad, and I feel desolate though surrounded by the loved and loving. Yet I have, you too, my sister, to whom I can fly in joy and sorrow. Oh! let us, now there are but three of us remaining in the paternal house, cling close to each other. Never forget you have a loving brother. I remember vividly the days of our youth, when we were all in all to each other. Life has divided our destiny; but confidence and affection may at least remain unalterable."

It is scarcely possible to enter without a feeling of deep emotion that humble dwelling, where so many glorious works of genius were brought forth, where one of the purest and noblest spirits that ever breathed on earth passed away. Three years only was Schiller permitted to inhabit this lowly but pleasant abode, so modest that even Goethe's house, though not particularly splendid, looks like a palace in comparison. The middle story, in which the family resided, is let; only the room which Schiller himself inhabited is shown to the visitor, the town having at length purchased the house. In the centre stands the table on which he was in the habit of writing, that very table which, as he informed his friend Körner, "cost two carolines," a heavy sum for his narrow finances at that period. It is of the very commonest wood, and so low as perfectly to explain his unfortunate habit of bending over it when composing. One drawer was always filled with half rotten apples, the smell of which was peculiarly agreeable to the poet, the walls are covered with green paper, the furniture is of light mahogany, covered with leather. A little guitar, a few bad-coloured prints of Palermo, the bed in which Schiller breathed his last, a portrait taken from his bust, and a second painted after death—these complete the picture. When Schiller resided at this cottage it had nothing but green trees around and upland slopes before it.

Improvements, however, so far as the duke's finances allowed, went on rapidly under the supervision of the almost ubiquitous Goethe. The park owes its origin to a tragic incident which occurred about the beginning of 1780—the suicide of a young and blooming girl, Christel von Lasberg, who in despair at the infidelity of her lover, destroyed herself on a spot Goethe was compelled to pass on his way to and from the ducal castle. This affected him painfully, the more so as his "Werter" was found in her pocket, though it appeared that this was but an accidental coincidence. At first he resolved on erecting a monument to her memory, but abandoned this project, "because," as he said, "one could neither pray nor love there." But the gloom of the spot, overhung by dark pine trees, and peopled by such terrible recollections, became intolerable to Goethe, and he determined to try and lend it a more cheerful aspect. To this end he had some of the trees cut down, the rocks planted with shrubs and flowers; this suggested the idea of further changes, which at length resulted in that beautiful park which is now the principal ornament to Weimar.

"The duke and Goethe," says Wieland to Merck, June 8rd, 1778, "came back yesterday afternoon from their trip to Leipzig, Dessau, and Berlin. In the evening I went with my wife and both my eldest

girls to see the exercise grounds opposite Goethe's garden, and arranged according to his own plans; thence I proceeded to the so-named 'Star' to show my wife the new *Poemata*, which has been made by the duke, after Goethe's designs, and is laid out with wonderful skill, to represent a wild, solitary, yet not completely sequestered assemblage of rocks, where Goethe and the duke often dine together with some goddess or half goddess. We met both with the fair Corinna Schröder, who, with her exquisite attic elegance, her lovely form, her simple yet inexpressively graceful attire, looks like the very nymph of this sequestered spot."

The words "in the society of some goddess," let us into something of the secret origin of the Weimar scandal. There were other pleasures, however, of a less objectionable character:—

"Last Saturday," writes Wieland to Merck, August 21st, 1779, "we drove to Goethe's, who had invited the Duchess Amelia to spend the evening with him in his garden, to regale her with all the poems he had composed during her absence. We dined in a charming solitary spot. When we rose from table, and the doors were thrown open, we beheld before us a scene which resembled a realization of a poet's dream. The whole banks of the Ilm were illuminated quite in the taste of Rembrandt, a wondrous enchanting mixture of light and shadow, which produced an effect beyond all description. The duchess was delighted, so were we all. As we descended the little steps of the hermitage, and wandered along the banks of the Ilm, amid the rocks and bushes which unite this spot with the Star, the whole vision changed into a number of small pictures, 'au Rembrandt,' which one could have looked on for ever. The carnival time," he continues, "has brought with it its usual gaieties, and we have done our best to make the ordinary court malady, 'ennui,' as brilliant as possible."

The limited finances of the little court somewhat interfered with these courtly amusements. Carl Auguste often found himself in difficulties, which neither his own skill, nor that of his counsellors, could suffice to remove. When tormented by some of these petty annoyances, or fatigued with the cares of state, he would retire to a little country-house, where, dismissing all his train, he would remain alone.

"It is just ten o'clock," he writes to Knebel; "I am sitting at the window, and writing to you. The day has been exquisitely beautiful, and this my first evening of liberty I have enjoyed to the utmost. I feel so far removed from the affairs of earth, so completely in a better, a higher sphere. Man is not destined to be the miserable 'philiater' of this every-day life. Never do we feel so noble, so elevated, as when we behold the sun sink to rest, and the stars rise, and know that all this is created for its *own* sake alone, not for that of man, and yet we



enjoy it as though it were all made for us. I will bathe with the evening star, and draw in new life. Till then farewell. I come from my bath. The water was cold, night already lay upon its bosom. It seems as though I had plunged into the cold night itself when I took the first dip, all was so calm, so holy. Over the distant hills rose the full moon. All was silent, and the intense stillness made me hear, or fancy I heard, purer sounds than those which really reached the ear."

The individual to whom this letter is addressed enjoyed, next to Goethe, the confidence and affection of the duke. Knebel, better known as the friend and companion of poets and princes than by any celebrity of his own, was one of those peculiarly constituted natures which seem destined to act rather in calling forth the powers of others, than in displaying their own. These perhaps are, on the whole, the happiest. Free from those feverish impulses, that burning thirst for fame which so often torment more highly gifted spirits, they can enjoy to the full the productions of genius without envy or regret. They, too, are poets; but they are content to find poetry in life and nature, in the summer flowers, in the murmur of the fountain, in the whispering of the breeze, instead of attempting to give it form and shape in verse. They compose, but only for the amusement of a leisure hour, yet no men have had more influence on the great minds of their age. Most rare and valuable are such spirits, sufficiently gifted to appreciate the lofty endowments of genius, to sympathize in all its varied moods and sublime aspirations, and yet content to play the humble part of confidant and admirer. Such a man was Knebel. His literary works, though not absolutely devoid of merit, have been long since forgotten, but the ascendancy he exerted over the intellect of the great men of his country and his time has associated his name lastingly with theirs.

Descended from a Flemish family, he was born at Wallenstein, in Ottingen, 1741. One of his ancestors having paid the penalty of his religious opinions by a cruel death under Philip II., the family had fled from the land of their birth, and taken refuge in Germany. Stern, harsh, and unbending, Knebel's father was feared rather than loved by his son, and the youth always attributed his timidity in after-life to the severity exercised towards him in childhood. His delicate and somewhat fastidious tastes seemed continually in the way. At the university they rendered the rude habits of his companions insupportable. When he entered the service of Frederick the Great, he found the want of education and literary taste among his brother officers still more intolerable. He felt like an automaton, deprived of all individuality of action; and despite the royal notice, with which he was occasionally honoured, he grew sad and dispirited.

Knebel spent ten years in the Prussian service—ten long and

wearry years as he calls them. In 1772 he obtained his discharge with a small pension, and a letter of introduction to the young Duchess of Weimar from the Crown Prince, in whose regiment he had served. By her he was graciously received, while by Wieland, who already resided at Weimar, as tutor to the young duke, he was warmly welcomed. In 1773 he was himself appointed professor of mathematics to Carl Auguste and his brother. Shortly afterwards he accompanied the princes on a visit to some of the courts of Germany, and afterwards to Paris. Knebel was delighted with the novelty of all he beheld, and especially with the grace of French manners. "They may say what they like," he wrote to Wieland, "the French are an agreeable and amiable people; nowhere else does one find so much urbanity." "I saw a good deal of Diderot," he adds in a subsequent letter. He expressed his amazement that Mendelssohn was not admitted to the Royal Academy of Berlin. Though royalty still seemed to reign supreme, the revolutionary spirit was already abroad. "Many young men of distinguished talent," says Knebel in his letters, "repeated to me continually that henceforward all must be equal—nobles, peers, burghers, and peasant, and *such like trash*." He was not keen-sighted enough to discern through the bright and glowing atmosphere that surrounded him—the dark clouds, big with the mighty changes, already slowly looming on the verge of the horizon, so soon to cover all with its gloomy folds, and to burst in thunder over Europe.

Next to Goethe and Knebel, the most intimate friend of Carl Auguste was his chamberlain, Frederick von Einsedel. Born 1750, he commenced his court career as page; he was then promoted to the rank of chamberlain to the Dowager Duchess Amelia; in 1770 he was named privy councillor. Himself gay, joyous, and light-hearted, he had while page played prank upon prank, which had already become proverbial in the court chronicles of Weimar. In after-life his gladsome temperament, his frank and open manners, and generous nature, secured him the lasting favour of his royal master. His very failings served as subjects of amusement rather than anger. His constitutional laziness varied by fits of feverish activity, and his strange absence of mind during which he might be *robbed* of hat, gloves, or watch, without his ever perceiving it, diverted the ennui to which, despite the presence of a Goethe, or a Herder and a Wieland, this little court seems to have been peculiarly subject. Einsedel, however, must have had merits of a higher order than mere harmlessness and good-humour, or he would scarcely have been admitted to the intimate friendship of Herder and Schiller. "He is an excellent, unaffected man," writes the latter to Körner, in 1803, and far from devoid of talent. Einsedel's private life, however, was anything

but immaculate, and some of his adventures might serve as a curious illustration of the times and the atmosphere in which he lived. He had become desperately enamoured of a Madame von Wertheim, who, yielding to her passion, abandoned home, husband, friends, and country to follow her seducer. Not completely dead, however, to the shame of thus publicly violating all her holiest duties, she had recourse to one of the most extraordinary stratagems ever devised by a romantic female head. She took advantage of the fainting fits to which she was occasionally subject, to feign death. With the connivance of her attendants, she contrived to steal out of the house unperceived, while a doll was buried in her stead. She then proceeded with her lover to Africa, where he proposed exploring certain gold mines by which he expected to make his fortune. The affair turned out a complete failure, and Einsedel returned poorer than he went, with his fair and frail companion. Great was the amazement and indignation of husband and friends on beholding the resuscitation of her they believed long since buried in the vaults of her ancestors. But in German courts in the eighteenth century such affairs were not regarded as involving any very great amount of moral turpitude. The Court of Weimar indeed was virtue itself, compared with those of Dresden, of Wurtemberg, and Hanover; but even *here* "excess of love" was held as sufficient excuse for every sin. There was a strange mixture of the maudlin and the licentious. French immorality grafted on German sentimentality. A separation was obtained, and Madame W. became the wife of her lover. Einsedel lived to the age of seventy-eight, and died in 1828.

In 1796 Weimar received a new visitor in the author of "*Hesperus*." The mingled naïveté and singularity of his demeanour, his animated and poetic language, full of thoughts and images at once tender and ironical—for he spoke as he wrote—his enthusiastic belief in the progress of humanity, charmed Herder to such a degree, that he wrote to Jacobi—"Heaven has given me in Jean Paul a treasure which I dare not hope I merit. He is all intellect, all soul, a melodious sound from the mighty golden harp of humanity, that harp of which so many chords are snapped or broken." By Goethe he was more coldly received:—

"It was with apprehension, almost with terror," he writes to his friend Otto, "that I entered the abode of Goethe. Every one depicted him as cold and indifferent to all earthly things. Madame von Kalb had told me that he no longer admired anything, not even his own works. Every word, she said, is an icicle, especially to strangers, whom he is with difficulty persuaded to admit to his presence. His house struck me. It was the only one in Weimar built in the Italian style; from the very staircase it is a museum of statues and pictures.

The god at length appeared; he was cold; he expressed himself in monosyllables only, and without the slightest emphasis. Tell him, said Knebel, that the French have just entered Rome. "Hein," replied the god. His person is bony, his physiognomy full of fire, his look a sun. At length our conversation on the arts, and on the opinions of the public, perhaps also the champagne, animated him, and then at length I felt I was with Goethe! His language is not flowery and brilliant like that of Herder; it is incisive, calm, and resolute. He concluded by reading, or rather performing, one of his unpublished poems, a composition truly sublime. Thanks to this, the flames of his heart pierced their crust of ice, and he pressed the hand of the enthusiast Jean Paul. How shall I describe his mode of reading. It was like the distant roar of thunder mingled with the soft dripping of a summer shower. No! there is no one in the world like Goethe! We must be friends."

This desire was not destined to be fulfilled. The author of "Quintus Filein" was too diametrically opposed, not only as a writer but as an individual, to the poet of "Faust" or "Tasso" to allow of any real or lasting intimacy.

One of the most eccentric and most troublesome personages of the little Court of Weimar was Constantine, the Duke's brother. He possessed neither the intellectual endowments nor the generous nature of Carl Auguste. Knebel, who was appointed his tutor in 1782, had in vain endeavoured to inspire him with loftier tastes. An unfortunate *liaison* with a beautiful girl, Carolina von S——, produced so much scandal, that the Duke sent him from Weimar, on his travels to Italy, accompanied by the Councillor Albrecht von ——, a talented and excellent man, but apparently not a very amusing companion. Constantine soon grew weary of so grave a Mentor. Arrived at Paris, he plunged, despite his companion's admonitions, into all the dissipations of that brilliant capital, and ere long fell into the snare of a clever actress, Mademoiselle Darsaincourt, whose wit, intrigue, and beauty completely enthralled him. Yielding to her counsel, he got rid of the perpetual presence of his guardian, by assigning him, under some pretext, a place in another carriage, while his mistress took hers beside him. He then set off, not for Italy, but to London.

Poor Albrecht, from a sense of duty, followed him, but finding his admonitions utterly useless, returned in despair to Weimar. In vain did Carl Auguste recal his brother; he disregarded his commands. Of his life in London little is recorded, but it is probable that it was not of a very reputable nature. At length, in 1803, his resources failing, he set out for Germany. Somewhat embarrassed how to dispose of his companion, he despatched her beforehand. Carl Auguste, however, would not permit her to set foot in his dominions, and she was forced to

return to France, despite the entreaties and remonstrances of her despairing lover.

"This last catastrophe," writes Carl Auguste to Knebel, January 5th, 1784, "has been of service to Constantine, apparently at least. The society here endeavoured to prove its adherence to me by openly blaming his conduct, and shunning his company, so that he was left to almost complete solitude. This decided condemnation was very painful to him, and made him feel how essential is a certain degree of exterior decency at least to procure a reception in good society, and that even his rank could not protect him from contempt and neglect. He has now adopted an appearance of respectability, fulfils more exactly the ordinary duties of life, and performs his part well enough to be regarded as an educated member of society. I am seeking to obtain his admission into the Saxon service."

Constantine died in 1803.

Amid this circle of genius, wit, fancy, and gallantry, sometimes verging on libertinism, stood the Duchess Louise, like one of those pure, calm, beautiful, though somewhat stiff and stately figures of Holbein or Vandyke, among the loose and lovely groups of a Rubens or a Lily. Endowed with every grace of mind and person, seemingly formed to enjoy and bestow felicity, united to one of the most charming and noble-minded princes of the age, Louise was still unhappy and alone. The circumstances which led to this sense of isolation were trifling in themselves; yet in such a position as that of the young duchess, they sufficed to darken all her prospects of domestic bliss. Educated with the utmost severity, accustomed to the observance of the most rigid etiquette and the strictest reserve, Louise found herself suddenly transplanted into an atmosphere diametrically opposite to that in which her whole existence had hitherto been passed. We have seen how completely, both in private and public life, the Duchess Amelia and her son had thrown aside those wearisome observances which in other German Courts were still held as necessary appendages to royalty, and which the young Louise had learned to regard with almost superstitious reverence. At Weimar, on the contrary, all was simplicity, gaiety, equality, and fraternity. In their desire to do away with the useless encumbrances imposed by their rank, the duke and duchess had in fact unconsciously gone a little too far, and infringed something of that strict decorum which is one of the best safeguards of royalty.

Louise was surprised, pained, even shocked. Her high and perhaps exaggerated sense of what was due alike to the bride and the princess, was perpetually wounded. The charms of intellectual intercourse with such men as Goethe, Herder, Wieland, and Schiller, the gay good humour of her thoughtless but really

noble-minded consort, the grace and sweetness of her mother-in-law, would have reconciled most women to the sacrifice of some of their early prejudices. But Louise, with all her lofty qualities, was wanting in that flexibility of character which could alone have secured her felicity under existing circumstances, and though she never by word or deed expressed her feelings, her pallid cheek, her saddened mien, her cold, reserved manner, too plainly showed what passed within. If Carl Auguste had passionately loved his young wife, all might have been well. But Louise's was a nature so utterly antagonistic to his own, that he never fully understood her, or at least not till too late. Her timidity and reserve prevented her expressing her sentiments, while her daily increasing silence and coldness chilled her husband, and led him to believe he was utterly indifferent to her. Nay, he conceived an equally erroneous opinion of her intellect as of her heart. "She is incomprehensible," he wrote to his friend Knebel; "before her marriage she lived quite alone in the world, without ever finding a being who answered her expectations of what friends ought to be, without exercising a single talent which would have softened her nature. She runs the risk of becoming completely isolated, and losing all that grace and amiability which form the principal charm of her sex." These words speak volumes. They explain the clouds which from day to day grew darker over the domestic horizon of the royal pair. Louise felt that her husband neither understood nor appreciated her as she was conscious she deserved to be appreciated. Wounded alike in her affections and her pride, too timid to remonstrate, too haughty to complain, she withdrew more and more from his society, till at length, though living together, the two consorts became almost strangers to each other. "The young duchess," observes Knebel, "shone like a darkened star in a lazy atmosphere. The first meeting did not produce very favourable impressions on either side, and she certainly had in part reason to complain of the want of 'convenances' in her court. She endured much with infinite patience, and maintained her dignity with unvarying consistency. The characters of the two princesses, which did not quite agree, gave rise to much dissension. That this exercised a painful influence on those who surrounded them may easily be supposed. Nevertheless the prudence of their 'entourage,' the moderation of the duchess, and the desire of her mother-in-law to love and be loved, prevented any violent outbreak." Even the powerful bonds of parental love did not suffice to draw the royal pair closer together. For many years, indeed, the duke had cherished another passion; he loved a beautiful and gifted actress, Caroline Jägernau. With a virtue and self-denial rare in her class and time, she had long repelled his

entreaties, though her heart pleaded his cause. Louise was no stranger to this attachment; it scarcely sought concealment. It had often rent her heart and embittered her existence, but she knew the passionate temperament of her husband; she felt that Caroline, with whose gentle and generous character she was well acquainted, might save him from worse seduction.

Affection, womanly pride, religious principle, all opposed such a compromise of her own paramount claims and duty. But, as with Burger's *Dora*,\* Louise's devoted tenderness overcame every other consideration. She not only did nothing to prevent or oppose the *liaison*; she wrote the fair actress to entreat her to listen to the duke's suit. However we may wonder at such a course, we are bound to render justice to the unselfish motives which inspired it. Louise did not, like Caroline of England, give her lord a mistress in order to rule him more easily, or less ostensibly, through her influence. It was to save him from worse courses, to confer on him a happiness she felt she had not been able to bestow. Caroline yielded, yet not without a struggle. She was elevated to the dignity of Madame von Hagendorf, and presented with a superb estate in Saxony. Her influence over Carl Auguste was boundless, and ended only with his life. It is to her credit that she never abused her position, and that she always preserved a most perfect fidelity to her royal lover. She was a blonde, with light hair, and features and complexion of surpassing beauty. The duchess treated her happier rival with the delicacy and kindness natural to her own pure and noble soul, both before and after the death of the duke. How Carl Auguste's mother regarded this *liaison*, we are not informed. Between herself and her daughter-in-law there was too little congeniality of taste or character to admit of intimacy or confidence, yet that Amelia fully appreciated the lofty virtues of her son's wife can scarcely be denied. On her return from Italy the dowager duchess resided at the Belvidere, or her jointure house some little distance from Weimar, where, in the society of the gifted men she had drawn to her son's court, and the enjoyment of innocent and intellectual pleasures, she passed the remainder of her days. Her health, which had latterly shown many symptoms of decay, sank completely beneath the terrible incidents of 1806—the death of her brother, the Duke of Brunswick—the ruin of her ancestral house; and the danger which impended over the land of her adoption. She died in 1807.

But the events which overwhelmed the sensitive nature of the dowager duchess only called into action the noble qualities of

\* See "Poets and Poetry of Germany." By Madame de Pontés. Vol. II. p. 337.

her daughter-in-law. When Weimar was threatened by the victorious army of the Conqueror—when all deserted a town which seemed doomed to destruction, the Duchess Louise remained firm and unshaken at the post which she believed Providence assigned her. \*

Her lord, on whom Napoleon had vowed vengeance, had been forced by prudence to fly. Her children, in her maternal tenderness, she had sent to a place of safety, her troops were scattered, her friends trembling and defenceless, but still Louise, Duchess of Weimar, remained firm and unshrinking in that town, which every instant might become a prey to the flames—in that palace which was so soon to receive the presence of the imperious victor, among the people of whom she had always been the friend and protector, and of whom she was now the guardian angel. “When,” says Falk in his personal reminiscences of Goethe, “the people learnt that the Grand Duchess was still in the Castle, their joy knew no bounds. When they met, they threw themselves in each other’s arms exclaiming, ‘The Grand Duchess is here.’”

Nor were they mistaken in the sense of safety with which her presence inspired them. The duchess received the Conqueror (who had previously announced his intention of passing the night of the 15th of October at the Castle) at the head of the grand staircase. Pale, but calm and dignified, she awaited the approach of the terrible emperor, on whom the fate of her people depended. Napoleon turned towards her with an angry mien, “*Qui êtes-vous, Madame?*” “The Duchess of Weimar, sire,” was the answer. “*Je vous plains,*” replied Napoleon, abruptly; “I must crush your husband.” Then turning rudely away, “*Qu’on me fasse diner dans mes appartements,*” he exclaimed, and left the duchess without addressing her another word. But Louise would not suffer herself to be discouraged. The following morning she requested another interview,—it was granted.

Night had brought counsel. The Conqueror, though still haughty and imperious, condescended at least to lend an ear to her remonstrance and appeal. Unmoved by his darkening brow and impatient gestures, she defended with all the eloquence of a noble nature the conduct of the duke in adhering to the Prussian cause, as commanded alike by honour and necessity. She painted in vivid colours the personal friendship which bound him to Frederic William, the marks of affectionate interest he had received from that monarch, and inquired with generous indignation whether “it was in the hour of peril and misfortune that he could desert his friend and ally?” She pictured the fearful condition of the land—the stain that would for ever rest upon the fame of the Victor if the city were, as he threatened, aban-



doned to pillage. Struck and impressed despite himself, Napoleon relented so far as not only to give strict orders that the town should be respected, but to rescind his repeated declaration that the duke should never again set foot on his native soil. True, the conditions appended to this concession were rigorous enough. Carl Auguste was to quit the Prussian camp within twenty-four hours. In vain the anxious wife endeavoured to obtain some delay. Here Napoleon was inflexible; and Louise, finding her efforts useless, retired to take instant measures to inform her lord of what had occurred. She despatched messengers in all directions, for the exact spot where he was to be found was not known.

Next morning Napoleon returned the visit, accompanied by all his principal officers. Desirous, it would seem, of effacing all recollection of his former harshness, he expressed the deepest regret for the excesses committed by his soldiery, lamenting the cruel necessity of war, and declaring *that it had been forced upon him*. "Croyez-moi, madame, il y a une Providence qui dirige tout, et dont je ne suis que l'instrument," he repeated. On descending to his apartment, he exclaimed, "Voilà une femme à qui nos deux cents canons n'ont pas pu faire peur."

Perhaps political considerations induced Napoleon to prolong the term originally fixed for the duke's return to Weimar, and to admit some modification of the severe conditions he had imposed. No entreaties or remonstrances, however, could obtain any reduction of the contribution of 200,000,000 francs, a fearful burthen on a country already so terribly impoverished. All that the duchess could do to alleviate the sufferings of the people she did. Her private purse was drained to aid their necessities, and it is even said that she disposed of many of her jewels for the same purpose. This noble conduct found its reward in the adoration of her people, in the increasing regard of her lord, in the admiration of Europe. "She is the true model of a woman," writes Madame de Staël, "formed by nature for the very highest position. Equally devoid of pretension or weakness, she awakens at the same time, and in an equal degree, both confidence and veneration. The heroic soul of the olden days of chivalry still animates her without in the slightest degree diminishing the gentleness of her sex."

Though in the latter years of their union a sincere if not ardent friendship had succeeded the coldness of early life, Louise was not destined to be beside her husband at the hour of his death. He had undertaken a journey to Berlin to visit his granddaughter, the Princess Marie, who had lately married the Prince of Prussia. On his return he was suddenly seized with illness, and died at Graditz, near Torgau, 14th June, 1828, at the

age of seventy. Alexander Humboldt had been his constant companion during the latter days of his life, and with him he conversed hours together, on all those subjects in which he had ever felt so lively an interest.

"In Potsdam," says this gifted man, in a letter to Chancellor Müller, "I spent many hours alone with the Grand Duke on the sofa. He drank and slept alternately, drank again, rose to write to his consort, then again sank to sleep. He was cheerful, but very much exhausted. During the interval he pressed me with the most difficult questions on physics, astronomy, meteorology, and geology, on the transparency of a comet, the atmosphere of the moon, the influence of the spots on the sun, on the temperature, &c. In the midst of our conversation he would fall asleep, and was often uneasy. When he awoke, he would quickly and kindly entreat forgiveness for his want of attention. 'You see, Humboldt, it is all over with me.' All at once he would commence a desultory conversation on religion. He complained of the increase of fanaticism, the close connexion of this religious tendency with political absolutism, and the oppression of all the free movements of the intellect. 'Besides, they are false and treacherous,' he exclaimed. 'all they try for is to render themselves agreeable to princes, to receive stars and ribbons. They sneaked in with their poetical love for the middle ages.' Soon, however, his indignation appeased itself; he began to speak of all the consolation he had found in the Christian faith. 'That is a truly philanthropic doctrine,' he observed, 'but from the very commencement it has been deformed.'"

It was on occasion of this letter of Humboldt that Goethe pronounced his well-known eulogium on Carl Auguste:—

"The duke was a born nobleman; he had taste and interest for everything good and great. He was but eighteen when I came to Weimar; but even then the bud and blossom showed what the tree would become. He soon chose me for his friend, and evinced the sincerest sympathy in everything I did. My being nearly ten years older than himself was favourable to our intimacy. He would sit whole evenings beside me in deep conversation on nature, art, or anything else that was worth his attention. Often did we converse thus till nearly midnight, and it not unfrequently happened that we fell asleep beside each other on the sofa. Fifty years did we continue this intercourse. There are many princes capable of speaking admirably on subjects of interest; but they have not the real love of them in their hearts, it is only superficial. And it is no wonder, when we remember all the distractions and dissipations attending a court life to which a young prince is peculiarly exposed. He must notice everything, and know a bit of this and a bit of the other; but in this way nothing can take deep root in the mind, and it requires a really powerful nature not to turn to mere empty smoke in such an atmosphere. The Grand Duke was a man, in the full sense of the term. He was animated by

the noblest benevolence, the purest philanthropy, and from his whole soul desired to do the best he could. His first thought was always his people's happiness; his own was the very last.

"His hand was ever open, and ready to aid noble individuals, and noble aims. There was much that was divine in his nature. He would fain have showered happiness on all mankind.

"He was by nature taciturn; but the action followed close upon the words. He loved simplicity, and was an enemy to all coddling and effeminacy. He never drove out except in a drosky, which really hardly held together, wrapt in an old grey mantle and a military cap. He loved travelling, but not so much to amuse himself as everywhere to keep his eyes and ears open, and observe everything good and useful, that he might introduce it into his own country. Agriculture and manufactures owe him no common debt of gratitude. He did not seek to win the favour of his people by fine words; but the people loved him, because they knew his heart beat for them."

Carl Auguste was buried, by his own desire, in the same vault in which Schiller already reposed, and where Goethe himself was one day to sleep beside him.



#### ART. IV.—THE DRAMA IN PARIS.

##### *Les Mystères des Théâtres de Paris, 1844.*

THE paramount popularity of the French drama over that of every other people seems established by general consent. With the exception of the Italian opera, which migrates in different directions from Naples, Florence, and Milan, and an occasional interchange of actors between England and America, the histrionic performances of other nations are unknown out of their own country. France, on the contrary, has established thirteen different companies of players in various capital towns of the globe. Viewed in reference to the extent of their theatrical connexion with Paris, these towns rank somewhat in the following order of precedence. St. Petersburg, Rio, New York, Geneva, Brussels, London, St. Francisco, Berlin, the Hague, Turin, Madrid, Vienna, and Constantinople. From whatever cause—whether from the frequent opportunities which English persons enjoy of attending French plays at Paris, or from the difficulty of procuring first-rate performers—the London world has, of late years, become more indifferent than heretofore to the troupe of the St. James's Theatre, while in Russia the love

of the French play has grown into a passion. At St. Petersburg the company is permanently established, and resides there throughout all seasons of the year, performing three times in each week. The greatest diligence is exercised on the part of the managers and others to obtain good artists, and by way of encouraging those not to desert their new quarters, a pension of 240*l.* is assigned to each after ten years' service.

Without further comment upon the dramatic colonies of France, we invite the attention of our readers to the mother country, and principally to the points of difference which exist between the theatrical worlds of London and Paris.

In comparing the habits and customs of these two capitals, one of the many notable discrepancies will be found in the predominant influence of theatrical amusements upon the general population of the latter. In both, the upper ranks of society may equally frequent the opera-houses, and the more wealthy amongst the middle classes of London are, very commonly, decided play-goers, but the small tradesman, the artisan, and the working-man of Paris, feels an interest in the theatrical proceedings of his home which is unknown even at Christmas or Easter to the Londoner of the same class. This difference is, no doubt, in part caused by the absence of all theatrical entertainments on the London Sunday. While the hard-working Englishman is calculating during the week to what extent his earnings will allow of extra potations on the day of rest, the Parisian sees before him, in a vista, a dolorous drama, in five acts and thirty tableaux, replete with all possible crimes and horrors; a military spectacle, in which his countrymen are victorious; or a scene of enchantment, in which the versatile powers of some magician, usually denominated *Le Diable*, are exhibited in the magic transformations of the Théâtre Impérial du Cirque. For these ends the Parisian *blouse* labours, and to protect these his rights he would do battle. The attempt to close the Sunday beer-delivery did not create so great a commotion in London as would be created by shutting up the theatres of Paris on the same day. Even to augment the prices would give to the working-man as great a pang as the augmentation of his house-rent. The play-house is his second domicile. It may, indeed, be said, not as a figure of speech, but literally, that, in the estimation of a great portion of the Parisian population, theatres rank amongst the necessaries of life. The cry of the old Romans, "Panem et Circenses," would be even reversed by many a modern Gaul. "First," he would say, "the play, and then my supper;" which burst of enthusiasm would, however, very commonly end in a happy union, and a simultaneous enjoyment of these two great ends of human existence. It may be difficult to determine precisely which of the two in the eyes of

a Frenchman is the most essential; but, at all events, it is the duty of the Government—and, according to French notions, the Government has many duties—to promote plays; and we venture to say that the dramatic performances annually offered gratis to the public on the occasion of the Fête Napoléon, are more greedily accepted than would be any conceivable distribution of loaves and fishes.

In order to understand the passion for the theatre prevalent amongst the working-classes in Paris, it is not absolutely necessary to enter the playhouse. Let a stranger in that capital drive along the Boulevards, extending from the Porte St. Martin towards the Boulevard Beaumarchais, from four to half-past six o'clock, on almost any tolerably fine afternoon, but especially on a Sunday, and he will perceive a dense mass of human beings, extending from the door of each theatre outwards into the wide space which separates the playhouses of that district from the carriage thoroughfare. The process there exhibited is styled in Paris *faire la queue*, and is patiently undergone, for the purpose of securing good places, or indeed any places at all, by those who cannot afford to secure seats beforehand, which would cost them a third more; the lowest prices at any but the lowest theatres ranging from tenpence to fivepence. From a little distance, this mass of pleasure-seekers is apparently stationary. But this is not absolutely the case. A progressive movement is gradually taking place, more ascertained, perhaps, than that of an Alpine glacier, but slower than the running lava on Vesuvius in its most sleepy mood. The patient sufferers in a great cause are moving forwards at the rate of a mile a day, in order to secure each for himself an advantageous position in the heaven within. Meanwhile the process of toilsomely treading on each other's heels, is alleviated by the pleasure of being in a dense crowd—always a delight to the Frenchman—by the adventures and rencontres not unfrequently met with in the tail; and lastly, by the consumption of such viands as besit the occasion, as well as the station in life of the men, women, and children, who well know that in leaving home they set out on an expedition of many hours, during which exhausted nature cannot always be supported upon enthusiasm. All this takes place under the vigilant and authoritative superintendence of the police, who take good care to prevent quarrels and disturbances, the disappointed *blouse* being content to vent himself in such phrases as these: “Voilà le sixième théâtre que je fais—je vais voir si j'aurai plus de chance ici, je m'embête comme un cordon de sonnette à la porte d'une chambre à louer.”

On the Sunday the process of *making the tail*, which perhaps we should render into English by the phrase of *forming into line*, begins at two o'clock, or even earlier, and a good deal of city wit

is expended on these occasions by the *gamins de Paris*. We will suppose that the tail is already formed, new comers are every moment adding to its length, and if it should be at the Porte St. Martin, where the footway is narrow, it blocks up the trottoir, and threatens to invade the carriage-way itself. One of the *gamins* thus addresses his neighbour: "Ohé vaccine, ohé, ohé on est en fonds, on va s'payer les sept merveilles de la Porte St. Martin. C'est une grande féerie en vingt tableaux par trois peintres en batiments. Oh! cette queue, elle va jusqu'à Sebataupommes (Sebastopol). Dites donc nourrice, le voisinage de votre moutard est bien desagréable. Je crois qu'il a envie de quelque chose—voulez-vous ma casquette?" Upon this the child cries. "Asseyez-vous dessus," continues the *gamin*, which in polite language means, En voilà assez.

"Je suis ici depuis ce matin," cries one in the crowd; "Et moi depuis hier," says another. "Regardez donc cette tête, en voilà une balle. Bon jour, Madame—et le monsieur, en voilà un moule à singes (there's a father of a family of monkeys), une tête de caniche (with his head like a poodle)—on dirait un daim et sa biche (they look like man and wife)—ah! voilà qu'ou ouvre. Une stalle de huit sous, s'il vous plaît. Allons vite enfourchons le colimaçon (let us mount the snail—the staircase leading to the gallery)—jouons, les locomotives! train express! grande vitesse! Asseyons-nous triomphants sur le premier banc. La toile pan, pan, pan (making a noise with their feet)—La toile, ou j'en fais des faux cols (Up with the curtain, or I'll make it into false collars). Assez de musique—on demande la fermeture de l'ouverture—Dieu de dieu! comme on est serré, dites donc Madame Putiphar, vous auriez bien fait de laisser votre crinoline chez-vous." At this point of the conversation the *gamins* begin to perceive that the seven wonders of La Porte St. Martin are worth very little, and the sea in which the Colossus of Rhodes is walking looks like spinach—at least so they decree it. "Ça ne commence pas d'une façon merveilleuse," says the leading *gamin*. "Si nous vendions nos contremarques 50 centimes? Ça me va, ça ne coute que huit sous au bureau—et en route pour le Théâtre Français"—where they arrive at the moment of an entr'acte. "Justement tiens! c'est l'entr'acte. Le monde sort en riant—mon ami me dit que c'est toujours comme ça quand on joue Rachel (tragedy). Qu'est ce que nous voyons, ah! Les Voraces (Horaces) du père Corbeille (Cornéille). Ah! voilà un joli proverbe—pour un joli proverbe, c'est un joli proverbe, surtout la scène des imprécations de Camomile (Camille). C'est égal, c'est un théâtre mal composé, pas de suore d'orge, pas de marchands de pommes, et des comedies qui riment—on dirait une chanson, qui n'a pas de musique. Tiens! veux-tu que je te dise tout ça ne vaut pas la Gaité. En

voilà un théâtre où on joue de belles pièces, rien que celle là, écoute.

“ Les brigands rouges de la caverne de la montagne noire, ou le donjon du Belvedere du cimetière de la mort.” Il est question d’inventer un journal mouchoir, pour servir à étancher les ruisseaux de larmes qui doivent suffoquer le spectateur dans le courant de la représentation.

There is some ground for supposing that the *penchant* for exciting horrors natural to the vacant and uneducated mind may have received an impulse in Paris from the Reign of Terror, an epoch of destruction and revolution as well in the theatrical as in other worlds. It is certain, at least, that towards the close of the great French Revolution some of the theatres situated in that boulevard, since designated, in theatrical phrase, *le Boulevard du Crime*, changed the nature of their performances. Before that period *L’Ambigu Comique* and *La Gaité* were, in accordancè with the names which they still perversely retain, dedicated to the exhibition of pantomimic marionettes and rope-dancing. *La Porte St. Martin*, now the chief théâtre de drame, fell under the same category; and *Le Cirque Impérial*, where military dramas and *Les Féeries* are now principally exhibited, was merely a circus for horsemanship. From the date to which we allude to the year 1850, the most popular theatrical entertainments of this quarter were five-act dramas, of which a bountiful supply of horrors was the chief ingredient. Of late years, *Le Boulevard du Crime* has lost somewhat of its former character. The moral effect upon the working classes of exhibiting revolting crimes, has been found to be rather that of suggesting and inciting to imitate, than of deterring from carrying out a similar course into real life. The lower classes, too, witnessed these plays with a conviction that what passed before them was a reality; and actors have been obliged to steal out by a side-door in order to escape the vengeance of an indignant audience. Thus the play entitled “*Falaise*,” an historical drama, acted in 1849, gave rise to many uproarious, and at the same time ludicrous scenes. At a moment of the action, *Falaise* is surrounded by his butchers, who are preparing to cut him in pieces. On this occasion the actors were usually assailed with oranges, apples, or any missiles which came to hand. A blouse, addressing Goujet, the actor, from the gallery, shouted out ironically, “*Tu ne risqueras rien en sortant canaille!*” and an old woman, sobbing aloud, exclaimed, “*Ah! le pauvre homme! est il possible qu’il y ait des canailles pareilles!*” On another occasion, while “*Britannicus*” was being acted, a spectator shouted out from the pit, “*Monsieur Bordazinus on va vous empoisonner. Ah! ce coquin de Neron.*” Though such scenes as these are

of rarer occurrence than heretofore, the working-classes have still a very practical and energetic way of criticising theatrical performers. Madame Leontine, of the Gaité, is in such favour, that they form ranks at the door of the theatre to escort her home; and on New Year's day presents are left for her with the *conciérge* of the theatre. On the other hand, actresses who during their youth have been favourites with the public at the Théâtres de Vaudeville, and who in middle life retreat upon the drama, often experience rough treatment, particularly if their style of acting is wanting in energy.

A very essential quality of the drama, in the eyes of the blouse, is length. To be good, a play should last, *entr'actes* included, from half-past six till twelve, at which hour the theatres usually close, to avoid the imposed fine for remaining open later. In order to obtain this desirable length in a single piece, five acts are indispensable. No sooner does the working man desery on the play-bill the fatal words, *en trois actes*, than he passes on with signs of unmistakable contempt. Besides length and strength of the peculiar quality which we have already noticed, a very essential requisite in the drama, as well in the opinion of the working man as of the audience in general, is, that the scenery and costume should be of a splendid and costly character.

In the military drama, the distinctive characteristic is a free and generous use of gunpowder. It is also extremely important that the forces in action should be numerous, and somewhat accustomed to the use of fire-arms; to which end a couple of hundred of real soldiers are usually hired on these occasions at a franc a-head, in aid of the hundred regular *employés* of the Théâtre Impérial du Cirque. Dramatic power in the actors is, in these cases, almost superfluous; in fact, the performers in general, with the exception of the one, two, or three leading heroes and the heroine, are mere accessories, and sink into the class of decoration. One of the best artists at Le Cirque Impérial is a certain white horse, whose talent for standing still amidst the greatest uproar, seems to be generally recognised, as he occasionally takes a part in the dramas of other theatres. At the present moment, the military spectacle in vogue is entitled "Maurice de Saxe," which represents the most remarkable exploits of the celebrated Maréchal, from the outset of his career to his crowning victory—the battle of Fontenoy. "Quel malheur," says a newspaper critic of a few days ago, "qu'il n'y ait pas feu sans fumée! J'assistais hier au drame nouveau du Cirque Impérial, 'Maurice du Saxe,' et j'ai mangé de la poudre, comme un vieux soldat. Quatre ou cinq fois la salle a été envahie par un épais nuage, et l'on n'aperçoit plus la scène et les acteurs que dans un lointain vaporeux, à travers un brouillard



digne du ciel de Londres." Judging from this paragraph, the success of "Maurice de Saxe," though the play has been acted but a few nights, must be considered as already established. It should, however, be observed, that feats of arms do not constitute the sole attraction of the piece, the general composition of which reminded us of a well-known couplet in "Hudibras"—

"Just so romances are, for what else  
Is in them all but love and battles."

It may indeed be questioned whether the love adventures of the Maréchal do not, in the play, eclipse his military exploits; while his attachment to Adrienne Lecouvreur, the actress, is in a manner accessory to his wars; for it is by the sale of her plate and jewels that he is enabled to maintain himself against the Russians.

This play was preceded at the same theatre by a very remarkable specimen of the third species of dramatic amusement in favour amongst the lower classes—"La Féerie." In this branch of theatrical business, the main characteristics consist in what, according to professional phrase, are termed *Trucs*, that is, sudden and miraculous transformations, the wonders of the tales of the Genii or Arabian Nights represented in action. Before disappearing from the *affiche*, in order to take a little temporary repose, "Les Pillules du Diable" had been acted from first to last, and with frequent intervals, nearly nine hundred times. Since the celebrated "Pied de Mouton," performed at the beginning of the present century, no such success in this branch of the art has been known at Paris. So firm a hold did this Féerie take upon the public mind, that till "Maurice de Saxe" actually made its appearance, people began to doubt whether the drums would ever beat again, or the musketry roar, at the Cirque Impérial. The plot of the play is the usual one—the wayward course of true love—but all misfortunes are remedied by the magic powers of the pills administered by a fairy. The pillules, whether applied inwardly or outwardly, realize far more than all the promises of Morison or Old Parr. They are thrown at a man, who forthwith becomes a turkey—an apothecary's boy, from swallowing a single pill, is transformed into a gigantic squirt—and a tower, the prison of the persecuted fair one, obligingly takes the form of a staircase in order to facilitate her escape. The children of few tradesmen in Paris have not coaxed or teased papa to let them see "Les Pillules;" and many a naughty boy has been threatened with the insupportable misery of never going to that play. In the Parisian nursery of the middle classes the terrors of the black dog are unknown. The simple words, "Tu n'iras pas voir Les Pillules," or if the family is too poor for that pleasure, "Tu ne verras pas le bœuf gras," firmly spoken, and with parental autho-

riety, signify an exclusion from paradise, more corrective and deterring than any denunciation from the most eloquent pulpit orator. In the *Journal pour Rire*, the father of a family thus addresses a friend:—"Ma foi, mon cher, voilà bien des fois que je fais prendre ces 'Diabes les Pillules' à ma famille et à moi, et nous nous en trouvons si bien, que nous y revenons toujours."

The spring of 1856 witnessed a theatrical entertainment at Paris, which, though much to the taste of the middle and lower classes, will not probably be of frequent repetition. At the moment when the Queen of Spain was induced to suppress the last relics of the long-established biblical play at Madrid, a performance of this nature was produced at the Ambigu Comique under the title of "*Le Paradis Perdu*." Probably neither author, actors, or spectators, had any idea of levity or irreverence in this proceeding. The audience at least, to all appearance, regarded the spectacle merely in the light of a highly decorated drama, embellished not only by a very gorgeous and glowing pandemonium, but also by a magnificent deluge; which incident was added by way of postscript to the piece, chiefly for the sake of the scenic effect which it would admit of. In fact, the deluge was so much regarded as the telling point of the play, that it formed the subject of the large picture exhibited over the entrance of the theatre. Apart from whole passages borrowed from Milton, the groundwork of the play was more adapted to the intelligence of the lower classes than that of an historical drama. Every French person, if he remembers nothing else of his schooling, at least retains a confused notion of the opening events of Genesis, to which is added, as a part of church tradition, the fall of the angels. In one respect the author of this play improved upon the conceptions of his poetical predecessors, namely, by making the jealousy of Cain arise from the preference shown to Abel by Eve. Hence occasion was given of producing the most pathetic scenes of the performance.

To a religious layman of Roman Catholic France, the only question which would occur as to the admissibility of such a drama as this, would be—Does the church allow it? and if no condemnation of the play was openly manifested on the part of the clergy, he would feel himself justified in witnessing it. The effect, however, upon the Protestant, and especially, perhaps, upon the English spectator, apart from the fine imagery borrowed from Milton, could not well be less than a burlesque on Holy Writ, the ludicrous effect of which was heightened by the introduction of the most absurd anachronisms, such as looking-glasses and a casket of jewels, with which the devil tempts Noema, the wife of Japhet.

Theatrical business is conducted on a far greater scale in Paris  
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than in London. There are twenty-two theatres within Paris itself, exclusive of those in the suburbs, and three more additional play-houses are contemplated. The number of play-writers, musical composers, and journalists habitually employed in producing and criticising theatrical novelties, amounts to upwards of 400, and there are not less than seven daily papers published for no other purpose than that of informing the public as to dramatic events of the day, the most widely circulated of which is the *Entracte*, which distributes daily 1800 copies. A visitor in Paris, fond of the play, would do well to subscribe to this little journal. The playbills are therein correctly and minutely given, together with notices of new pieces and anecdotes. The *Figaro* programme, the rival of this paper, sells daily 1300 copies. Detailed theatrical notices also appear twice a-week in the *Figaro*, and every Monday in all the leading newspapers of Paris. All this supposes a fertile production of new plays, of which the public in England has no idea. It is, however, observable that, amongst these novelties, tragedies seldom make their appearance. The year 1851 produced 36 new dramas, and 197 new vaudevilles, but not one tragedy. Since that year there has been little increase upon the tragedies, while the number of vaudevilles annually fabricated has considerably fallen. For this there exists two principal reasons—first, the managers of the Gymnase and Vaudeville theatres have encouraged the five-act comedy in preference to the vaudeville. The signal and sustained success of such plays as “*Le Fils Naturel*,” and others, by M. Dumas fils; of “*Les Faux Bons-hommes*,” by Messrs. Barriere and Capendu; “*Les Femmes Terribles*,” by M. Dumanoir; and of “*Dalilah*” and “*Le Jeune Homme Pauvre*,” by M. Octave Feuillet, would be sufficient of itself to account for the comparatively small number of vaudevilles during the past year. The second reason why the old-established vaudeville has been in some measure set aside, is found in the introduction of a comparatively recent species of play, entitled “*La Revue*,” in which the principal events of the dramatic and social world during the preceding year are, at the beginning of a new year, passed jocosely before the eyes of the spectators, great part of the entertainment usually consisting in caricature imitation (*charges*) of the most known performers. This kind of entertainment, being suitable to the general taste, usually has a run of sufficient length to exclude the more witty and intelligent vaudevilles.

The “*Féerie*,” in miniature and with less machinery, is sometimes exhibited at the Palais-Royal and Variétés, to the exclusion of the old farce “*melée de couplets* ;” and to give an idea of the popularity of these pieces, the gross receipts of the first twenty representations of “*Les Bibelots du Diable*” at the

Variétés produced 209,000 francs, while the same number of nights at the outset of "Le Jeune Homme Pauvre" at the Vaudeville, one of the most successful comedies of the season, realized only 75,105 francs, the difference in the size of the two theatres, or in the price of the seats, being immaterial.

The collective force of managers and actors on the regular staff of Parisian theatres is calculated at 2788 persons, but if we add to these the musicians, prompters, machinistes, costumiers, decoreurs, buralistes, garçons d'accessoires, ouvreuses de loges, &c., the entire number of persons gaining a livelihood by the theatres may be estimated at above 10,000: and this computation would not include the numerous firemen and policemen who are nightly employed about the various playhouses of Paris. There are six box-keepers and 466 box-keeperesses (ouvreuses de loges) distributed in the various theatres of the capital. The situation of *ouvreuse* has of late years become much more lucrative than formerly. Many years ago they were paid at the rate of 4*l.* a year by the manager. They can now afford to pay for their places at the rate of about fifteen francs a month at the best theatres. They are bound to dress after a model, and to supply their *petits bancs*, from the loan of which they derive a profit. But their chief revenue is derived from persons who, having no seats secured beforehand, desire to be advantageously placed. Every one knows at Paris what is meant by a *billet de faveur*, and most persons frequenting Paris have, at one time or another, witnessed Arnal's amusing soliloquy under that title. In the case of a *billet de faveur* the *ouvreuse* is in all her glory; and the favour is much more to her than to the recipient of the gratis-ticket, which of itself, and without other aids to boot, would never introduce its possessor to any place whatever. The moment the *ouvreuse* describes the nature of the ticket, she declares there is no room, and advises you to take a *billet de supplement* at five francs. By this means, and a gratuity of two francs to the *ouvreuse*, you are introduced to a worse place than would have cost you five francs had you taken it at the office; add to which, you have the mortification of losing perhaps the best half hour of the play in wandering about the theatre in search of your supplement and seat. The only chance of success for a *billet de faveur* is when the theatres are deserted during the heat of summer, or in some playhouse which is satisfied with the mere appearance of a paying audience. As the attendance of the *ouvreuse* is only required at night, and does not interfere with other employments by day, the situation becomes a valuable piece of patronage in the hands of managers; and the candidates usually put down their names five years beforehand, as at a fashionable club. These women have friendly societies of their own institution. By paying thirty sous

a month they are entitled during illness to twenty-five sous a day.

It might be supposed that we have already enumerated all persons whose employments are influenced by the drama in Paris. We have, however, omitted to mention a numerous and important body of accessories, indispensable to the profession in every country, but in Paris constituting several disciplined and organized regiments, each under the command of a chef, sous-chef, brigadier chef d'attaque, or by whatever names the subordinate officers may be designated. This powerful force is known at Paris under the title of *La Claque*, or, as they are often styled in theatrical phrase, *Les Romains*, and may number about 2000 strong. The twenty-two theatres of Paris are garrisoned by forces under the command of four chefs, who act by deputy on unimportant occasions. In the small theatres, and when a play is established, the person who acts for the chef within the theatre is styled *le chef d'attaque*. It is his business to regulate and direct the approbation, while the office of *sous-chef* consists in bringing the men together, and in recruiting at the rendezvous, which is generally one of the neighbouring wine-shops. It is also his duty to pay the forces at the rate of a franc a-head per night, he himself receiving a fixed salary from his superiors. The numbers employed in any theatre differ from circumstances. In the Théâtres de Drame and the Cirque Impérial, from 150 to 300 are often in action at once, a proportion of these being often engaged by individual performers for their special benefit.

Whatever may be the origin of the appellation *Romains*, it is certain that the Romans of the playhouse are, to a great extent, the masters of the dramatic world. Without the *claque* the success of a new piece, or of a performer on his first appearance, would depend upon the caprice of the audience of the moment, sometimes indeed upon the favour or enmity of some chance individuals. With author, manager, and actors, the *chef de claque* is always a man of importance. At the reading of the play the manager receives from him valuable hints, as to whether it is likely to take with the public, and if it is accepted by the manager, the author is often indebted to him for valuable emendations. Before appearing in his own sphere of action, he has already attended the rehearsals, and has conned over with the author the hits and situations; and his copy of the play is marked where the telling passages are supposed to occur. His lieutenants and subordinates, adroitly distributed in the rear of the pit and in the gallery, take from him their cue, while he himself acts, not always from previous study, but occasionally on the spur of the moment, checking or redoubling his approbation in obedience to the current of public feeling, which the *claque*,

like the newspaper press of England, seeks at once to lead and to follow. On the second and subsequent nights of the performance the chef often sees much to alter from his original plan of attack.

The *chef de claque*, though as regularly attached to the principal theatres as any other *employé*, receives no salary from the manager. His gains from every other quarter render him quite independent of such assistance. Through him the author is well with the manager, and the actor with the public. "Vous ferez un tel ou une telle ce soir," addressed to his troupe, means that the individual performer hinted at has acted towards him liberally. Nothing is more observable in the dramatic world of Paris than that artists who have a reputation to make, march forward to fame with a slower and more hesitating step, if they have not wherewithal to remunerate the *claque*; while many, who have more means than genius, especially actresses, often sustain themselves before the public mainly by the aid of their Roman friends.

It is not only from his intellectual position in the theatrical world that the *chef de claque* is a man of weight. He is also not unfrequently more wealthy than either manager, author, or actors. Should an author be in difficulties, and from having already forestalled the profits of his profession, should not be in a situation to await the remuneration which his play may eventually return him, the *chef de claque* advances him money upon the strength of his prospects. At other times, especially during the summer heats, and when full houses become a matter of speculation, the chef purchases the entire receipts from the manager, thus securing him from loss. When you arrive at the *bureau de location*, you are told that all the places are already disposed of, upon which an *employé* of the chef, who is in waiting outside the theatre, kindly offers you a box or a stall for nearly double its current price. It may easily be supposed that such a brilliant position as that of *chef de claque* is not acquired at once. In the generality of cases the chef, like the French colonels, rises from the ranks.

It should be observed that, besides the regular force marshalled at any particular theatre, there exist certain half professional *claqueurs*, who undertake to throw in their aid, on condition of being admitted to tolerable seats at half price. These persons are, in theatrical phrase, termed *solitaires*, from the circumstance of their sitting detached from the main body of the *claque*. They are usually of an education superior to the ordinary *claqueur*, who is a mere tool in the hands of his leader; whereas the *solitaire* has a genuine feeling for the play. He is also, as is expected of him, a better dressed man.

Some years ago the idea occurred to the manager of a theatre of suppressing the *claque*, but it was found that, instead of one well-regulated *claque*, expressing in an orderly way the general opinion of the public, there were several contradictory and conflicting *clagues* instigated by private influences. The several performers being deprived of their legitimate supporters took the law into their own hands, and established institutions each for his own special benefit. A silent house is a dead-weight upon the back of a theatrical artist, and so much is the want of applause felt in the formally fashionable French theatre in London, that the actresses, by way of obtaining a sham tribute, agree amongst themselves to throw bouquets upon the stage from the boxes. The applause of a good hearty, well-appointed *claque*, excites not only the players, but also the listless audience, which latter, however valuable to the manager, is not always of such immediate consequence to the artist.

Notwithstanding the powerful aid derived from the *claque*, the night of a first representation at Paris is one of considerable anxiety to managers, authors, and actors. It rarely indeed happens that, with an audience so tolerant as a French one usually is, a play is utterly condemned on the first night of its appearance; though an occurrence of this kind actually took place very recently at the Palais-Royal theatre, where a two-act vaudeville, entitled "Le Grain de Café," produced by popular authors, notwithstanding every effort of the *claque*, was not allowed to be played out. But, though such an event is rare, it is often ascertainable at the first representation, with how great a tenacity of life the new play will hold its place in the play-bills and announcements. Before the piece is half over, it has been whispered behind the scenes, as well as in the house itself, whether it may be deemed a *succès d'argent*, merely a *succès d'estime*, or indeed any success at all. The authors, for there are very commonly more than one, who one or both are perhaps living principally on borrowed money—the manager, who reckons on making a great hit, and on recovering lost ground—the actor who makes his first appearance, or who may have quitted an engagement at a minor theatre for the purpose of beginning anew his theatrical career—and the actress who may have expended more than her actual means in providing rich dresses for this occasion and suited to her part, exult or despond according to the actual aspect of affairs. There is also another person, situated probably in a stage-box or in an orchestra-stall, who is by no means an indifferent spectator of the proceedings, namely, the author whose play has already been read and approved by the management, but who depends, for the time of its production, upon the failure of the piece now in performance.

A stranger in Paris, or even a Frenchman unconnected with the theatrical world, would do well to give up all idea of attending a first representation of importance at a *théâtre de vaudeville*. All the best boxes and stalls are, on these occasions, distributed beforehand by the manager, authors, and actors amongst their professional or other friends, and your only chance of obtaining a good place is by paying double for it to some *marchand de billets*. It is worth noting, too, that the acting is sometimes less good on the first than on succeeding nights, and that the stranger who goes the first night will lose the advantage of perusing the account of the play which is always published in the *Entr'acte* on the following morning, and which affords great assistance towards understanding its drift. Those, on the contrary, who are connected with the profession, lose all they most prize, in the way of play-going, by not attending a première représentation. It is to them the event of the week or the month. Not to be there is a disgrace, while to be present affords a certainty of meeting intimate friends, and of existing for the moment in their own world. With this class of persons a first representation becomes a matter of gossip and speculation beforehand, from the moment that the probable time of the event is known. The talk will run upon different subjects, according to the professional rank and status of the authors or actors. In the theatrical world of Paris, as elsewhere, there are many ranks and degrees. There are authors to whom the profits of a single play would seem to many a younger brother a desirable fortune; others who pocket thereby—*touchent*, as the French expressively term it—but a few hundreds; and others again, to whom the possession of these few hundreds is rather a dream than a reality. So, amongst actors, there is a scale descending from the most finished declaimer of the *Théâtre Français*, to the merest cabotin of the *Funambules* or *Lazzari*. Amongst actresses, again, the *comédienne* differs in professional estimation and in social rank from the mere *actrice* as much as the latter is elevated above the *figurante*. The number of real *comédiennes* who depend for their position upon their talents alone is exceedingly limited in Paris, while the classes of *actrices* and *figurantes* are numerous. Amongst the female friends of these latter ranks, the great question discussed in anticipation of a first representation is, "How will she be dressed?" The *actrice* is, indeed, not unfrequently a mere *femme de théâtre*, by no means devoid of histrionic training, and often capable of sustaining a part with grace and spirit, but whose dramatic genius alone would never keep her on the stage, and, perhaps, would never have placed her there, but for extraneous circumstances. The salaries, consequently, of actresses in general, are lower than those of the male performers, whose sole



object in following the profession is a livelihood. Indeed young and pretty actresses who serve merely to fill subordinate parts, frequently pay for the permission to act them, either to please the vanity of some admirer of the moment, or for the sake of obtaining adoration from others. In these cases the dress is so important and costly a matter, that the actress, occasionally, requests a part suited to her dress, rather than suit a dress to the part.

The rich actress of this sort is usually a person verging upon middle age at the least. By her dress and equipage, including perhaps powdered menials, rather than by her talents, she soars above the less fortunate or more virtuous aspirants to theatrical fame. With this sort of artiste, to act a part suited to diamonds and rich dresses is of the first consequence. But it is at the rehearsal that her triumph over her rivals is the most complete. There *la riviere et les cachemires*, which might be out of place on the stage, are displayed to an audience, many of whom have no small reverence for the money power of an actress. Madame — or Mademoiselle — can afford to pay the *claque* liberally, as well as to reward substantially her journalist, the latter being a personage whose favour is most essential to the mere actrice, and to whom, as well as to the author, she is always at home. She can also afford to give entertainments on a large and expensive scale. With all these means and appliances, and with the advantage of exhibiting herself on the stage to an admiring audience, Madame or Mademoiselle — establishes a reputation which the most successful unprofessional *aventuriere* might envy. She has also this great advantage over non-theatrical competitors, that she never grows old. When a flattering newspaper says of one, who, already too far advanced in life for acting *les jeunes premières* of comedy or vaudeville, now plays the grand lady of a drame, that she never looked younger, it is often literally true. The art of making up ladies for the stage is carried to a culminating point in Paris.

The number of actresses placed in such exalted positions is, as might be expected, exceedingly limited; and, lest this subject should lead to an unfavourable comparison of French morals with those of other nations, let it be understood that such persons are indebted for their bad eminence quite as much to the folly and extravagance of strangers in Paris as to Frenchmen. In former years the English peerage has not been backward in contributing towards this end. At the present moment, the British subject is fairly distanced by the princely Russian or by distinguished functionaries from the Sublime Porte. In speaking of St. James, as the Parisian actresses usually term the French theatre in London, they say, "autrefois on en remportait des diamans, aujourd'hui on n'en remporte que des bouquets."

Although marriage in the profession at Paris is regarded less as a divine institution than as a mode of life sanctioned by civilized nations for the sake of the social fabric, a married actress is deemed to be in a higher position than one who may possibly fulfil the duties of wife and mother without the ceremony. The status of the married woman is more defined and established; divorce in Paris is impossible, and separation is expensive.

Amongst the juvenile and lower ranks of actresses, instances no doubt may be found of young women who, as much from the insufficiency of their salaries as from other temptations, enter upon a degrading and disreputable course of life. But this is not, we trust, very generally the case; some few, especially those of promise, are fortunate enough to meet with honourable and charitable protection, in some instances, we believe, from the minister himself. Many when first entering the profession live with their parents, who keep a watchful eye over their conduct. In short, there are frequently to be met with examples of virtue where it might least be expected. Few visitors of the Opéra Comique would guess that they often see before them amongst the dancers a young person who not only gains an honest livelihood for herself, but also supports an aged and infirm father.

The Parisian actress usually springs, like Rachel herself, from a low grade in society, and as her education has been chiefly professional, she exhibits a curious combination of a refined taste in light literature, musical accomplishments, and a correct French diction, with a general ignorance, almost inconceivable in a person of any acquirement whatever. If she has received any other teaching than is obtained at the Conservatoire, or through private professional instruction, it has been at some inferior boarding-school of France, where a limited and confused smattering of Bible History is deemed of more importance to a child than a grounding in the general elements of secular knowledge. We have heard of one of this class who was totally unconscious of the existence of the island of Madeira, though by no means unacquainted with the wine derived from it.

Perhaps the most essential point in the religion of a Parisian actress is the devotional act which consists in visiting one or other of the cemeteries on All-Souls Day. It is a great Protestant mistake to suppose that there is no religion in Paris. The Parisians would be quite as much justified in saying, as they often do, that there is none in England, that is, none of a kind which they can understand. The Parisian actress—we speak rather of the lower ranks of the profession—is by no means devoid of faith. Besides a more legitimate reliance on the Virgin and the saints, she has a yet stronger trust in the fortune-

teller (*tireuse de cartes*), and in dreams, the interpreter whereof is usually her maid-servant.

One of the grand distinctive differences between theatrical proceedings in London and Paris consists in the direct interest which the French Government, in accordance with its usual policy, takes in promoting and regulating the affairs of the profession. Amongst the various departments of the Bureau du Ministre d'Etat is one entitled La division des théâtres. It is here that the entire management of every theatre in Paris, consisting of directeur registreur (stage-manager), administrateur (receiver of letters, visits, and manuscripts), and inspecteur (superintendent of the play-house), is appointed. At this office an actor, if he thinks himself aggrieved or insufficiently paid, may lodge his complaint. All playbills, including those of benefit nights, are here submitted for approbation, and a person is here appointed to attend the rehearsals, and to see that the costume is correct and befitting. Leave is also here obtained to close a theatre on any particular occasion or at any time of year. Though much check to private enterprise is occasioned by this system of State interference, yet perhaps the public, on the whole, would be the loser by its abolition, and a return might possibly be made to the state of things which existed in Paris before the great Revolution, when there were fifty-one theatres, chiefly of a low description, in that capital. In consequence of the general spread of a theatrical taste in France, it is advisable to foster and sustain the theatres of a higher order, and to keep the lower ones under certain limits and regulations. The two opera-houses, French and Italian, the Théâtre Français, the Opéra Comique, and the Odéon receive from the State a subvention, the three former of 4000*l.* a-year, the two latter of 2400*l.*

On New Year's day, a day of infinitely greater importance in Paris than in London, all the managers of the various theatres in Paris are received by the Ministre d'Etat.

The idea that the State should immediately concern itself in promoting the artistic education of the people is scarcely countenanced in England. The scheme of a Dramatic College now entertained in London will not, in all probability, be taken up by the Government, whereas in France, theatrical education is directly superintended and regulated by the State. Amongst the various Conservatoires in Paris, is that where 600 young persons of both sexes receive gratuitous instruction in instrumental music, singing, and declamation, with a view to the stage. This institution, which is also open to foreigners, is under the superintendence of the Ministre de l'Interieur, who appoints the directeur, as also the professeurs of the different classes.

Each professeur, who is usually an artist at one of the principal theatres, is bound to give instruction twice a week for two hours at a time. The scholars are at first probationary, and are not admitted even to that grade without undergoing a previous examination. The age of admission is from nine years old to twenty-two. Prizes are awarded in November by a jury composed of four members of the Conservatoire and an equal number of strangers named by the Minister at the suggestion of the directeur. No scholar is allowed to compete who either has not attended a class for six months, or who has already performed publicly, which they are not permitted to do without leave. The scholar who gains a first prize is entitled to a pension of 600 francs, which honour accrued very lately to Miss Thompson, a young lady of Scotch extraction, and a successful *debutante* at the French opera.

In the absence of the professeurs, the scholars are heard by persons called *repetiteurs*, in the light of under-masters or preceptors, who are appointed by the directeur on the nomination of the several professeurs to whom they are attached. The professeurs themselves are remunerated by salaries varying from 80*l.* to 12*l.* a-year; their chief profit arising from the private instruction which they give their pupils at their own apartments. Though much good may arise to the pupils from attending the public classes, it is generally felt that without some private tuition they do not usually make great progress. One great professional benefit which they derive from having been scholars at the Conservatoire arises from the stamp thereby conferred upon them, and from the preference which the managers of the theatres give to those taught there. There is an air about a scholar of the Conservatoire which cannot be attained elsewhere, just as, in England, we distinguish, or at least fancy we distinguish, an Eton boy. As at Eton also, and other great public schools, so at the Conservatoire, young persons are brought together, and form acquaintances which are often of advantage to them in their professional career. Another important advantage accruing to the pupil of the Conservatoire, is a scholarship for both sexes, conferred after an examination before a committee of instruction. This scholarship, which consists in a pension of 800 francs, also gives the privilege of a *debüt* at one of the théâtres impériaux et subventionnés.

Attached to this institution is a theatre, where the juvenile aspirants occasionally perform by daylight and in plain clothes; but as these exhibitions are strictly private, the pupils are not thereby initiated into the confidence required for public acting. To complete, therefore, a preparation for the regular stage, many persons, after leaving the Conservatoire, make their first essays

either at some suburban theatre, or at L'Ecole de la Salle Lyrique, a small theatre under Government regulation, and professedly dedicated to the instruction and advancement of young artists. As the public notice taken of the performances at these theatres is very slight and occasional, and in newspapers of extremely limited circulation, a failure there does not stand in the way of future success. At La Salle Lyrique the performers obtain permission to play, on undertaking to dispose of a certain number of tickets, and the issue of such a proceeding is often an advantageous engagement, the managers of the different theatres attending there for the purpose of selecting promising performers. It frequently, however, happens that the young women brought up at the Conservatoire are directly engaged from that establishment, and, in a moral point of view, such a plan is decidedly beneficial.

It will easily be understood, that with all the means and appliances afforded in Paris towards professional study, a much larger supply of tolerable performers is there obtained than in London. Taking a French company throughout, the inferior actors are more capable of sustaining the piece than is usually the case in London. All have at least what is termed in the profession *l'habitude des planches*, while at the same time, as a pure diction is one of the chief objects of the Conservatoire, provincialisms or improper aspirations are seldom, if ever met with in a French troupe. All this gives a completeness to a French play, even when moderately performed, which is often wanting on the English stage. Even those who play what are termed *les accessoires*, or *les petits bouts de rôles*, are as careful in their costume and behaviour as those denominated in England the stars of the company. Owing to this *ensemble* and completeness of performance, many comedies and vaudevilles of moderate merit are kept alive, which with the English style of performance would fail utterly. In consequence of the great number of young persons educated in Paris for the stage, the provincial theatres of France, as well as the French theatres in other countries, are supplied with performers from the capital itself.

In comparing the leading and more finished artists of London and Paris, we must confine ourselves chiefly to actors of comedy and farce. The age of Kemble and Talma, of Miss O'Neile and Mademoiselle Duchesnois, is past; and in Mademoiselle Rachel's day, the play-going *blouse* of Paris did well to signify *tragedy* by the word *Rachel*. At the same time, there are many actors in Paris, and some in London, who fully understand the expression of pathos, whether in comedy or drama. As a comedy-actor of this class, Lafontaine holds deservedly a high position; and Frederic

Lemaître, Lafontaine, and others, are distinguished as actors of *dramas*.

As comic actors, Messrs. Buckstone, Chippendale, Compton, and Howe, of the Haymarket Theatre, have quite as much art to conceal, and conceal it as effectually, as the best *comiques* of the Gymnase or Variétés, or the most accomplished declaimers of the Théâtre Français. There is no one in France, we may venture to say, who, in versatility and powers of imitation, as well as in higher dramatic qualities, can compete with our Charles Mathews, if, indeed, we may still call him ours. The only person now known on the Parisian stage who attempts such rapid transitions of character as we have seen consummately executed by our artist, is Brasseur of the Palais-Royal. But the powers of Brasseur extend little beyond pure mimicry; the talent given to Charles Mathews, of creating and inditing a part, being unknown to him. We much wish that a French critic, capable of following Mathews throughout his own play, "He would be an Actor," would give us his candid opinion upon this point. But, indeed, what Frenchman could follow him? for the Welsh brogue is as perfect in the vale of Llangollen as the twang of the voluble French lady in the next scene. This last, at least, the Parisian would understand; and, if he could compare it with the attempts at exhibiting English character and diction on the French stage, what a difference would he perceive between this exact imitation and the lame caricature of Englishmen as represented by Brasseur, Thierry, or Levassor? The truth is, that no Frenchman has the power of fairly quitting his own national existence. Whatever denizen of the globe he may pretend to personate, he still remains essentially French. We may add to this, that anything like intelligible English on the French stage would be totally unintelligible to the Parisian audience; so that the actor is forced to interlard his few admissible words of our language with such French as would never occur to an Englishman who had not diligently studied that language.

The chief artists of Paris differ from each other as to many distinctive qualities, and we will endeavour to give our readers a rapid survey of such as are best known to the London and Anglo-Parisian world. Taking originality as a chief and genuine test of good acting, let us premise that a first-rate performer is distinguished from those of a second grade by the power of creating a part, or, as the French term it, *créer un rôle*—la création d'un tel, ou d'une telle, being expressed in English by the phrase, "his original character." To succeed to a part already created by a good artist, in the character of what the French style *les doubles*, is a situation of almost necessary humiliation. These secondary actors supply the place of their principals when they

are unwell or on leave. They never, if possible, come into action till the piece is well established; and often not till its vogue is so far exhausted that it is played only on the Sundays. As the doubling of the parts is a great additional expense to the manager, this proceeding is confined to the *grands premiers rôles*. *Les seconds amoureux* and *les ingénuités* are seldom doubled.

Every really good performer possesses the talent for creating a part; but there is another virtue in which even artists of high reputation may be deficient, and that is, the power of undertaking any part which may be offered them. Many of the most celebrated performers in Paris, whether in drama or comedy, require parts written to suit their genius.

Amongst the names of Parisian actors now in vogue, none, perhaps, is more familiar to English ears than that of Bouffé. Bouffé carries the creation of a character far beyond the ideas and intentions of the author. Every good actor, no doubt, presents to the spectator, by the aid of gesture and costume, something more definite and detailed than any unprofessional person could have conceived on reading the play. Our Farren possessed this talent in a super-eminent degree. Bouffé having been a painter by profession, has the power of indicating beforehand to the author the exact dress and physiognomy which he intends to adopt. In the play of "Pauvre Jacques," the old cloak which he wears, and his manner of brushing it, give great effect to the performance. Bouffé is eminently a conscientious actor. He never undertakes a part without six months' previous study. The great fault, indeed, alleged against him, is, that he studies his characters too minutely. He is the very Gerard Dow of his art, carrying his reverence for finish, detail, and reality to such a point, that he arrives at his *loge* two hours beforehand *pour se grimer*; and if the spot which he carries in his hand should, according to the play, contain chocolate, chocolate it must be. In speaking of Bouffé, we should speak more properly, though very unwillingly, in the past tense. For the last eight or nine years he has ceased to take regular engagements, and has played usually by the night; at the present moment he acts chiefly in the suburbs. His demands being high, and the decline of his physical powers often preventing him from continuing night after night in his place, the managers naturally decline engagements. Bouffé is especially excellent in scenes of comic or absurd miseries, or which, if happening to a worthy character, would excite the sympathy of the audience; as, for instance, when playing the Miser in "La Fille de l'Avare." In all the relations of life Bouffé is highly esteemed as a worthy and excellent character.

Next to Bouffé the Parisian actor most popularly known to

English amateurs is Arnal. Arnal is essentially comic, without being grotesque. In this respect he falls into the class of Ravel, of the Palais Royal, and Felix, of the Vaudeville; only that the two latter performers undertake younger characters—*les jeunes premiers*, or *les amoureux comiques*. The great effect which Arnal gives to his parts, without the slightest approach to caricature, renders his acting very attractive. Like Bouffé, he is scrupulously exact as to dress, which is always of the simple and natural style. He never undertakes *les travestis*. Arnal possesses in a high degree the essential quality of concealing his art. After witnessing Arnal's performance, you wonder what you have been laughing at; whereas Levassor, and other artists of no mean talent, seem anxious that you should appreciate the secrets of the profession, and that you should know what trouble it has cost them to entertain you. Arnal is also one of those rare actors who do not require a part to be written for them. Arnal's habits of life are more staid and regular than is usually the case with comedians. He mixes very little with his comrades in the profession, and passes the summer in Switzerland, at a campagne of his own construction, which serves the double purpose of a retreat, while *en congé*, from the summer heats of Paris, and of a vicinity to the theatre at Geneva, where he often performs. Arnal regards his art from a business point of view; and, as he is not extravagant in his expenses, so he is exact in demanding his dues.

Delamoy, Geoffroy, and Leclere, though sometimes performing in genteel comedy, differ from Arnal in undertaking *les caricatures et les grimes*. All these actors are highly popular, and are invariably effective in carrying out the parts assigned to them. Whoever may have witnessed Leclere's performance in "Les Deux Merles Blancs" of last year, will probably agree with us as to his life-like personification of Père Mouillebec, the old tutor. Leclere possesses more than almost any other actor the power of adapting himself to any part which may be offered him.

Amongst the principal actors of the grotesque and extravagant school are Lassagne, Grassot, and Hyacinthe. A short time ago, Lassagne was almost unknown to the dramatic world of Paris, acting only subordinate parts at the Folies Dramatiques, in which he obtained no success, till allowed to introduce eccentricities of his own invention. At the present moment no comic actor in Paris is more popular. His inimitable drollery, peculiar to himself, gives effect to parts which in other hands would be insignificant and insipid. Like Buckstone, and the late admirable Liston, he has a solemn way of forcing the audience to laugh when he is himself most grave.

Amongst the Parisian actresses of the present day, no one is pro-



bably better known in England than Madlle. Dejazet; but, like Bouffé she has well nigh quitted the Parisian stage, and plays chiefly in the provinces, and in other countries.) In order to give an idea of Madlle. Dejazet's artistic talents, the terms *entrain* and *verve* are indispensable. She is peculiarly successful in *les travestis*, and the spirit with which she performs is enhanced by her vocal powers. Miss Woolgar—now, we believe, Mrs. Mellon—is the English actress who best represents Madlle. Dejazet. Madlle. Dejazet, more perhaps than any other French artiste, acts from natural impulse rather than from study, which gives a peculiar charm to her performance. At this moment she is playing at the Palais Royal Theatre her original character of young Richelieu, in the play entitled “Des Premiers Armes de Richelieu,” and it will be allowed by all who witness her acting, that the woman of sixty-eight looks the youth of fifteen to perfection. She has, of necessity, less energy and vivacity than in former years, and the elocution is less distinct, but the musical voice is as clear and melodious as ever. Like Madlle. Augustine Boohan, of the Théâtre Français, Madlle. Dejazet is celebrated for her witty sayings, but we are not aware that, like the spirited contributor to the *Rigaro* of last year, she has ever exercised her pen. Many years ago a publisher requested her to write her memoirs, or, if that was too onerous a task, to permit him to write them for her; to which she replied that, having obtained, whether justly or not, a reputation for talent, she was not desirous of losing it.

In strong contrast with the style of Madlle. Dejazet's acting, at least as regards the choice of parts, is that of Madlle. Rose Chéri, now Madame Montigny, who excels rather in real than imaginary characters, and to whose genius the broad comic and the extravagant are utterly foreign. Since her marriage with M. Montigny, the manager of the Gymnase, she plays there acted have been of a more staid and sober character than heretofore, the lively vaudeville giving place to the more elaborate five-act comedy. The performances of Madlle. Rose Chéri are apparently unaccompanied by the slightest effort, and she is so quiet and natural, that the unprofessional spectator would not suppose the part to have been previously studied; yet perhaps no artiste is so diligently painstaking as Madlle. Rose Chéri. She has been known to study a single phrase for a month before pleasing herself as to the right intonation. Without the slightest wish to detract from her great and acknowledged merits, we should add, that she is not of a versatile turn, and requires parts suited to her peculiar tastes and talents.

Of the same company is Madlle. Desirée, a comic actress of great merit. Every one who witnessed “*Le Camp des Bourgeoises*” of last year will remember her admirable personification of the

provoked wife in that lively play. Following the example of Madlle. Rose Chéri, she has recently united herself to a distinguished actor of the troupe.

Although the artists whom we have enumerated are very decidedly in favour with the middle classes of Parisian society, a grand lady of the Faubourg St. Germain would, generally speaking, acknowledge but a slight acquaintance with their merits, and would point to the company of the Théâtre Français—to Regnier, Samson, Got, St. Germain, and to Madlles. Brohan, Jouassain, and others—as her favourite performers. A spectator of this class goes to the play, not to be amused, but to be seen in what is judged to be a correct place. As English visitors to Paris, who arrive there with a laudable anxiety to avoid everything improper, are often misled in this matter by high-sounding authorities, we will venture to offer a few observations upon proper and improper plays in the Parisian capital.

In the first place, the sweeping condemnation of all theatres except the Français, and perhaps its *double*, the Odéon, is utterly unjust. The comedies played at the Gymnase and Vaudeville are quite as unobjectionable in style and moral feeling as any which could be selected from the *repertoire* of the Français, whether of ancient or modern date. At the Variétés and Palais Royal, especially at the latter theatre, the farces and vaudevilles are occasionally, no doubt, disfigured by scenes and expressions, the coarseness of which is not always excused by the wit, and it was probably to such plays that the Ministre d'Etat more particularly pointed, in a courteous but admonitory circular, recently addressed to the managers of the Parisian theatres. Many farces, however, are brought out at the Palais Royal, and very many at the Variétés, in which the most correct taste would find nothing to censure on the score of indecency. The vaudevilles and broad comedies produced at these theatres are replete with the most entertaining drolleries, and are admirably performed; and the stranger in Paris, who eschews these places of amusement, scared by the frown of fastidious fashion,\* would deny himself a theatrical enjoyment which he would seek for in vain in any other quarter of the globe.

That the objections which high-born French matrons raise to Parisian farces are not always grounded on genuine and honest feelings, seems proved by the following extract from a recent criticism in a daily journal:—

“ L'autre jour j'assistais à la représentation de Tartuffe au Théâtre Français et à plusieurs reprises, je vis l'assistance étonnée de certaines libertés de langage, qui ne sont plus dans les habitudes de la bonne compagnie. Les hommes riaient sans façon, suivant leurs coutume, mais les femmes suivaient d'un petit air maladroit qui trahissait

leur embarras. Le fait est, que nous sommes devenus fort décens en paroles, bien qu'en actions nous ne soyons pas plus vertueux que nos pères, et si Molière composait aujourd'hui ses pièces, il devrait y faire des coupures, sous peine de les voir passer de la Comédie Française au Théâtre du Palais-Royal."

Enough, perhaps, has already been said to show that the drama in Paris exercises, whether for good or evil, a considerable influence on the population of Paris; and we have already spoken of the vast numbers employed in carrying on the business of the profession. We shall now proceed to analyse the profits accruing to authors, managers, and actors. A successful play-writer at Paris is in the way of large receipts. A piece in five acts, which has a run of from 100 to 150 nights at the outset, may from that circumstance alone return to the author from four to five thousand pounds. A successful comedy of last year at the Vaudeville, entitled *Les Faux Bonshommes* returned to the two authors about 4000*l.* each, by a percentage of ten per cent. upon the gross profits; and although the percentage at the Gymnase is only 7 per cent., owing to the scale of expenses and receipts being smaller at that theatre, we doubt not that M. Alexandre Dumas fils has often received similar sums as the first profits of his works. Besides the gain thus accruing to the author at the first production of the play, the *reprises* are also to be taken into consideration, as also the profits derived to him from the provincial theatres at which his play is acted. There is likewise to be added the sale of the printed work, and again the chance of obtaining one of the four Government prizes awarded in each year to the best plays, two of 200*l.* and two of 140*l.* Besides this, the author has a claim to a certain number of places in the theatre, which he may either give away, or otherwise dispose of. As an instance of the sums occasionally gained by successful authors, we may mention that, in the course of his professional career, M. Eugene Scribe has amassed a sum equal to 200,000*l.* of our money. During the month of October alone, a bad month, too, the author of "*Les Pillules du Diable*" received about 450*l.*; and in the three comparatively dead months of September, October, and November, the management of the Variétés paid to the authors of "*Les Bibelots du Diable*" 1400*l.*

The profits of managers are more varying and precarious, though occasionally even greater than those of authors. In the case of the manager there is always a considerable money outlay, whereas the author loses but his time. As instances of the amount of gross receipts, we may mention that the twenty first representations of a *reprise* of "*Les Pillules du Diable*," in a theatre where the prices are low, produced 102,550 frs. 75 c.; and the twenty first representations of "*Faust*," at the Porte St.

Martin, upwards of 100,000 frs., or 4000*l.* A single night at that theatre—also a theatre of low prices—of “Richard d’Arlington,” a long-established and popular drama by M. Alexandre Dumas, returned upwards of 240*l.*, the night in question being that of Sunday, the 16th of January last.

The total receipts of all theatres in Paris, for the year 1858, amounted to about 553,000*l.*, showing an increase upon the year 1857 of between 6000*l.* and 7000*l.* In estimating these receipts, however, it should be remembered that Good Friday is the only day throughout the year when the busy machinery of the twenty-two play-mills of Paris altogether stops, though some of the more important theatres cease during Passion Week. On the other hand, all theatres, whether *subventionnés* or not, pay ten per cent. on the gross profits towards the maintenance of hospitals, and other public charities. The managers of secondary theatres are also at a great loss from being obliged to keep their houses open during the summer heats, the expenses at that season often continuing on the usual scale, approaching, perhaps, to 400*l.* per night, while the receipts occasionally scarcely realize 10*l.* Theatrical gains are again, generally speaking, more affected by the weather in Paris than in London. In summer, fine weather draws off numbers of the middle, and even of the upper classes, to the out-door amusements; and at all times of the year decided ruin affects the profits of those theatres which are attended by audiences, the greater part of whom arrive there on foot. M. Bouffé (not the actor), recently manager of the Vaudeville, when speaking of the weather; used to refer to an imaginary barometer of his own invention, and marked by a money scale. With him it was always, *un temps de 500 écus*, or *de 50 écus*, according to circumstances.

The salaries of dramatic performers at Paris, of all grades, vary from 1200*l.* to 12*l.* a year. Probably two dozen names would include all of both sexes who receive the former sum, except, of course, the great musical performers at the two operas; at which theatres, owing to the large sums paid to the performers, there is often a serious balance against the manager at the end of the year. Confining our attention to the strictly dramatic world, a chosen few of the second grade as to payments receive from 20,000 frs. to 18,000 frs.; after which would follow a larger number gaining 10,000 frs., 6000 frs., or 5000 frs., *d’appointments*. Lower again in the scale comes a numerous host, who receive but a mere pittance; 1800 frs. or 1200 frs. being a very usual salary for the performers on the Boulevard du Crime. The number of actresses who receive the larger sums is exceedingly limited; added to which must be reckoned their expense in dress; that is, in *costume de ville*, which is much more varied and costly than the

eternal *pantalon noir* and *cravatte blanche*. All *costumes de ville*—namely, dresses which may be worn in society—are provided by the actresses.

Besides the annual salaries, the leaders of the profession receive for each night of their performance what are termed *feus* (fees), varying, according to the class of the performer, from 30 frs. to 5 frs. a night, for actors and actresses; and in many theatres, though not at the *Théâtre Français*, actors are allowed to play while *en congé*. Ravel, Arnal, Felix, and others, add much to their gains by starring it in the provinces, or by acting in foreign countries. The actors of the *Français* are not allowed to exhibit elsewhere, unless the whole *troupe* is engaged.

The actual state and condition of the theatres of Paris is, generally speaking, far from satisfactory, and contrasts unfavourably with the otherwise forward march of architectural construction. It would seem perhaps, at first sight, strange that a nation so passionately fond of theatrical entertainments should have neglected improvements in so important a particular; but this is easily accounted for, when we reflect that, under the paternal authority of the Government, the embellishments of Paris proceed on a general and uniform plan, without special reference to any particular interest. In the work of demolition and reconstruction, the churches alone are respected. The new boulevard shortly to be built from the new barracks at the *Château d'Eau* to the *Barrière du Trône*, will necessitate the destruction of the entire line of theatres in that quarter; and, whatever may be the difficulties arising from an endeavour to meet the public taste in its various aspects, there can be no doubt that these playhouses, as well as others when occasion may require it, will be rebuilt on improved models.

Although the opera-houses are far from being complete and satisfactory, various plans being agitated for their construction on improved plans, and on more convenient sites, it is in the minor and secondary theatres that a want of commodious accommodation for the public, as well as for the artists behind the stage, is more distinctly felt. A private box at the Haymarket or Lyceum in London; for which you pay two guineas, seems like a small drawing-room in comparison of the ground floor closet into which you are introduced at the *Vaudeville* or *Variétés* for about 30s.; and in which, according to an Englishman's notion of elbow-room, there is scarcely space enough for a single gentleman and his opera cloak.

Whatever may be the defects of the Parisian theatres which meet the public eye, those parts of a playhouse which are not usually visited by unprofessional persons are in a yet more lamentable condition, at least in most of the secondary theatres. While the

*loge* of a fashionable artiste at the opera or the Français is an elegantly furnished boudoir with anteroom, at the Palais Royal there is scarcely room to turn round in the dingy cell which serves the performer as a dressing-room. In the theatres Du Boulevard only the principal artists have a *loge* to themselves, the *loge* being occupied in some cases by eight persons in turn. A community of goods is quite as difficult to carry out here as elsewhere; the pots of red, white, and blue ranged upon the shelves become so many bones of contention, and the quarrels behind the scenes may occasionally be more to the life than those acted upon the stage.

In conclusion, whatever changes for the social fabric of France the future may have in reserve, it is scarcely possible to imagine a period when the Parisian will be indifferent to dramatic entertainments; still less can we conceive him to entertain towards the profession such feelings of antipathy and hostility as once existed in Geneva and in London. And here let us add one word as to the origin and history of such sentiments.

The notion that all stage-plays whatsoever and whensøever are abomination, is a Christian tenet of great antiquity, though, like many other ancient Christian tenets, it cannot be traced back to the apostolic age. Tertullian was the first Christian who broke out in open invective against theatrical amusements. In his treatise "De Spectaculis," he declares that the Evil One himself puts on the player's buskin, by which he impiously adds to his stature. The hostility to plays and players thus expressed by Tertullian was but the echo of a feeling then very general in Christendom, arising from the ludicrous representations given at the heathen theatres of the tedious and sometimes unintelligible disputes which took place between the differing doctors of the various Christian schools. Hence was transmitted to the church of later ages an hereditary animosity against the profession, which, until lately, extended to denying the rites of burial to its members. In the Roman Catholic world of the present day, especially in that of Paris, few are to be found amongst the luty who would absolutely and unconditionally anathematize the stage; but looking to the clerical influence exerted at Naples, Rome, and even in the Faubourg St. Germain at Paris, there is little doubt of what the clergy would do if they could. The *Histriomastix* school of England or America — for Geneva knows it no longer — descends not so immediately from Tertullian as from Calvin, or rather perhaps from the fanatics of our Great Rebellion, who found a voice for their antipathy to the drama in Prynne: Up to that moment of our history the play had continued to be a popular pastime in England even on the Sunday; on which day King James's court enjoyed their masques, and the Londoner his public theatre.

## ART. V.—THE ITALIAN QUESTION.

THE Italian question is acknowledged to be the great diplomatic question of the day. The Congress of Paris by spontaneously including it amongst the subjects for its deliberation, has publicly recognised its importance. By this act on the part of a conclave, the constituted representation of legal Government in Europe, the Italian question was manumitted from the condition of a vain hypothesis, and introduced amongst the elements of European politics. Since that event three years have passed away, but the political state of Italy continues as before. The deliberations of diplomacy are unavoidably slow, so that its judgments, like those of old Chancery, are apt to be forestalled by the death of the original suitors, who, unless driven to lawless despair at procrastination, relieved the court from the responsibility of a decision, by taking into their own hands the righting of their wrongs. There are alarming symptoms at the present moment indicating the likelihood of such a catastrophe with reference to Italy. The spirit of disaffection and national impulse, first obliged to bow to defeat and afterwards content to restrain itself in confident expectation of the results of the Paris Congress, is now beginning to manifest itself throughout the Peninsula, with an intensity that warrants the forebodings of an outbreak, and makes it desirable that we should take a timely review of a state of affairs which may not, impossibly embroil Europe in a general war, and must under all circumstances bespeak the attention of the English Government in the unavoidable assertion of its legitimate influence. The general ignorance of the English public about matters of foreign policy, extending often in a lamentable degree even to our statesmen, makes this the more necessary, lest we find ourselves imprudently committed beyond return in a question from its very complicated nature striking into, and threatening to affect all the interests of Europe.

A people which has by rebellion to wrest its independence from the stern gripe of foreign enthrallment, strong in a thoroughly efficient and numerous army, has to achieve a victory which seems but just possible to an undivided effort of convulsive despair. Again, a people which at home is called upon to starve into surrender, and which has to extort concessions of right, from its government, strong in a citadel of immemorial privilege and armed with the panoply of executive force, has before it a task, the success of which seems to demand its united energies. What, then, are the chances of success for a people aiming at reform under circumstances that impose the necessity of at once fighting

a foreign foe of first-rate power, and of coercing at home five governments, several of which are connected with him by indissoluble ties, and all deriving from his solid establishment the main buttress for their own existence? Preliminary discussions are fatal to that rapid concert of action which alone can ensure the overthrow of an enemy, who, from his commanding strongholds throughout the country, seems in a position to trample out at once the first fire of rebellion. Is it not inevitable, then, that a people, having no traditional plans by which such preliminary discussions are rendered needless must be overtaken by confusion in their attempts to construct an unity out of atoms never yet brought together? This consideration has not escaped the observation of the Italians. The public mind throughout the country is animated with the conviction that everything is to be postponed to the emancipation of the native soil from Austrian dominion, that victory in Lombardy must of itself release the whole of Italy from oppression, and that therefore all questions of constitutions and international arrangements are as nothing until freedom from the foreigner is achieved. It is evident, if this sentiment has been sincerely adopted by the bulk of the intelligent population, and is not merely cherished with self-delusive complacency, that as long as there is no real necessity for abdicating individual pretensions or renouncing pet schemes, there exists the best possible pledge, that the people will avail themselves of any opportunity which may present itself for asserting their independence. But the opinion that this feeling has made such progress as to be able to give for a sufficient time a common direction to the scattered members of Italian nationality, and to repress what is affirmed to be an inveterate disposition for asserting individual rights in a degree incompatible with general discipline, will find many gainsayers, who point with derision to the perpetual conflict of Italians amongst themselves since the fall of the Roman Empire to the failure marked with disastrous incidents that crowned the effort of 1848, and lastly to the influence that is supposed to attach to the occult inspiration and mysterious machinery of Mazzinian organization. To our mind the men who reason in this manner fall from rigid veneration for tradition into a misapprehension of the truth as extreme as that of those who immolate themselves for a conceit, the result of imaginative enthusiasm.

Mazzini was powerful in 1848 for the best of reasons: he had done immense services, greater than those of any other man, in keeping alive the torch of liberal ideas in the period of desolation and gloom, when an undying conviction could alone prevent the heart of man from sinking into apathetic indifference. When, therefore, the great movement came overnight, and the magic



vision of success flashed suddenly on the wakening eyes of Italy, enthusiastic confidence was elicited for the prophetic nature of the man, whose hierophantic breathings, communicated at midnight meetings in the mystic conclaves of Carbonari lodges, had quickened the generous devotion of youth, had buoyed up with fevered assurances the despondency of maturer years; had been sufficient to make noble lives seek voluntary martyrdom, in obedience to whispered bidding, and now seemed to have attained the confirmation of their pledges in the indisputable testimony of positive achievement. No historical tradition held up a pattern to imitation, and still less did any actual institution lend the assistance of its support to the longing efforts of Italian Liberalism. There was literally nothing in the whole range of Italian prospects capable of affecting the contemplatist with hope, or of attracting his sympathies. The leaden gloom of stagnation and mean oppression seemed to pervade the regions of government in the Peninsula. Under such circumstances a heart, not to subside into indifference or end in despair, had to recur to the depths of abstract conviction for the bracing elements that might enable it to bear up against adversity. In the complete divorce between generous aspiration and wretched reality—in the utter impossibility to find any point of affinity between the two—mind was forcibly directed for solace to the realm of imagination, where it could freely intoxicate itself with the uncompromising indelible rights of man, and visions of their ultimate triumph over the incompatible enormities of existing establishments. Now Mazzinianism is this frame of mind elaborated into a doctrine, and perfected into an organization. Its language breathed the inspiration of the most abstract principles, its views were such elaborate visions as seem from an imagination rapt in trance above disturbances from things without, while the mystic symbolism pervading its secret organization with its form of initiation, esoteric illuminations, and oracular hierarchy, was exactly adapted to foster a chronic fever of the imagination, and answer the purposes of a season necessarily confined in its operations to conspiring, and occultly propagating underground disaffection. It cannot be denied that this was the work of no ordinary talent. Mazzini is the very genius of conspiracy: with nothing to encourage him but the undeviating fervour of his ardent mind, he contrived a society, which alone under the circumstances of the time could give some combination and direction to the scattered particles of Italian energy, and it cannot therefore be matter of wonder that he should have acquired over his partisans an influence which partook of veneration, and which enabled him, like the Old Man of the Mountain, to command emissaries who rejoiced to be devotees.

But that which constituted Mazzini's power in a period of appeal to the imaginative faculties precisely defeated his usefulness in dealing with events. With an utter absence of appreciation, he insisted on reconstructing in behalf of Liberalism the inflexible system represented on the other side by canon law. As the vision of united Italy had risen before his mind in secluded meditation, so alone would he consent to entertain it. He could never bring himself to make any account of circumstances, and as all legislation beside its own edicts is undeserving of notice by the Papacy, so Mazzini, assuming the infallible character of the Pontiff of Liberalism, denounced and sought to thwart every reform short of his own thorough revolution. In 1848 this imperfection in his mind was not yet discovered, while in the first burst of that year's events the full impression of his seerlike assurances weighed on his disciples with even heightened ecstasy. But since then a great desertion has taken place amongst his followers. Against the boon bestowed on Italy by Piedmont, were it only in the fact that on Italian soil it has opened a school free from oppressive control for discussions of every kind, Mazzini has not only remained blind, but has actually persisted to plot with spiteful and unnatural animosity, merely because its form does not partake of his favourite republican fashion. Under the influence of self-opinionativeness he has allowed himself to be hurried into actions which amount to deliberate treason against the common cause of national independence. In defiance of every consideration, Mazzini, with perverse arrogance, has refused to yield one tittle of his republican views for the sake of union in the great purpose of liberating his country from the foreigner. Isolating himself therefore from patriots of every shade who were not ready to subscribe to his exclusive opinions, Mazzini for a while maintained a following of some importance, composed mostly of sincere Republicans in theory, and augmented by men painfully impressed with the closing circumstances of the outbreak of 1848, and consequently inclined to seek in extreme measures the only adequate remedy for inveterate ills. But Piedmont, which at that time had not yet acquired general confidence, has since then been steadily winning esteem. Its undoubted good faith, and sacrifices to the cause of independence and free government, has obtained for it at least general sympathy in Italy. Mazzini, on the contrary, not only refused to co-operate with it, but used the spell of his influence to impel the devotion of his adherents to insane attempts, entailing useless bloodshed, and shocking the good sense of the nation by their wicked recklessness. The crowning act was his criminal conspiracy to seize the forts of Genoa, and

thus to introduce rebellion and civil war into the State which serves certainly as the champion for Italy, and the sanctuary of her struggling children, a proceeding so monstrous as to have aroused general indignation amongst his party. In Genoa itself a declaration of his leading followers has lately been drawn up, renouncing adherence to him, and the same spirit of defection is prevalent everywhere. The chief has incurred an amount of discredit which has killed the party. From being a power in Italy, Mazzini has now sunk into the insignificant ringleader of a band capable of still creating serious disturbances in some localities, but quite unable to establish any permanent influence. Nor is this neglect of Mazzini in any way the result of unjust fickleness on the part of the public. His system, even if less indiscreetly employed, is quite unfit for the present phase of affairs. Mazzinianism reached the natural term of its existence the day the political action of Italy was freed from the necessity of lurking in the mummeries of Carbonari lodges, and could display itself on a public arena, at once the school for proper discipline, and a stage whence to make its claims heard through Europe.

But if the authority of Mazzini's influence and the effective force of his organized system for conspiracy have been thus reduced, what elements are there now in Italy capable, and likely, in the event of an outbreak, to give a character to the movement? To render to ourselves an account of them, it is necessary to examine the conditions of each Italian territory by itself. Beginning in the order of position, and in the present state of things of importance, with the Lombardo-Venetian provinces, we here find a population of about five millions animated with a common sentiment of hostility against their Austrian rulers. The universal prevalence of this feeling was proved in the general revolt of 1848, but it is a fact that at that time this feeling was coupled with others weakening its effective force and intensity. They were the natural result of want of intercourse and acquaintance with each other on the part of the population in the different territorial divisions of Northern Italy, rather than of confirmed disposition to personal views or local jealousies incompatible with concert. This state of feelings has ceased to exist. The expression of a frame of mind that did not represent obstinacy wedded to prejudice, but the blank absence of knowledge, it has yielded of itself to the evidence of facts. We have arrived at the conviction that throughout the Lombardo-Venetian provinces there rules one dominant sentiment along with hostility to the Austrians, the desire to form integral portions of a kingdom which shall have the King of Piedmont for its sovereign. Many who acknowledge the present prevalence of this profession of political feelings consider it, however, as either directly false, a

mere lure to ensure Piedmontese assistance in driving out the Austrian forces, or as at least a piece of hasty self-delusion, which will vanish the day circumstances give an opening to local ambitions; and they point to the events of 1848 in confirmation of their views. This reasoning is of a kind easily carrying assent by a show of evidence which, on examination, is found to partake of entire misapprehension and distorted appreciation of what really took place. The outbreak of 1848 was an effort on the part of Italy to leap into possession of her full strength out of the disjointed condition in which she had allowed herself to lie ever since the break up of the Roman Empire. Animated therefore by an impulsive desire to compass something novel to her previous existence, the movement was unavoidably destitute of those wise influences which spring from experience and practical insight, and which of themselves steady action when confined to the recovery of an object which is the mere consummation of long preparatory labour. An abstract idea fervently embraced was the source of inspiration, and the fanciful image of an united Italy, as held up to the visionary ecstasy of Carbonari mystics, had been the nearest approach to a definite indication of the work that was to be performed. When the blaze of rebellion suddenly fired the mine throughout Italy, the people indeed rushed with ready zeal to promote its spread, but this action, like that of men called out into the dark on a sudden alarm, was embarrassed by confusion. The Lombard and the Venetian started up sincerely enthusiastic about merging their existences in a united Italy; but nothing in their traditions instinctively suggested the propriety of beginning by a combination amongst themselves. Though both were alike ready for sacrifices in behalf of an Italian State, neither of them had any reminiscences which could naturally impel them on occasions of this struggle at once to seek each other out with the self-denying spirit that could constitute a polity at least between them. No portion of Italy had been accustomed to repose upon its neighbours, and thus there was nowhere that germ of concert ready which in critical moments can alone with requisite quickness bring the assistance that by energy and example is able to assume direction, and save a movement from defeating itself. This proved disastrous to rapid success, and before the Italians had time to make good their first fault, events put a stop to their chances; but it is not true that they wilfully persevered in their errors.

Charles Albert was not hailed at first with the devotion which might seem to have been his due; but to us his partial disfavour seems most natural. He arrived at the very beginning of the movement, when the population was still in the transport of its Italian feeling, and no time had been allowed to review and esti-

mate the condition of affairs. His character was of a nature not only to warrant, but actually to suggest suspicion, and his course of proceeding the very one sure to ruffle all the susceptibilities of the hour. A Carbonari conspirator in his early days, he had willingly purchased personal pardon by betraying his unfortunate accomplices. On succeeding to the throne he had ruled with the narrow-mindedness of a priest-ridden bigot, and the jealous harshness of a giant so mistrustful as even to doubt his own family, during years when Liberalism could hold up no tempting prospects to his ambition. On the reform movement being inaugurated by Pius IX., he slowly and laggingly followed in its wake. It was only when the King of Naples had conceded a constitution that Charles Albert would consent to grant one to his subjects. Nor were the Piedmontese popular as a nation. Indeed they were hardly considered to be Italians, and were looked at much in the same light in which the Macedonians before Alexander's time had been regarded by the Greeks. On setting his army in motion, Charles Albert issued proclamations with the most high-flown professions of patriotic disinterestedness, in which he disclaimed all idea of personal motives, and declared that the satisfaction of contributing to his fellow-countrymen's delivery was all the reward he desired. Yet, from the very first day, an active and glaring canvass to set the crown of Lombardy on his head was carried on, without doubt at the king's instigation, by men who were notorious emissaries, and his whole behaviour was of a kind to instil the suspicion that its regulating principle was the desire to make his assistance the means of concluding a bargain advantageous to himself. It could not but be that in the full excitement of the Italian sentiment, this view, with its contingent prospects of submission to a distrusted prince and annexation to what then was an obscure and unpopular State, must have been at first sight uninviting to many. Yet it is an authenticated fact, that on a serious appeal to the people to decide by their vote the future constitution of their country, this instinctive good sense elected union with Piedmont. In the flush of intoxicating success, in the tide of opinions directly calculated to foment inflated exaltation, with Mazzini untarnished in credit and actively engaged in fanning the spirit of his adherents, the Republican and Separatist party yet vanished in smoke. In Lombardy, as far as it was free from the Austrians, 561,002 votes were given for incorporation with Piedmont, against only 681; while in Venice, where the question was left to the decision of the assembly, and the separatist feeling was supposed to be strongest, it was carried by 127 against 6. In the presence of this deliberate resolution, approved of by such overwhelming majorities, it seems to us absurd to lay em-

phatic stress upon the seditious manifestations against Charles Albert on the occasion of the executions of Milan. It was a moment pre-eminently calculated to confound the mind of the people. From the height of success they found themselves pitched into the depths of humiliation, with the same rapidity with which they had been elated. What had been looked upon one day with the delight of secure possession, was discovered the next to be hopelessly shivered. A wild and profound consternation, and a perfect conflict of disordered feelings therefore arose, paramount over which was a concentrated animosity against those who had been invested with the direction of affairs, and who now were hastily denounced as traitors. It is evident that no just inference can be deduced from what occurred in a moment of such complete disturbance, and that whoever makes this the starting-point for his calculations, commits the same error as a man who, reflecting on human nature, makes the proceedings of a madman the basis for his speculations. Every reason which in 1848 could tell in favour of Piedmont, tells now with redoubled force. What then was looked to only with the confidence of inward conviction, is now beheld in the impressive attraction of a proved fact, within the cognizance of all.

Our observations have led us to the conclusion that it is not only a sentiment of reliance which animates the Lombards towards Piedmont. They seem to us to have completely identified themselves in feeling with it, to consider themselves as merely lopped off members of it, and to be panting for the actual consummation of a union. No man more illustrious for talent and character appeared in 1848 than Manin. His genius was essentially that of a noble-minded statesman, which did not, however, prevent his entering into the movement with the predilections of a republican, and with sentiments strongly disinclined to accept a Piedmontese sovereignty. Yet Manin died in Paris a firm and zealous adherent of Piedmont. The efforts of his last years were all directed with indefatigable energy to promote by his counsel and weight the adhesion of public opinion to the House of Savoy. Now, Manin was one of those men who at once are types and leaders; the secret of their influence residing in a practical sense which makes them intuitively reflect the conformation of things; and we believe that he represents in the revolution his feelings underwent a conversion that has been growing in intensity throughout Northern Italy. It is often asserted that the Austrian rule is not detested by the whole population; that the disaffected only constitute a section, consisting especially of the nobility and upper classes, who are merely animated by a craving for authority; that the base and material prosperity consequent on the efficient provisions of Austrian administration

have won the acquiescence of those large portions of the community living by trade and industry, and that above all the agricultural population is strongly in favour of the existing government, so that it would be ready actively to co-operate in coercing any movement on the part of men whom in their characters of landlords and proprietors it is represented as hating. And this is not merely said by men who might be pardoned for greater zeal than knowledge. Austrian politicians of standing do not hesitate to bring forward these arguments with all the weight of their authority, so that we think it worth while shortly to give our reasons for completely disbelieving their correctness. \*

The Austrian rule can only be said not to be detested with unanimous intensity throughout Northern Italy in that sense in which every sentiment running through a population of great extent must naturally encounter degrees of modification. Thus in Lombardy there is a general difference in spirit between the inhabitants of its northern and southern districts. The former are a more hardy, defiant, and impetuous race, while the latter, living in the affluent and luxuriant plains, are more inert and inclined to contract something of the immobility that attaches to the richness of their soil. These would never be the pioneers of a revolt, while those, on the contrary, are of an indomitable forwardness; and this comprises the whole distinction. The men in the plains of Lodi have never shown any sympathy for Austria; on the contrary, they were very active participators in the early stages of the rebellion. They must not be relied on for a forlorn hope, or to hold out in desperate resistance to the last, because their temper naturally inclines them to the peaceful pursuits of the dairy and the mart; but their feelings are Italian; they would cheerfully obey an authority that speaks to them with the form of a constituted government; they will contribute their quota to a conscription levied by order from the ruling power; only if the war lasted long they would probably be the first to sigh for the flesh-pots of Egypt. So far is it from being true that the Austrian government has by a good administration conciliated the goodwill of any class, that on the contrary it has inflamed the animosity of the whole country by its exactions during the last ten years. In 1847, the clear revenue drawn from the Lombardo-Venetian provinces, after all deductions, amounted to 96,285,793 francs. It is calculated that in 1855, owing to increased taxation, the sum transmitted to Vienna amounted to 137,600,000 francs. No class has escaped the lynx-eyed rapacity of the exchequer, but the agricultural one has especially suffered from the heavy imposts laid on land, and rendered fearfully oppressive through the occurrence of a series of deficient crops from diseases of a mysterious nature. This has caused great misery and

even absolute destitution in some of the more northern districts ; amongst which the Valtellina has been one of the most heavily visited, so that the animosity of these parts is now heightened by the rancour peculiar to the bitterness of personal suffering. Nor has the effect of these exactions been in any way mitigated by considerate treatment on the part of the officials.

The Austrian government is of all the least supple, and its agents are the most painfully inept for suiting the lumber of traditional instruction to modern requirements. It is indeed not a spirit of active and wanton tyranny which actuates them, but a spirit of offensive clumsiness pervades their conduct which makes them blindly contrive on all occasions to wound the feelings of those with whom they have to deal, and converts their zeal into dull obsequiousness that never departs from the letter of prescription, and never rises to sufficient independence of judgment to be capable of enlightening its superiors by counsel or information that might seem to convey remonstrance against the wisdom of their views. A government depending on such inferior instruments, and yet called upon to deal with the most complicated difficulties, is ever exposed to be misled into fatal errors through the blundering servility of those to whom it trusts for wholesome advice. This has been emphatically the case with regard to its Italian possessions, where the notions of stringent centralization in the hands of an irresponsible executive, which formed the sum of Schwarzenberg's military mind, have been made the principle of government. Re-entering by force of arms into possession of provinces that had risen in unanimous rebellion, the Austrians did nothing to confirm their hold thereon beyond subjecting them to the strict watch of military occupation. No concessions were made, and no institutions were granted that might in some sense respond to the known aspirations of the people, and tend eventually perhaps to propitiate the goodwill of that numerous class in all countries which is disinclined to violence, and from motives of prudence and calculation always ready to abide by what is existing, should it yield the slightest satisfaction to its limited and very humble demands. We do not pretend to affirm that the situation of the Austrian government was free from most perplexing embarrassments, and that any administration possible on its part would have sincerely conciliated the population at large. On the contrary, we believe the national sentiment in the Lombardo-Venetian provinces to be beyond compulsion, and that it would certainly have tried to turn into its organ and instrument whatever institutions the government might have granted. But this consideration is foreign to the question how the Austrians stand actually in their Italian provinces, unless as affording a confirmation of their necessarily absolute isolation from their



subjects in the exclusive position which they have obstinately assumed.

Much noise, indeed, was made in the papers, a couple of years ago, about great modifications to be introduced in the system on the occasion of the emperor's brother acquiring the viceroyalty. It was then represented that the close dependence on Vienna, which had made the governor of Lombardy a mere subaltern, should cease; that the Archduke was to be a viceroy in the full meaning of the word, as well as in the full enjoyment of the pageant. With a prince of the blood-royal habitually residing in the capitals of the provinces, a new life was to be infused into the whole system of administration. Italians were to form the staff of government; the provincial councils were to be endowed with active powers; in short, it was announced that, as far as was compatible with the fact of foreign suzerainty, the just demands of national feeling should be complied with by a government consulting the experience of native counsellors, gratifying honourable ambition by studiously fostering it; and, above all, actively promoting the material prosperity of the people. But all this proved so complete a hoax that it might have been left unnoticed by us but for the damaging ridicule it has heaped on government. The Archduke, a young man of more ardent intentions than wisdom, really fancied himself invested with the powers of a viceroy, but with characteristic indiscretion, he was satisfied to assume his post without having first taken the precaution to secure the confirmation of the authority with which he believed himself to be entrusted. On his arrival in Lombardy, never doubting himself to be in charge of full power, he acted and spoke with the assurance of the Emperor's representative, receiving petitions, promising concessions, pledging himself to obtain favour. But the expectation inevitably raised by all this flourish of spontaneous condescension, altogether out of place with what hitherto had happened, was to end in such thorough hollowness as to produce the universal impression of an intended imposture. The truth is, that the leaven of inveterate tradition prevailed in Vienna over any independent inclinations that at times sprang up in the Emperor. The confederation of official pedants, strong in the obstinacy of imbibed prejudice, was more than his feeble resolution could prevent itself from succumbing to. The Archduke viceroy's suggestions submitted to these Aulic counsellors were criticised with all the deference due to their author, and all the dull fostering of musty formalisms, but were nevertheless positively rejected with the stolid impassibility which appertains to non-comprehension. Thus was presented the spectacle of an imperial viceroy ushered in with every flourish which could enhance expectation; then reduced to the pitiable humiliation of

seeing himself crossed in every measure by the determined opposition of the ministers, his suggestions disregarded, and his promises disavowed, until his authority had been cut down to such miserable proportions as not to allow him even to accede to a proposition for a change in the uniform of a body of firemen without reference to head-quarters. The consequence is, that on the one hand the Archduke has become an object of derision to the quick-witted Italians, while on the other there has spread a renewed and bitter conviction that, with an administration indissolubly wedded to notions of stern centralization, and determined, without regard for local peculiarities, on forcing the roller of levelling uniformity, ballasted by a crushing weight of burthens, throughout a discordant empire, there is no hope for any relief from those vexatious grievances which are notoriously exhausting the country, and whose injustice has been tacitly acknowledged by the Archduke's attempts to advocate their removal. In a word, the Archduke's mission has been worse than a failure; it has glaringly revealed how it is beyond the nature of things to bridge over by any contrivance the gulf between Lombardy and Vienna; while to the slurs already fixed on government, that of discrediting ridicule has now been added. There has not even been obtained the fallacious success of being able ostentatiously to exhibit the brilliant pageant of a court that might claim to be of native composition, and dazzle observation by a show of popular attendance. The society of Milan may be said to have stood entirely aloof from the court, in spite of every effort to entice the aristocracy into its service; in fact, the Court has been obliged to abstain from State-balls through want of guests that could be invited. It is true that some few individuals prominently implicated in 1848, as far as lending their names went, have availed themselves of the amnesty, and returned to Milan, but they are very few in number, mostly suffering from financial embarrassments, damaged in any reputation they ever possessed by this act of compromise, and put thoroughly beyond the pale of society. The Court circle does not amount to much above thirty families, and these are not accessions; they are old Austrian adherents, intimately allied with Vienna by ties of long standing, and gave it the full benefit of their influence before and during 1848, so that their weight in the country can be fairly appreciated. Indeed this total estrangement between the Austrians and all the intelligent classes is not disputed by the former, but they are fond of asserting that hostility is restricted to these, and that they can confidently reckon on the active assistance of the rural population, in consequence of its enmity against the proprietors of the soil. This view, which is prevalent in regions which ought to be the best informed in Austria, is to us most startling. We

have ourselves the most intimate conviction that there is no shadow of reason to warrant its being entertained, and we would take its undoubtedly general acceptance in Austria as a single instance of the disastrous consequences that can be entailed by servants who consider themselves bound in duty to revere their master's wishes for gospel truth, whose education induces them unconsciously perhaps, but yet servilely, to report on all matters in the sense they would have them wear, and from an abject worship for authority precipitate its disasters by taking pleasure in pampering it with stupid adulations.

There is no country in Europe so free from social disaffection as Italy. The ideas involved in Socialism and Communism, and bearing reference to an unequal division of enjoyment and labour between rich and poor, have made no way in Italy. The ground is essentially unsuited to their propagation, from the close union which pervades all classes. There are high titles and illustrious names in Lombardy, but society itself is not aristocratic—it is on one level for all, whether accidentally bearing titles or not; and for the peasantry, the one is just as much the signore as the other. There is no ill-will between the gentry in their capacity of proprietors and the rural population, but, on the contrary, a very friendly feeling from old and unbroken associations. There are no feudal rights and vexatious privileges which could make the one objects of hatred to the other, or excite feelings of jealous envy. The intercourse between peasantry and gentry has something which partakes of the patriarchal, combined with modern familiarity. The Austrian official, trained in countries where the relationship of lord and dependent are of the most uncomfortable kind—taught by his experience in Slavonic regions of the existence of a force that, in the case of revolt, can be effectively turned against the nobles, its general promoters, has, with his usual want of discrimination, transferred to Lombardy the foregone conclusions arrived at in Poland. And that this is not a gratuitous interpretation of our own, is evidenced by an officially-authenticated piece of delusion in the highest quarters, which will be acknowledged as such by everybody. In a despatch of April 2, 1848, to Lord Palmerston, Lord Ponsonby reports a conversation with Count Ficquelmont, at that time Minister of Foreign Affairs at Vienna, but who had himself occupied the highest civil post in Lombardy, and ought therefore to have been thoroughly acquainted with its circumstances. We find this statesman reported to have expressed an opinion that “Austria could at any moment she liked avail herself of the peasantry against their superiors, so that she would have perfect facility in procuring the ruin and destruction of those persons,”

at the very time that events were publicly giving the lie to these assertions. It is a notorious fact, corroborated by official documents to be found in the papers laid before Parliament, that the peasantry everywhere joined in the movement against the Austrians. There is no instance on record where the contrary was the case. It is true that when disaster overcame their efforts, some districts lost heart, and even manifested a hostile sentiment against the Piedmontese during their retreat, not from sympathy for the Austrians, but out of bitter resentment against the supposed inefficiency of the former in delivering them from their hated yoke. But this was very partially the case; and between the two campaigns, while the army of Radetzky occupied Lombardy without any diversions, the country population of the Northern districts by itself kept up a determined guerilla warfare. We may therefore dismiss this notion of a peasant rising in favour of Austria as a delusion.

There seems to us, indeed, to be but two instruments in the hands of the Austrian government which can be at all serviceable in possibly promoting some degree of peaceful influence. The charitable foundations in Lombardy are both numerous and immensely endowed. The Great Hospital in Milan, founded by Francesco Sforza, is, we believe, the largest individual owner of landed property in the province. The management of this establishment has been confided to men on whom the Government thinks it can rely, being recruited either from its small band of adherents or from the ranks of the Church; and it is hoped that in their capacity of landlords they may find means of exerting considerable influence on the peasantry. It would be rash to give an opinion how far this influence may extend. We believe the individuals selected to be for the most part devoted to Austrian and Conservative interests, and that it will not be from lukewarmness that they will fail the Government. It may, however, be pointed out as a significant want of consistency between precept and practice, that while Austrian statesmen profess themselves assured that so settled an enmity exists between peasantry and proprietors as to expose these last to be at any moment set upon by the former, they yet should consider it a material accession to their strength to have secured the assistance of a landlord influence certainly not modified in any of those features which are suggested as unavoidable causes for this pretended estrangement. The other instrument of political propagandism set to work by the Austrian Government is the Concordat, with which it pretends to have successfully bound to its cause the whole body of the clergy. This is also a measure the import of whose results it is yet too early satisfactorily to ascer-

tain. The Lombardo-Venetian clergy was decidedly national in 1848. The village priests\* actively co-operated in the movement; and the highest dignitaries, including the Archbishop of Milan, if they showed no very forward zeal in promoting it, at least accommodated themselves without resistance to its triumph, and graced it with the sanction of their presence. It must, however, be borne in mind that originally that movement was associated with what was believed to be the political inclination of the Pope, and therefore might have then infected the clergy, from circumstances which now would not be forthcoming. As far as we can venture to trust our observation and the inquiries we have made in diverse quarters, we should be inclined to consider the inferior clergy, both parish priests and monks, as still strongly imbued with the national feeling against the Austrians, while its higher grades are as usual exclusively Papal Churchmen, and therefore devoted adherents to the existing Government. We confess not to see clearly why the Concordat must prove a means of securing the grateful loyalty of the inferior clergy. It certainly consecrates the legal possession of privileges which have long been the object of ecclesiastical ambition, but it consecrates this possession to the exclusive advantage of some despotic dignitaries. The rank and file of the clergy are delivered over, bound hand and foot, to the discretionary power of its superiors and bishops. We have doubts whether the exercise of this authority is not producing discontent among those who are subjected to it, for this discipline is in Lombardy something new in spirit and practice. The Milanese clergy is, in fact, animated with notions of peculiar independence of Rome: and the trifling variations in the liturgy which constitute the whole matter of the Ambrosian ritual, have sufficed to make it consider itself a privileged body. It is haughtily proud of its individual exemption from the uniform prostration in everything to Rome, and most jealously sensitive of the least encroachment on the ancient order of its rights. Here there is consequently an element not to be found in any other Catholic country, and which may considerably counteract the strict Roman sentiment. What might, however, have serious

\* *Consul Campbell to Lord Palmerston.*

“Milan, April 5, 1848.

“I shall only add, in conclusion, my lord, that the enthusiasm, obedience, and tranquillity of all classes in Lombardy cannot be surpassed. A religious feeling predominates throughout, particularly among the lower classes, who consider the war against the Austrians as holy, it being sanctioned by their beloved Pius IX.; with most of the free corps there are priests who march at their head, carrying crucifixes, and animating the soldiers by their harangues.”  
—*Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Italy, from January to June, 1848, laid before Parliament.*

weight in inclining the clergy ultimately to espouse the cause of Austria is the hostility on principle declared against the Piedmontese Government by the Court of Rome in consequence of its ecclesiastical legislation essentially violating the canon law. This is a point that touches the feeling of all churchmen alike, and bespeaks the sympathy of the whole class in behalf of vested interests, cherished with the jealous pride of a badge of distinction. Here, we think, lies what may prove the germ of future danger, unless rendered innocuous by timely precaution; for it were folly to ignore the weight which generally attaches to the opinions of the country clergy from their means of influencing their flocks, and especially the great disaster they would have it in their power to bring on the national cause if, irritated by injudicious provocations, they should unfortunately devote themselves to excite popular prejudice against the only State capable of becoming a natural champion for the North of Italy.

Beyond the elements thus indicated we are unable to discover anything whereon the Austrian Government can rely for the least moral support; and giving it the full benefit of these, we think they amount to very little in their present condition of development. Its hold on the Italian provinces therefore reduces itself to the painful tenure of perpetual military occupation of a hostile territory. Irrespective of the ruinous drain imposed alike on rulers and subjects by such a chronic state of mutual hostility, the Austrian military position viewed in itself must be allowed to be most formidable. With the citadels of Peschiera, Verona, and Mantua armed with a perfection that has made them be looked upon as models of engineering, and disposed in the position of a triangle, considered by tacticians as the least pregnable piece of ground in Europe—with Piacenza converted, in spite of treaties, into a first-class fortress, securing the free passage across the Po into Parma and Central Italy—with the stronghold of Venice put in effective order, and entrusted to an efficient garrison—and with an army well-disciplined, perfectly equipped, animated with a steady soldier-like spirit, and of immense proportions, Austria may duly consider herself a match in the field for any fair military contest, much more so for any irregular revolt. But Austria has not been content with those precautions within the circuit of her proper dominion. Alive to the danger of contagion, she has felt compelled, in self-defence, to occupy strong positions in the territories of her feeble neighbours, from which she has taken it upon herself to bridle the spirit of discontent with that strong hand wanting to her decrepit allies. This she has especially found incumbent on her in the Papal States, where she has strong garrisons in the great towns of Bologna and Ancona, and, in a word, occupies the Romagna and the Lega-

tions with a force that makes her the virtual master of that country.

The public feeling towards the Government on the part of its subjects throughout the Papal States may be correctly comprised in one word—disaffection. But when we wish to pass on beyond that one general fact, and to define the leading features of this discontent, we fail to find that compactness of views which exist in Lombardy, and have difficulty in separating, out of an entangled mass of complex circumstances, that which is essential from much which is fallacious and passing. From its peculiar and twofold character, the Roman Government, ever since its origin, has been in a false position with regard to its subjects. From this source spring those privileges and institutions that distinguish it from every other Government, and are so intimately identified with its specific nature, as hitherto successfully to defy attacks. The Pope, while in one sense merely the sovereign of an Italian State, is, in another point of view, an object of acknowledged veneration for a large number of Christian governments, who profess themselves bound by sacred considerations to protect his prosperity. Thus it happens that his subjects have been plunged into a gulf of tribulation; for while they themselves are subjects, in the full sense of the word, exposed to all the hardships of taxation and exaction, they find that they have to fight against a misgovernment, which somehow never can be corrected by their best efforts; for no sooner have they mastered it by such means as are left to protesting subjects, than they find it set up afresh by the united exertions of Catholic Christendom. The complicated embarrassments of these conditions, affording no glimpse of probable relief from any perceptible quarter, have naturally thrown the discontented adrift to seek remedies for themselves, and deprived them of a natural nucleus around which instinctively to congregate and train up the powers of disaffection in a settled direction. This is the reason why the Roman States afforded a favourable soil for the propagation of Carbonari and Mazzinian doctrines. Desperate circumstances incline to desperate thoughts; and men who found every avenue to national reform closed up by the impracticable nature of an inveterate system, were ready-made converts to the necessity for its absolute demolition. Republicanism was, therefore, not the expression of any native propensity to this particular form of government from local traditions of municipal independence. It was instinctively adopted as the appropriate expression of the subversive aspirations which naturally animated men towards a government that, owing to radical elements of incompatibility, did not, and seemingly could never effect one point of affinity with their desires. The Republicanism of the Roman States amounted consequently but to a

profession of thorough abjuration, and by no means to a well-considered profession of positive faith. Nothing which occurred in 1848 invalidates this view. The Republic proclaimed in Rome was the result of the accidental necessity to construct a government in the room of one which had taken itself away at a moment when no ready materials were forthcoming for the purpose. The deserted State was left to the occupation of the first who chose to take possession of it; and the universal disaffection of all classes hailed an advent which by its fact signaled, at all events, the manifest downfall of the old government. One inference alone can be legitimately drawn from the Republic with which, in spite of favourable auspices, the reform movement of 1848 struggled, and that is as to the all but insuperable obstacles inherent in the Papacy to prevent its accommodating itself to the ordinary requirements made on every proper government. The differences which led to the catastrophe ending in the Republic were not the ordinary incidents attending all revolts when directed against a sovereign who refuses to yield to force; they sprang from a conflict in the Pope's breast between his political duties as pontiff and as prince—a conflict that prevented the establishment of an effective executive, and that must continue as long as the Pope remains the Pope. The radical defects in the pontifical government rendering it so difficult of improvement, are its exclusion of laymen from office, and its principles of ecclesiastical privilege, as embodied in canon law. Other failings, which enter more or less into the category of mere abuse, might be remedied by the government as it now exists, while these two are identified with the essence of its peculiar character, and therefore constitute its primary elements both for friend and foe. With reference to the first of these it is sufficient to say, that it alone is enough to entail for ever the disaffection of its subjects. While the civil administration is confided in all its branches to the direction of individuals, whose capacities are only rendered eligible by virtue of previous membership in a caste, the essential character of which is to forswear, by a vow of celibacy, the strongest ties of human nature, the whole lay population is at once condemned to idle vacuity, or at best is restricted to the humblest careers. This grievance touches all alike; and the natural consequence, as we have already said, is the universal disaffection of all classes. The Papal Government can command the support of no one portion of society in its dominions, because it cannot bespeak in its behalf the interest of any one. Neither the aristocracy, nor the officials, nor the army, have any feelings of faithfulness to a government which has it not within its power to animate itself with any of them. Hence there prevails throughout the Papal States a tone of laxness in all the relations of government, until



authority has sunk into a state of general dilapidation. The second defect we have mentioned is of even still greater consequence. It is not beyond the range of conception how the Pope might conciliate the introduction of the lay element into the administration of his States with a maintenance of his ecclesiastical character; but it is absolutely beyond possibility that any satisfactory system of government can be brought about unless the Papacy should relax in those exclusive pretensions which hitherto have constituted its political code. No human ingenuity will ever be able to blend into harmony two claims so contradictory to each other, as that of human right to vindicate, and that of inscrutable prescription from on high to impose, its authority. In 1848 the Pope did, indeed, surrender the canon law, but since then this concession has been fully taken back with all the other concessions of that time; and the Court of Rome has of late steadfastly concentrated its energies on reviving everywhere its traditional authority in pristine vigour, especially since the achievement of the Austrian Concordat encourages it by a piece of brilliant success. Under these circumstances the prospects of amelioration afford little that cheers hope, and there cannot be a doubt that whatever diverging opinions may exist in the country as to how it would be most desirable to reconstitute the Roman States, the impression that reform emanating from the Government is hopeless, has since the restoration grown to an intensity infecting even those men whose moderate opinions were evidenced by their opposition to the Republican Government, and who limit their desires to proportions quite compatible with Papal dignity.

While discontent has thus grown in these circles, it has been met by a conciliatory approach on the part of those given formerly to extreme views. When Mazzini was compelled to leave Rome, he left behind him a strongly organized society, both in the city itself and throughout the Papal States. The remote and sombre towns of the Romagna, sullenly brooding over reminiscences of olden independence, and shrouded from the inspection of spying informers in their secluded position along the Adriatic coast, had been the favourite lurking-places for Carbonari conspiracy from its very beginning. In the recesses of this hidden district the lamp of liberal aspirations had been clandestinely kept alive by a knot of devotees, whose lives had been one perpetual plot, and who were only encouraged by the assurances of their own fervent imaginations and the reflection of their own mystic rites of association. Here had been the hearth on which, in undisturbed ecstasy, the kindled glow of Italian feeling was blown into the fanciful coruscation of an United Republic, with Rome for its seat of government. Nor had the rapid events of 1848 and 1849, in spite of their disappointments, been calculated to

dispel at once the illusions of these heated visions. The nature of the difficulties encountered by the constitutionalists in their dealings with the sovereign, and the impression attending the extinction of the republic by foreign intervention, had singularly confirmed public opinion in the justness of Mazzini's belief that compromise was an absolute impossibility, and extreme measures the only wisdom. Mazzini, therefore, left the Roman soil with the estimation of a victim to the iniquitous adversity that lay on Italy, and cherished by a confiding and admiring public as its all but worshipped leader. In spite of this original popularity, Mazzini's influence is now completely on the wane. From being the dominant party amongst the Liberals of the country, which they certainly were in the period immediately succeeding the return of the Pope from Gaeta, his followers have dwindled into scattered knots of partisans, the representatives of a lingering local sentiment, and expressive rather of doubt as to the possibility of procuring reform by moderate conduct than of a rooted republican conviction. Towns which but a short while ago were reckoned strongholds of Mazzinianism, are now either entirely in the hands of the moderate party, or at least strongly contested by them. This decay is especially remarkable in the Romagna and Marches, where the Mazzinians still, however, retain their greatest degree of strength. The landed proprietors in these districts are a class very different from those in the western provinces of the Roman States. They are highly cultivated and enlightened, and their intimate intercourse with their dependents has invested them with the influence that attaches to our country gentlemen. These men, deeply discontented at being subjects of the Pope, and in former times determined Carbonaries, have now generally forsaken Mazzinianism. Bologna, a city entitled to the rank of a capital, the residence of important families, who always live away from Rome, and thus a centre of intercourse that reflects its influence on the whole Romagna, is distinguished by a strong but temperate Liberal feeling. Even Ravenna, the very citadel and sanctuary of Carbonarism, which, when hunted down everywhere else, always found shelter behind its ancient walls, and a lair for machinations in the solitude of its trackless forests, is now renouncing devotion to the cause. Of the towns where Mazzinianism is still in sufficient force to be capable of undertaking something, Ancona is the most important; but its strength here is of a kind not worthy of confidence. Secret organization enables the sect to dispose of the turbulent assistance of a low mob that congregates about the harbour, and is ready to commit assassination and to indulge in riots as often as paid or instigated.

The party which is gradually displacing the old Mazzinian one calls itself the Piedmontese party, by which it means to ex-

press its desire to direct its efforts towards aiding, as far as in it lies, the success of the present Piedmontese policy, both as regards constitutional administration and the expulsion of the Austrians. The notion of merging into one State, to be governed by the King of Piedmont, cannot be said to enter into the positive articles of the party's creed, because such an eventuality is hardly entertained as possible for the present, and the party deems it right to restrict its energies towards attaining what is immediately feasible, rather than to waste itself in transcendental considerations. To this opinion it is urged by far higher reasons than of mere personal convenience. The great patriotic purpose of Italy's liberation from the foreigner, and ultimate union, induces public opinion to the conviction that to precipitate internal reform by revolutionary measures, before the successful termination of the war of independence, would probably weaken the national forces at the decisive moment in a degree destructive of victory, and perhaps lead to disastrous complications, attended by overwhelming foreign interventions. The lively sense of this danger is the chief motive why men who are perfectly aware of the serious obstacles opposed by the nature of the Papacy to proper reform, yet conceive it desirable to depart for the present as little as possible in their demands from what might fairly be conceded by the powers in possession. It is believed that a compact Italian State, once established at the north of Italy, would more easily extend its preponderating influence over sovereigns fearful of losing the wrecks of cherished authority by self-willed obstinacy, than over the less tractable pretensions of governments impelled to assert the vigour of their recent titles. In the Roman States the efforts of the Piedmontese party would be therefore probably directed to bring about an administrative separation between the Romagna and those eastern provinces of the Pope's dominions which have always been in immediate dependence on Rome. This project has the double advantage of at once tolerably responding to the indications of nature, and of being sanctioned by diplomatic authority. At the Congress of Vienna it was proposed to Prince Metternich in a draft, the composition of Count Aldini, an eminent statesman, by birth a Bolognese, and intimately acquainted with the country. Again, this plan was entertained at the last Congress of Paris: Count Cavour recommended it with the weight of his great authority; and after ample consultation in the best quarters, Lord Clarendon saw reason to volunteer his official assent to its fitness, in a deliberate and detailed opinion embodied in the protocols of the Congress. According to this proposed plan, the Romagna and the Marches should enjoy a lay administration, and a national force and budget of their own,

under the governorship of a papal viceroy, so that while the sovereign rights of the Pope are not infringed, the present objectionable form of ecclesiastical government would yet be put an end to. The great advantages offered by this arrangement have been duly appreciated. The hateful and depressing influence of priestly rule would be at once shorn of half its power, while the most spirited population of Central Italy would be endowed with the means of organizing its force against the time when the termination of present diplomatic engagements might render Rome itself open to reform by the removal of its foreign garrison.

We are of opinion therefore that, in the event of a serious movement breaking out in the present state of the Peninsula, the Liberals in the Roman States will be found to act with caution and discipline. They will not venture on attempts to overthrow the Pope in Rome, which must prove abortive, unless they have to deal with him by himself, when it may safely be affirmed that he would not be four-and-twenty hours in his capital; but they will combine their exertions towards the emancipation of the Romagna, where their efforts would be directed against Austrian troops, and may expect to receive that countenance from France which she is too committed to be able to give to a revolt that must aim a death-blow at the Papacy itself. We pointed out how the influence of the parish clergy was of importance in Lombardy, and it might therefore appear inconsistent if we omitted to take it into account in the States of the Church. We believe that nowhere in Italy is the direct political influence of the clergy smaller. Their excessive number, and their identification with the Government, have shorn them of their spiritual hold, and presented them to the eyes of the people in the repulsive character of a detested corporation. It is by no means our meaning that the mass of the people is animated with a spirit of doctrinal reform; but we believe it to be generally animated with a strong aversion to the priest, in his absolute, and, through perpetual interference, highly offensive authority. The private conduct of a large proportion of the lower clergy is moreover of a kind which makes them hateful, from their freely converting their privileges into means for moral outrages, and thus in the Pope's States there has been produced a feeling towards the priesthood akin to that which the French proverb says every valet is sure to entertain for his master. The feeble political hold possessed by the Roman clergy on the population is proved by one great fact—not one town rose in defence of the Pope against the Republic, although the latter had itself no great attraction.

Enclosed between the Roman States, Lombardy, Piedmont, and the Mediterranean, lie the three Duchies of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany. The two first are virtually, in their present shape,

creations of Austrian statesmanship, which has endowed them with the vain ceremonial of independence. To all intents and purposes they are Austrian provinces, erected into principalities as provisions for junior branches of, or dependents upon, the Imperial family, to which they are to revert in the event of their present occupiers having no issue. Quite recently the Government of Parma has indeed assumed an attitude indicative of a desire to free itself from Austrian control, but this is merely the result of personal feelings, and confined to petty manifestations of jealous susceptibility. Neither of these States respond to any popular sentiment, be it in the conformation of territory or in the mode of government. On the contrary, they have been exposed to all the harassing oppression of petty tyranny, combined with the bitterness of foreign subjection; and the rule of the late Duke of Modena affords an example of deliberate treachery in instigating conspiracy merely for the purpose of convicting of disloyalty, which is worthy of the darkest times of mediæval godlessness. As might be expected, these Duchies have been hotbeds of discontent, and in the period preceding 1848 the spirit of Carbonarism was strong. When the movement broke out in that year, the population was one of the first to join it, and both Dukes were expelled. The Carbonari and Mazzinian party being then unimpaired in the credit it had acquired during the season of preparatory conspiracy, there was considerable dissension as to how these Duchies were to constitute themselves. In spite, however, of circumstances so favourable to Republican influence, the population of Piacenza, on which Piedmont has a right of reversion by the Treaty of Vienna, voted all but unanimously for immediate annexation to that kingdom; while in Parma and Modena the same measure was advocated with such favour, that there is no doubt but it would have been decreed had not the reverses of the Piedmontese army prematurely subjected these Duchies to Austrian occupation. The feeling thus indicated has since then increased. A Republican party still exists, and its activity is fostered by the galling occurrences of daily misgovernment, which readily inclines to desperate suggestions and criminal enterprises; but the general feeling throughout the Duchies would at once proclaim adhesion to Piedmont in the event of its marching against Austria, and there is no force either in the small knot of court nobles, or in the partisans of Mazzinianism, sufficient in itself to prevent these territories from handing themselves over to the King of Sardinia.

Tuscany, although ruled by a prince who is an archduke, is in a very different condition. Here we have a State whose existence is confirmed by its territorial compactness and old traditions inspiring attachment, so that after Piedmont this is

the State in all Italy which has the least reason to fear a revolution. Between the Government and people there exists an undeniable identity in spirit. The Tuscan population, possessed of quick perception, is wanting in stern stuff. The love of ease, with its kindred feelings, is at the bottom of Tuscan nature. Its genius is prolific in happy observation, but shuns the self-denying discipline that alone can work out a reliable revolution, while its sensuous constitution, flying from the touch of pain, is unable to harden into stoical endurance or to muster the strength which, with a desperate effort, would overthrow an oppressive tyrant. In the main the existing government responds to the requirements of a people so disposed. It is indeed without elevation of character, and often even positively mean when having to deal with what it supposes to be danger; but so far is it from vexatious and tyrannical in its ordinary proceedings, as to be generally looked upon with the tolerance due to a harmless although blundering authority, affording in its absurdities ample scope for ridicule, but yet tacitly conceding in practice much which it cannot bring itself to sanction on principle. The Tuscan Government is essentially a government of confirmed indulgence. It is in the habit of shutting its eyes to the liberties taken by its subjects, and that is sufficient for a people who feel a strong impulse to extort charters and rights. The liberty of the press in the main exists, and has existed virtually in Tuscany for a long period. The Leopoldine laws have been preserved, without any apparent reason wherefore, to the comfort of the community. Thus there is here a state of things eminently calculated to content an easy people, and to deprive it of motives for political resentment. The educated classes in Tuscany partake of the Italian feeling, but with the full ecstacy of theorists. They think constitutional government would make the administration more efficient, and applaud the policy of Piedmont, but it is with the listlessness of a feminine complexion, and above all, as compared with the inhabitants of the Duchies and Roman States, without any of the impatience which is the sign of strong personal interest. We believe that the Tuscans would again manifest their Italian sympathies as they did in 1848, and would send a detachment to Lombardy which would again behave with the same personal courage as the former one did at Cartatone. The Government would yield again at the first noisy summons on the part of the people, for the best of reasons, that it has no notion how to offer resistance. But if the Italian movement should encounter a reverse in other points, it must not expect to be sustained in Tuscany; for that country can follow in a wake, but never will possess sufficient resolution to dare and confront opposition.

We believe also that the idea of a union with Piedmont is not at present seriously entertained by any influential party, nor is it coveted by Piedmont, which is far from being animated by a grasping appetite of conquest towards other Italian sovereigns. The sympathies for Piedmont in Tuscany extend we think to as zealous an appreciation of its services in behalf of Italy as is to be expected from a voluptuous people, in the enjoyment of comfort and ease, but does not amount to the conception of abolishing a form of government whose extinction would deprive Florence of its ancient position. At the same time there seems to us nothing in Tuscany on which we can reckon as an element sure to arrest the further contagion of a larger national feeling, the sentiment we have pointed out being rather the lurking result of old associations than of strong conviction. In Florence itself, which is the centre of literary activity in Italy, the young men of letters are naturally imbued with the prevailing national ideas, and do their best to propagate them. Mazzinianism is of too desperate a nature to ensure many partisans in Tuscany; the only place where it is of importance being Leghorn, a town of exactly analogous conditions with that of Ancona. There it has repeatedly contrived riots, and may not impossibly contrive them again, but granted even that the Mazzinian faction should be enabled to make itself master of the city, it would be merely in possession of a walled town, utterly unable to compete with Florence, or Pisa, or Siena in influence on the country. With reference, therefore, to Tuscany's position in the event of an immediate struggle in Italy, we are inclined to think that it will be by itself no obstacle in the way of triumph on either side. The people are open to Italian feelings, the government ready to yield to the first semblance of coercion, so that between the two, Tuscany will be no dead-weight likely to resist any efficient Italian lever. There seems to us, however, no reason to expect that the autonomy of Tuscany will be swamped unless the government should be suddenly affected with a spirit of obstinacy new to its nature, and capable of setting popular opinions in a new direction. On the contrary we believe the Tuscan Government to be in the rare position of being able to derive in a future order of things the benefit of that tacit good understanding into which it has settled with the mass of its subjects, and that it entirely depends upon itself whether or not it shall eventually annex various adjoining provinces, especially in the Roman States.

The dead-weight of Italy is the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, in extent and population the largest of Italian States, and from its position able to influence the force of all Central Italy. Neither the Pope nor the Grand Duke of Tuscany could for a moment

resist a national movement in their States were Naples once to co-operate with Piedmont. But of this there is little, if any prospect, as long as King Ferdinand retains his free authority. The state of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies offers to our view nothing but the gloom of relentless oppression and compulsory bondage. With an army of 100,000 men in time of peace, the power of the sovereign has succeeded in establishing itself as the only one in the country, under circumstances of the most appalling tyranny. To enter into the details of this situation is beyond our limits; all that we can here touch upon are its probable bearings on an immediate future. First, it must be borne in mind that there is a vast distinction to be made between Naples and Sicily. With respect to the first, it is singular that what ought to afford the best pledge for efficient self-government has proved the means for facilitating royal usurpation. The Neapolitan provinces offer elements for that wholesome local administration which in a free State ought to check the overgrowth of a central executive, in a body of permanently resident landholders intimately connected with their native districts. But the complete want of intercourse in a common centre of active political life has caused the Neapolitan provinces to continue each for itself in a state of isolation. Personal influences therefore have not been able to acquire more than a provincial importance, which has been the cause why revolts have been easily extinguished in their first stage. Political feeling lacks the organization required for the simultaneous vigour that alone can overthrow an executive in command of a monstrous force. A vast deal of intelligence, energy, and sound education exists amongst the men in the middle classes of Neapolitan society, but they are as it were condemned to conditions of singleness by the force of circumstances, and cannot put in motion adequate masses. The kingdom of Naples is a soil where at least the discipline of Carbonarism might do good, although the doctrines of Republicanism are altogether foreign to the habits of the people. The Liberal party confine their wishes to the re-establishment of the Constitution, already decreed by law and never revoked; and in order not to complicate matters, they do not aim at necessarily deposing the reigning dynasty. All they desire is, the introduction of a form of government which, conscientiously observed, would be able to set restraint on the bad passions of the sovereign, which are the cause of all their present sufferings; and this would be the scope of their efforts, should they see themselves in a position to attempt a movement. But accidental circumstances threaten to embarrass their position beyond retrieval. To a population groaning under the daily affliction of cruel tyranny, and panting to relieve itself if it only knew how, the offer



of distinct assistance in this object cannot fail to have irresistible attraction. This offer now presents itself to the Neapolitans in the person of a French prince claiming the throne by virtue of his father's memory—a memory that has left strong recollections behind it in the affections of the people. Much as the leaders of the Liberal party look with alarm to the consequences of a revolution involving a change of dynasty, coupled with the introduction of a new foreign element into the government of Italy, they feel that their arguments will in the critical moment have small chance in dissuading people who would be asked to forego pretty certain relief from intolerable suffering, out of regard for possible contingencies.

But if Prince Murat has the prospect of being hailed by the people of Naples, this is not the case in Sicily. Here there is a population far removed in temper and condition from that of the continental provinces. What the Austrian is to the Lombard, King Ferdinand is to the Sicilians; and this feeling is shared in by all ranks of society with an equal intensity, undisturbed by local differences or feelings of class. One national sentiment pervades and binds together, in a common interest, the aristocracy, the burgesses, and the peasantry, to vindicate the ancient rights of Sicily, respected even by the Spaniard, from the wanton and brutal violation which they have undergone from the King of Naples. The Sicilians are perfectly ready to remain subjects of the present dynasty, possessed of the double royalty of Sicily and Naples, under condition of enjoying their cherished constitution, but they scorn to be considered an integral portion of a kingdom called that of the Two Sicilies. If Murat came to be elevated to the throne of Naples, the Sicilians would refuse to consider him as their consequent sovereign, and would probably, if left to their own inclinations, proceed to elect one of their own—in all likelihood a Piedmontese prince, as happened in 1848. This, of course, would complicate matters painfully in the south of Italy, and therefore the leaders of the Liberal party, both in Naples and Sicily, anxiously desire to bring about the re-establishment of the constitution, now a dead letter in the statute-books of both countries, with the son of the present King upon the throne, as offering the only solution likely to answer the requirements of the people, and to avert a perplexing incident that might prove full of danger to Italy. A party hardly exists in this part of Italy which would deserve the name of Piedmontese, as indicative of its tending directly to assimilate itself with that country, or of its reclining for inspiration on Turin. The mere position of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies precludes the idea that Piedmont could for the present actively extend its influence of attraction so far. This does not, however, exclude the Neapolitan and

Sicilian Liberals from that affinity which pervades all Italians, and a national movement begun at Turin will immediately find hearty response in them, as in their own private efforts they would strive to co-operate towards the great purpose of common independence.

As the crowning member, that by its finishing touch gives expression and character to this assemblage of elements, we have reserved to the last that singular country, ten years ago one of the least reputed in Europe, not even in population and territory chief amongst the States of Italy, and which has now acquired an undisputed moral preponderance in public opinion over them all, has converted what then was a disregarded nook into the heart of the Peninsula's life, has played an effective part in the greatest military events of our times, and been admitted on terms of equality into Congress with the first-rate powers of Europe. It is impossible but that, in the train of our surprise at such astounding achievement, there should intrude itself the anxious thought how far the brilliant progress may be sound—how far it may be expected to continue—how far there may be elements forthcoming in it capable of bringing to a satisfactory issue that struggle for national existence which has been powerfully incited by its encouragement. To discuss this question thoroughly would require a detailed review of Piedmontese history during the last ten years: such would be beyond the limits of this article. We must content ourselves with indicating what in our opinion is the nature of the force, moral and physical, which Piedmont is at this present conjuncture able to bring to bear upon Italy. When in 1848 Piedmont embarked upon a national policy, she found herself thereby impelled towards two purposes—the assumption of the championship of Italy, and the renunciation of past traditions of government. The former (her right to which was at the time disputed by many, and suspicious to still more) was for a while put out of question by the humiliation incurred at Novara. But the other purpose was one, the success of which could be disturbed by nothing except the irresolution of bad faith on her own part. Its triumph would therefore be the record of sincere perseverance and reliable truthfulness, and it is this which has been achieved by Piedmont, who now reaps the reward of her consistent honesty in the influence voluntarily attached to that quality. No dispassionate person conversant with Italy can entertain a doubt that, whatever local sentiments may be still rooted here and there, whatever party prejudices may still warp individual intellect, the sympathy and admiration for Piedmont is a sentiment which has become dominant with Italians, and meets with none other capable of competing with it. It is impossible not to be struck with profound astonishment at the wonderful constellation of circumstances which combined to

favour the progress of Piedmont, both in internal reform and in her position abroad. First, a genuine feeling of loyalty, exceptional among Continental nations, firmly attached a large majority of the population to the House of Savoy. This feeling engendered confidence in the people towards their sovereign, and was the wholesome means of steadying their temper during a period of intense political excitement by a moderation that remained proof in all essential matters to exaggeration and fatal suspicion. The conduct of the nation, as a whole, was marked by a dignity and just appreciation of the boon acquired in the shape of freedom and a patriotic feeling, which are pledges for the firm and ineradicable growth of liberty in the soil of Piedmont. But this freedom was as yet a mere bud, barely set, when on the field of Novara the young hopes of a high-spirited ambition were violently crushed by a blow which dealt destruction to every infant liberty it could reach. From this danger the liberty of Piedmont, alone in Europe, was rescued by rare abnegation on the part of that individual who would certainly have profited in personal power by its destruction. There is no doubt that, after the battle of Novara, the constitution of Piedmont lay as much at the mercy of Vittorio Emmanuele, as those of Naples and Rome lay at that of their sovereigns on their defeat of armed revolt. And this prince, child of a tyrannical father, offspring of a gallant, but proud and ambitious house, brought up in the atmosphere of priests and men given to reactionary opinions, in no position to have acquired at his early age personal experience capable of correcting deficient instruction—this prince, then, devoid of every artificial assistance, and suddenly called upon to assume a position that exacts resignation, forbearance, and sacrifice, in a degree often ruffling the temper of those best inured to its duties, has fulfilled his part with a conscientiousness and a completeness which leave nothing to be desired. History is replete with examples of sovereigns who, to their own destruction and their people's woes, in spite of ample lessons, could yet not accommodate themselves to their duties, but in the whole range of history there occurs no second Vittorio Emmanuele, the heir to an ancient and absolute authority, who of his own will forbears to assume it when within his reach, not from dictates of morbid asceticism, but because he rests his pride in the inviolable pledge which he feels it to be within his power alone to secure for his subjects' rights, and centres his delight in the sovereign support which he is aware that he alone is in a position to extend to the infant struggles of civil liberty.

The motive which has induced this unreserved adoption of constitutional principles in the king is his intense national feeling. The whole political ambition of Vittorio Emmanuele is

absorbed in the one desire to avenge the defeat of Novara—to live long enough to be enabled in person to bring to his father's tomb what may be an appropriate offering to his bleeding memory. Under the impulse of this ruling thought, his blunt and unsophisticated sense at once was led by good faith to feel the inseparable connexion in practice between national feeling and political aspirations; and from that moment he accepted liberty with a single-heartedness which is beyond the aspersion of doubt. The reward of this conduct is to be found in the king's solid popularity, which has been the happy means of confining the storms of party dissensions in Piedmont within a sphere recognising one common superior influence, while throughout Italy it has acquired for him general confidence and esteem. But while with marvellous conscientiousness the king thus strictly confined himself to his constitutional prerogative, Piedmont, as by a miracle, saw herself endowed with the very man calculated to perfection for a minister under the peculiar circumstances of the time. Possessed of that rare and highest constitution of mind which allies a courage at need rising into audacity with an intimate appreciation of prudence and circumspection, Count Cavour is, in our conviction, undoubtedly the greatest statesman of our age, and on a level with the greatest on record. The representative of one of the oldest and haughtiest families of Piedmont, counting amongst its ancestors St. Francis de Salis, his father was so identified with everything most objectionable and most arbitrary in the order of government before 1848, that the whole unpopularity of its system seemed to find its concentrated expression in the animosity prevalent against his person. Early the young Cavour had, however, shown signs of independent convictions, in consequence of which he had for a period seen fit to withdraw himself from the territory of Piedmont. During this time he travelled much in France and England, observed institutions and political life, and contributed valuable articles, especially on matters of political economy, to a "Review" which then appeared in Geneva. But these efforts were not sufficient to remove the stigma attached to his name. When the movement of 1848 set in, Cavour immediately engaged in it, and founding a daily paper, the *Risorgimento*, he essayed by able articles at once to warn his countrymen from error, and to encourage them to wholesome efforts. But the universal obloquy attaching to his father caused the son to be received with as universal aversion. The *Risorgimento* was denounced in the clubs as the insidious composition of a traitor who, with his father's relentless hardness, combined the subtle poison of sophistical falseness. Such were the adverse auspices of Cavour's political birth, and these he successfully overcame by

the unflinching perseverance of his spirit. The ignorant misapprehension of the public was gradually corrected by the experience of the Senate, and during the perilous times of 1848 and 1849 Count Cavour found occasion, in debates momentous to his country's safety, to unfold the admirable temper of his talents, and step by step to acquire the esteem of his fellow-citizens. And now his personal influence is of an intensity rivalling the sort of influence once exerted by Mazzini. All the legislation which has distinguished Piedmont in the last ten years—all the policy it has pursued—all the public works of stupendous magnitude it has raised—in short, everything connected with the present state of that country,—presents itself to the mind as the deed of Cavour's inspiration. The result is, that the man once so derided and aspersed, is now honoured with a perfect devotion. Vittorio Emanuele commands the sincere respect of Italy; but Cavour commands its unhesitating faith. His name, grown to be a household word in every hamlet, except in some of the remoter provinces of Naples, has become an organization for the Liberal party in place of the old Carbonari bond, and Cavour has now been elevated to that pedestal on which, amidst the incense of mystic aspirations, Mazzini was once worshipped as a prophet. Let it not be supposed that we write one word without due consideration when we affirm that, at the present conjuncture, the word whispered by Cavour in his cabinet at Turin would be enough to make the moderate Liberal party throughout Italy rise at once without a moment's hesitation as to the consequences; such is the unbounded confidence reposed in the sovereign worth of his wisdom.

By Cavour's side there stands a man who in his military capacity has acquired the entire confidence of the army—General de la Marmora; and this fact is sufficient to prove how right Count Cavour was when, although deserted by the whole of his cabinet, he recommended the king to engage in the Crimean war as the means of recovering for the army confidence in itself. The conduct of the Piedmontese troops there is known to all, and they have thence brought back a spirit which pants to be let loose on the Austrians under the leadership of their cherished general, who has completely reorganized the whole army from what it was in Charles Albert's time. We believe there is no more efficient military force of its proportions in Europe. Under the auspices of these three men, Piedmont has been steered in her course since 1848, and directed to her present position. That position has in one particular undergone an especial modification, which cannot be too much impressed on those not personally conversant with Italy. Piedmont has opened itself as a reservoir for all Italian blood, which, introduced

into its veins, has in return transmuted it into the actual and physical representative of the race. In the Piedmontese Parliament, in the cabinet, in all branches of the administration, in every arm of the public force, there are individuals who by birth are natives of other States, but nevertheless, in virtue of their Italian origin, are admitted to the full benefits of its political freedom. This great fact has of course vastly modified the feeling of strangeness with which the Italians generally once regarded the Piedmontese, as hardly a legitimate family of their race, and from the prevalence of their conversion has been derived the chief encouragement for Piedmont confidently to pursue the policy she has adopted. That policy points to driving the Austrians out of the north of Italy—and expects to acquire possession certainly of the Lombardo-Venetian provinces—most probably also of the Duchies of Modena and Parma. We have already expressed our opinion how far we think these expectations may reckon on success, if that is to depend on the inclinations of the inhabitants of those districts. It remains, however, to consider whether Piedmont may not be affected by embarrassments of her own likely to exert a disturbing influence upon the steadiness of her action, by either seriously impeding, or unduly precipitating it.

A state identified with historical traditions descending through many centuries, and with a dynasty boasting of one of the most ancient pedigrees in Europe, could not fail to have produced a society strongly imbued with aristocratic elements. The revolution of 1848, therefore, broke down in Piedmont an order of things in which office, power, and authority had been the property of an aristocracy in the true sense of the term. But although this aristocracy could not be friendly to a constitution of so liberal a cast as not to recognise a hereditary element in the representation, the majority was sufficiently patriotic to enter into Charles Albert's national policy, and to forget at the time their private grievances in behalf of their country. When, however, the battle of Novara put an end to the excitement of this great motive, and the aristocracy found itself called upon to settle down into a position deprived of all special privilege, its hostility was kindled against the new order of the State, and it would have gladly supported the king in destroying the constitution. Vittorio Emanuele declared then, that if a majority of his subjects should demand the revocation of the Charter, he would be ready to abdicate, but that his hand should never be a party to the deed. Since that time eleven years of continued and regular government have been productive of their effects. What then seemed easy now begins to appear impossible, and the Piedmontese aristocracy, which although proud is not

wanting in patriotism, has as a body rallied to the constitution. It is now no longer reactionary—it is merely conservative. At the last general election it actively exerted itself to enter the Chambers, which before it had affected to consider as derogatory, and the members of its party have arrayed themselves under the leadership of Count Revel, a man of honourable uprightness, whose sincere adoption of constitutional government is not doubted even by his opponents, but who is averse to further advances in a liberal or democratic sense. This party's most distinguishing feature is, however, its professed Piedmontism and deprecation of the Italian policy. It would be content to see the country continue in its present limits, considers views of aggrandizement the foolish dictates of a vain and ill-digested ambition, denounces on every occasion the public expenditure as wanton and ruinous, and indefatigably censures with bitter animadversions the conduct of Cavour.

In the event of a critical emergency a large number would, however, forswear faction, and from deep-rooted loyalty respond to an appeal from the king. In close alliance with it in opposition is the clerical party, whose essential characteristic is sufficiently explained by its name. This party identifies itself with the Jesuits and Ultramontanism. Could it ever get power into its hands it would certainly extinguish the Constitution, and its chief political scope is opposition to what it terms the impiety of Cavour's ecclesiastical legislation. This legislation has not been really offensive to any essential rights of the church; it has only broken down the exclusive privileges attached to its tribunals, and suppressing certain religious orders has diverted their property towards the endowment of the inferior clergy. The negotiations, however, between Piedmont and the Court of Rome consequent upon these measures were attended with discussions of so unpleasant a tone as to have been productive of a profound misunderstanding, the continuation of which Count Cavour justly considers an unfortunate circumstance. It has been the cause of kindling, in what otherwise was a country free from dangerous passions, a spirit of dissension peculiarly difficult to subdue, because easily made to run in a channel of superstition. Deeply impressed with the necessity under which Piedmont lies to husband and gather all the forces at her command, if she is to carry out her adopted policy, Count Cavour has tried to conciliate this element of intestine discontent by abstaining from further legislation in the same direction. Hitherto his efforts have not been crowned with success. The majority of the clergy are very hostile to him, and at elections exert their influence, when they cannot carry candidates of their own, in favour even of a Mazzinian rather than of a Government supporter. This

frantic disposition has been much whetted by injudicious and offensive attacks on the part of the more advanced liberal press, for which Cavour is not responsible. These two factions of the Conservative party together do not muster above forty votes in the Chamber of Deputies consisting of 206 members.

On the whole, we would consider the clerical opposition well deserving a statesman's attention, as an annoying embarrassment to a government which it is very desirable to remove, because quite strong enough materially to assist in setting up impediments while yet unable ever to acquire, in its own declared person, the upperhand. The next serious difficulties experienced by the Piedmontese Government are found in certain local sentiments. The Savoyards are poor, French in language, and subject to priestly influence, whence it comes that they protest against the increased taxation of late years, have a natural aversion against the Italian policy, which is the cause for it, and are bigoted Ultramontanes. They would be glad to be annexed to France. At the other extremity of the kingdom there is the proud city of Genoa, which, with its aristocracy, its merchants, and its mob, has, ever since 1815, continued to chafe in sulky peevishness at the ignominy imposed by the Congress of Vienna on its historical dignity, in subjecting it to the upstart authority of Turin. This feeling has not as yet subsided. The nobles, almost to a man, stand aloof from public life, satisfied with the barren glory of an illustrious name and the selfish enjoyment of wealth; while the townspeople are animated with so perverse a disposition that their deputies have not blushed to arraign the Government of improvidence in undertaking those great public works which have mainly contributed to the astounding commercial activity and prosperity of Genoa. Opposition, for its own sake, has hitherto been the sole political principle of Genoa, which has proved the cherished nursery for the two distinct parties hostile to the Government. Its deputies are all clerical or Mazzinian. Quite recently the latter have shown symptoms of a better feeling, and a number of them have signified to their leader that in the event of a war of independence they would support the efforts of Government. A good administration carries its own recommendation; and in the absence of all real grievance, we have no doubt but that the next generation of Genoese will have laid aside the present unreasonable disposition. The attitude hitherto maintained is, however, highly instructive, as affording the means of duly testing, in its most perfect example, the effective force residing in that municipal spirit which so many persons affirm will alone, in Lombardy, prevent the establishment of a supreme government. We find that where it was strongest, it could do no more than annoy—it was never able seriously to impede authority;



and that Piedmont, in her former state, when deprived of all which might recommend her to the wounded feelings of the Genoese, was always in a position effectively to control their discontent.

Far more serious than all these elements of opposition are some difficulties entailed upon the Piedmontese Government by the fact of her policy, and not to be got rid of in any manner. These difficulties are comprised in the excessive expenditure rendered inevitable by an expectant attitude that must necessarily be always fully prepared to take advantage of an opportune moment, and by the obligations incurred towards those who have confided their interests to her care. These together set a limit beyond which expectation must be converted into action. Since the year 1847 the interest of the public debt has been increased sevenfold, and yet all this expenditure has been a matter of necessity. Piedmont's exceptional position rendered it obligatory on her to carry on at the same time immense public works, and keep up armaments beyond her national wants. Her army, on its peace establishment, is now more than double what it was before 1848. It is self-evident that such outlay can only be justified by the certainty of being hereafter made good by a proportionate compensation, and that the very existence of Piedmont therefore depends on the event of this contingency; but this engagement can only be fulfilled by successful wars with Austria, for defeated Piedmont could only encounter the ruin with which she is already threatened, if with her present encumbrances she is left for good to her present resources. While paramount dictates of self-preservation thus impel Piedmont to a speedy collision with Austria, she is likewise held to the same by the claims of those whom she has reclaimed from wild revolutionary purposes by offering them her banner to rally round. Count Cavour's policy in Italy has been to render harmless the subversive agitations of Mazzini through practical evidence of its futility, as compared with the positive nucleus afforded for national effort by Piedmont. The confidence excited in his personal ability has won for him great success, but should once the suspicion arise that Piedmont is either unable or unwilling to proceed any further, the feeling in the country would again be turned adrift, and infallibly tend afresh towards extreme opinions productive of danger to Europe, and especially to Piedmont. Hence, Count Cavour on the one hand has exerted himself sedulously to restrain popular impatience by preaching the necessity for awaiting a favourable opportunity before venturing on serious action; and, on the other hand, aware of the impossibility of preventing explosion beyond a certain time in the inflammable materials heaped up around him, he has inde-

fatigably sought to weave alliances that might give Italy the physical strength equal to a victorious struggle with the great military power of Austria. For with the Piedmontese army not one hundred thousand strong—the Lombardo-Venetian provinces disarmed and held in check by an immense force, entrenched in most formidable fortresses—with the keys of Central Italy in the enemy's hands, and the national efforts of the populations in the Roman and Neapolitan States unavoidably distracted from efficiently assisting in the war of independence by the necessity of first freeing themselves from the fetters of their own governments, it is clear that in all human reckoning the chances are against Italy in a single combat with Austria; while yet intolerable misgovernment, coinciding with ardent aspirations, has stung the people throughout the Peninsula into a frame of mind which is bent on risking the most desperate ventures before abandoning all idea of relief.

Such is the situation with which Count Cavour has had to deal, and which ominous signs seem to indicate as nearing a crisis. The march of the whole Piedmontese army to the frontier, the words spoken on divers public occasions, the openly defiant tone assumed by the Piedmontese Government towards Austria, instead of the reserved and merely unaccommodating one hitherto adopted, and finally the marriage of Prince Napoleon, are events all directly calculated to excite expectation in a degree which it would be culpable gratuitously to disappoint; while the last seems a pledge of that political alliance being consummated which Count Cavour is known to have been seeking to acquire for his country. Is this French alliance, with its prospect of French military intervention in Italy, an act for which Count Cavour deserves condemnation?—is it an act of reckless treason against the natural interests of Europe which, in behalf of higher duties, must render it incumbent on an English Government to throw its weight into the scale of Austria, as the first victim in a threatened course of unprincipled ambition? The French alliance with Sardinia, if extending to active co-operation against Austria, is not indeed without its inherent embarrassments. We do not believe that the French Government means to engage in war for the liberation of Italy without procuring certain accessions of territory likely to flatter the vanity and ensure the approval of the French nation. Such a territory is Savoy, long an object of ambition to France, and of no real importance to Piedmont should she obtain an equivalent in Italy. Savoy is not even of value in a military point of view; for, exposed towards France, it is separated by the chain of the Alps from the rest of the kingdom. However, the Royal Family naturally feel deep reluctance in parting with the

original possession of the house, its cradle and its nursery, we yet believe that the cession of Savoy to France is a thing to be confidently expected, in the event of the latter securing to Piedmont the acquisition of Lombardy.

Should it enter into the French Emperor's views to provide a principality for his cousin, a really successful campaign could also easily afford the means of contriving one without injury to any interests bespeaking the especial consideration of either party; nor would the French have to encounter, as some suppose, ill-will from the Romans. During their occupation of the Pope's States the French soldiers have not made themselves personally obnoxious, and the general disfavour of Mazzini has made people lenient to their intervention as an untoward event, entirely due to his untimely and injudicious influence. What does, however, present the prospect of perplexing embarrassment ahead is the revolution that will inevitably break out in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies as soon as the first move has been made against Austria. Prince Murat would then in all probability be joyfully hailed by the Neapolitans, while he would undoubtedly be scouted by the Sicilians. Piedmont might thus find itself exposed to the painful necessity of having to purchase the indispensable assistance of its ally, by siding against an Italian people risen in vindication of ancient rights—a people which, more than any other in the south, possesses Piedmontese sympathies, and in 1848 elected the Duke of Genoa for its sovereign. This is to our minds a pregnant germ of danger inherent to the French alliance, seriously threatening the influence of Piedmont in Southern Italy, and which it will require all Count Cavour's statesmanship to render harmless.

But, turning aside from assumed complication, let us consider what ought to be the policy of an English government with reference to a struggle against Austria on the part of Piedmont, actively aided by France, and rewarding its assistance by the cession of Savoy and the elevation of Murat to the throne of Naples. The alliance with France has been a matter of imperative necessity for Piedmont. Personal predilection and sound patriotism would have made Count Cavour prefer an English alliance, and if British diplomacy has any complaints to make about the present aspect of affairs, she must fairly lay to herself some blame in reference to them. At and after the Congress of Paris Count Cavour sought, as far as lay in his power, to cement an understanding with England, whose general policy on the Continent is honestly bent on the maintenance of sound peace, and whose especial interests in the Mediterranean coincide best with those of Italy. But the blunders of British negotiators in the peace with Russia frustrated his

hopes. Our Government thought to hide the hasty weakness with which it had accepted inadequate terms by stoutly insisting on the execution of some minor points, by its own negligence not defined with proper clearness in the treaty. On this occasion Austria alone lent assistance, and thus an accidental community of action was brought about between her and England, which was altogether unwarranted by her conduct during the Crimean war, or any identity between the general interests of the two countries. Nevertheless the English Government allowed itself to be so much influenced by the fact of the fortuitous concert, as to lend its countenance to Austria in a degree and extent which justly created astonishment. England was not content with the language customary to diplomacy in deprecation of political disturbance; she spontaneously converted herself into an organ for conveying to Piedmont the expression of Austria's wishes, thereby certainly manifesting a decided inclination towards, if not a positive participation in, the views of the latter. When Lord Malmesbury took the seals of office this tone of partisanship was increased. The Conservative politicians, with their Austrian sympathies, were delighted at a pretext for pressing into their service the authoritative language of British policy. Thus in the case of the *Cagliari* the English Government refused to support Piedmont in its claim for an indemnity from the King of Naples, and accompanied this refusal with proceedings that gave it the significance of a purposely offensive demonstration. Count Cavour's intimate knowledge of England prevented him from being deluded into the notion of being able to secure her active assistance towards bringing about a war with Austria; but he had a right to expect that she would, in accordance with traditional policy, lend the weight of her sympathy and influence in favour of a country battling for just independence; and which, while all Europe was standing timidly aloof from England during the most critical period of the Russian war, came voluntarily forward to make sacrifices of money and blood in her behalf. But, instead of encountering kindly feelings, Piedmont has been studiously treated with the icy and cutting coldness indicative of strong inward dislike, until, in consequence, she has been compelled to throw herself entirely into the arms of her powerful neighbour, under the pressure of her own perilous situation and the utter absence of all other friendly assistance. It is true that a power hitherto identified with despotic reaction, and our most direct antagonist in every quarter of the world, suddenly appears on the stage of Italian politics in a mysterious and suspicious character. The exertions of Russia to extend her influence in the Mediterranean by the establishment of a naval depôt at Villafranca were calculated to excite just apprehensions

in connexion with her known hatred of Austria. We are fully convinced that she has been solely actuated by political purposes of her own in this measure; but we are inclined to believe that they are not at this moment so far matured as to make her engage actively in war. That which, however, does not suit her convenience this year may perfectly suit it the following, and the new addition of this formidable element of danger to the many already involved in the condition of Italy, is, to our mind, a most cogent reason why a wise policy should at once apply itself, before it is too late to devise a radical remedy for a state of things pregnant with fearful convulsions, and cast aside the inadequate recipes of trifling palliatives. It is the essence of good government to forestal the disastrous occurrence of revolutions by wise provisions. The neglect thereof is the cause of the present impending embarrassments. Had diplomacy insisted on that better settlement of Italy which it has repeatedly declared desirable, and officially recommended, it would not now be exposed to the peril of having to bear the full intensity of those troubles, from dealing with which, when still in embryo, its pusillanimity while a free agent foolishly recoiled.

England can have only two interests at heart in her foreign policy—removal of elements for embroilment, and steady opposition to all serious disturbance of the balance of power by a course of usurping conquest. Both these interests are continually exposed to danger in the present condition of Italy, which is a perennial hotbed for revolutionary discontent, and, as shown just now, a pretext ready at all times for the purposes of meddling ambition. We believe that the danger to England and Europe can be effectually removed, without any serious obstacles on the part of rooted elements, by the establishment of a kingdom of Northern Italy, extending to the frontiers of Tuscany, and to be ruled by the King of Piedmont; by the introduction of lay government into the States of the Pope; and by the restoration of constitutional right in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Thus Italy would be in the enjoyment of an order of things capable of fairly contenting its people and developing its further resources, while a federative union, free from foreign control, would be established of itself as soon as the Austrian has been ejected, in virtue of the inevitable moral predominance that must forthwith devolve on the great northern kingdom, giving that political compactness to the Peninsula which will be the best security for peace, and make it the best ally for England in the Mediterranean. The Italian difficulties in the way of this reform reside in the sovereigns, not in any inherent vices of the people rendering union impossible. The most serious is to be found in the Pope; yet we do not see any valid and really insu-

perable obstacle which must absolutely prevent his accommodating himself to the duties incumbent on a proper temporal sovereign. In their palmiest days Popes took a leading part in Italian politics, rivalling in national spirit the best lay princes; and as the spiritual and temporal character are quite distinct in their attributes, we see no reason why in the latter he should not accommodate himself to the decision of a federative council.

It will, however, be said, and truly said, that to aim at changes of this kind is to embark in war, since it is not in human nature that Austria should bring herself tamely to resign of her own self her magnificent possessions in Italy. To entertain such plans is therefore beyond the range of diplomacy, bound by its principles above all to husband peace, and to devise compromises which may conciliate the greatest possible progressive concession with the least possible violation of established right. This is quite true; and the blessing of peace is, indeed, so great to all mankind, that those entrusted with the direction of human affairs feel it to be their paramount duty to do their utmost honourably to preserve it. We believe that there is one arrangement which might be proposed to Austria, with the expectation that she should assent to it, and which, fulfilling all the exigencies of diplomatic considerations, would yet secure concessions of signal advantage to Italy. The support which hitherto has enabled Italian governments to defy in their abuses the just discontent of their subjects, has solely resided in the unflinching protectorate extended to them by Austria, a protectorate not warranted by any of those treaties which are the title-deeds for her Italian provinces. Let, therefore, the great Powers of Europe call on Austria to restrict herself simply to the government of her own provinces; let them, met in Congress, guarantee the independence of all Italian States in such a manner that no intervention should be possible on the part of any one foreign Power in their internal affairs, except by the mutual consent of all the contracting Powers. By such an understanding the condition of Italy would be at once radically modified. The Pope, the King of Naples, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, would forthwith be directed to their own resources, and be deprived of the possibility perpetually to repose in stolid confidence on the certain support of foreign arms in the event of intestine troubles. They would be left alone with their subjects like other sovereigns, and their subjects would be assured that, within ordinary limits, they might safely venture on making their grievances known, and freely press for their redress. Thus would the supremacy of Austria's domination be abolished in the Peninsula, which would be put in a condition for developing her faculties in a manner that must lead ultimately to entire emancipa-

tion, unless the Italian people prove false to itself. On the other hand, if Austria should refuse a proposal so strictly in accordance with the laws of nations, she would then proclaim her outlawry from diplomacy, and openly stake her political existence on the usurpation of an authority which it never was the intention of European Powers to bestow on her.

What it therefore behoves the British public to bear in mind is, how at this moment we stand at the threshold of complications beyond any one's power permanently to prevent, unless by measures of a very comprehensive nature. Count Cavour is no reckless firebrand; he is himself the slave—but the enlightened slave—of painful circumstances. Piedmont did not wantonly bring on 1848; but 1848 luckily found men able to create the Piedmont of our day, and who rendered an immense service to Italy and the world by supplying a possible means of conducting to a satisfactory issue the elements of fearful convulsion heaped up in the Peninsula. Is, then, the possession of the Lombardo-Venetian provinces by Austria of such vital importance to England, is the fact of Savoy falling to France, and Murat's being elevated to the throne of Naples, so disastrous to the political even-weight of Europe, that an English ministry would be allowed to lend its encouraging countenance so distinctly to Austria as might instigate her to a resistance vigorous enough not improbably to lead to a protracted contest, the incidents and much less the end of which cannot be described? Sentimentalism is justly to be banished from a statesman's closet. The English Foreign Secretary who should rise to propose supplies for a war of liberation in Italy would be expelled from office; but we hope the same fate will be reserved for one who should be found secretly identifying our actions with Austria. If it were otherwise, it would be a melancholy symptom, for spontaneous alliances indicate inward affinities. A healthy State, because of its health, finds itself drawn towards the elements of vigour. Such has been the case with our policy, hitherto, from the time of Elizabeth. If we would throw in our lot with a State which is so consciously incapable of active exertion, that no prize, however certain, could compensate for the danger to which it would be put in first having to conquer it, we must have grown so decrepit, that our safety henceforth depends on the sufferance extended to decay. To engage in an Austrian alliance is to load ourselves with a fresh integrity yet more baneful than that orthodox nightmare of diplomacy—the integrity of the Turkish Empire, because more exposed to attack on all sides, and sure to entail great and recurring sacrifices; the only possible result of which can be, the poor satisfaction that our substance has been spent in perhaps putting off for a generation an inevitable event. Faithfulness to treaties

must be the guiding principle of statesmanship, as the only barrier to unprincipled ambition; but this faith admits, and even renders imperative, the admixture of free reason, to prevent its sinking into a dead superstition. The inadequacy of the treaty of Vienna has been acknowledged by its framers; even its fundamental clause was yielded without one dissentient voice when a Bonaparte was recognised as sovereign of France. It is absurd seriously to maintain the inviolable sanctity of that treaty after this concession, and after the erection of Belgium into a kingdom, and the annexation of Cracow by Austria. But it would be still more absurd to allow that treaties agreed upon by all Europe should be left the sport of individual and arbitrary convenience. When their revision is required, it should be performed by common consent; and any minister who from dull perverseness should ungraciously resist this until it be accomplished by force, incurs the heavy responsibility of a virtual agent of convulsion. Let no English Minister, therefore, presume to fancy that he will be allowed with impunity to indulge his Conservative prejudices, by tacitly wedding England to the cause of Austria, and blight her future existence by divorcing her from the vigorous elements of growing greatness. Lord Malmesbury has, indeed, a suspicion that he cannot give the reins to his inclination; and a shrewd fear of falling from his high estate has induced him to modify in some degree his Austrian ardour.

But with regret we must say it, that we fear these modifications are of a deceptive nature and only in manner. On every occasion the English statesman eagerly continues to act in the temper of a Tory partisan, and indulges his prejudices by language worse than indiscreet; for it conveys a distinct reprobation of Piedmont, which is warranted neither by Count Cavour's conduct nor by our interests, and under present circumstances is positively criminal on the part of a British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, as wantonly tending to involve us in a ruinous line of policy. England's course is in a dignified neutrality, that should enable her to give effective expression to sympathy with Italy, and to such impartial counsel as on grounds of expediency she may see fit to offer either party. She will thus secure respect and confidence. In the first instance she will afford Piedmont the moral assistance which is her due, and in a critical moment she will be able to mediate, and, if necessary, ultimately to intervene with supreme effect, thereby bringing the quarrel to an issue which will deliver Italy from servitude, and Austria from a contest that might entail her destruction. The attitude of England has been unfortunately very different under a Minister who possesses the qualities of a statesman only in name—who thinks to show resolution when merely exhibiting



blind fits of stubbornness—who couches what he professes to be friendly admonitions in offensive and ill-bred language—who reveals the painful blankness of his intellect by the foolish bustle with which he keeps proffering the most threadbare and inadequate suggestions, which can excite only derision and dissatisfaction, and whose whole deportment betrays the helpless and undignified perturbation which seized the Paul Pry in the ballad, when, having filched the wizard's scroll, he found that he had brought himself into contact with a legion of spirits, whom he was quite at a loss how to control. It is greatly to be lamented that the most unreasonable element of Lord Derby's Cabinet has been projected into the direction of our foreign policy at a season so momentous as to task the brains of the greatest statesman. For nature's distribution of her gifts we are none of us responsible: England will therefore gladly forgive Lord Malmesbury his unmerited elevation, and even reward him with heartfelt thankfulness if he will only appreciate his own inefficiency, and avoid future imprecations for the baneful consequences of his meddling in affairs with which he is incompetent to deal.

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#### ART. VI.—ADAM BEDE.

*Adam Bede.* By George Eliot, Author of "Scenes of Clerical Life." 3 vols. Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons. 1859.

IN this age of unparalleled industry and overwork a large majority of readers read for recreation rather than instruction. The first they must have; if genius will be kind enough to combine the two for them, so much the better. Unfortunately, out of the crowd of novels which swarm from the press each year, very few supply either the one or the other. Swinging on a gate is an intellectual amusement compared with reading the most of them. And thus, in order to avoid them, many who would keenly relish a good novel—a work of genius written by a seeming necessity in the shape it assumes—give up novel-reading altogether. Hence, when such a work does appear, the critic who contributes to spread a knowledge of its existence is a public benefactor. This agreeable duty now devolves upon us: "Adam Bede," a story of village life in England fifty years ago, is in our opinion a work of this high class.

The life of a quiet English village, consisting of a few farmers and their servants, together with the blacksmith, carpenter, shoemaker, schoolmaster, and parish clerk, headed by the parson and squire, does not seem a very attractive subject on which to write three post-octavo volumes. But, in fact, the attractiveness of a subject mainly depends on the nature of the brain behind the eyes which look at it. As Carlyle says, The universe appeared very differently to Newton and to Newton's dog. The gift which perhaps most of all distinguishes genius from ordinary mortals, is the power of seeing realities where the latter see only appearances. The author of "Adam Bede" has this power; and hence, seeing into the innermost life of men and women, whether peers or peasants, is able to reveal to us those deep springs of exhaustless interest perennial alike in the village and in the town, in the cottage and in the palace. His work reads like an authentic history: the actors impress us as real men and women, who, being what they were, could not have spoken or acted other than they did; their lives are notable for that organic cohesion and consistency which distinguish actual existences, and consequently we are made to feel that the various events of the story must have occurred exactly as described. Harmonizing with this inevitableness or naturalness of the characters and events depicted, the life-drama seemingly proceeds without any contrivance or plot: the persons grow and the events happen; the function of the author being that of a faithful and wise historian, who records simply what he had seen or learnt, adding only such elucidatory comments as may help the understanding of the reader.

Judges from the "high-art" point of view, as well as less exalted and more unconscious readers, are so disgusted with works of fiction written to enforce a doctrine or point a moral, that the former have enacted as a chief canon of criticism,—Novels written for such a purpose must be bad; while the latter vote them a bore. But critics' canons and readers' resolutions are alike confuted by the originality of a genuine artist. His volumes may be suffused with doctrine and moral from beginning to end, and yet critics remain silent, and ordinary readers unconscious of offence. The truth is, we are all moralists when we see the facts in their right light. What are the flights of proverbs which live in every language, but so many "conclusions" or "morals," condensed into the compactest possible shape by the best seers of the people? All things are moral to him who looks deep enough. Nature admits of no evasions, but punishes all our shortcomings. She refuses, moreover, to recognise the distinctions which, by way of defence, we seek to establish between intellectual and moral wrong, and is as inexorable in exacting her penalties for the one as the other. Thus it is that

he who, by holding the mirror up to nature, helps us to see her as she is, not only points a moral, but makes the lookers-on become moralists themselves. Such a helper we take to be the author of "Adam Bede."

The scene of the story is the village of Hayslope, as it existed before the invasion of railroads, newspapers, and "high" and "low" Churchism. The author has chosen to conceal from us the exact situation of Hayslope, by locating it in that large county, "Loamshire," a region which may be taken to comprise the Midland Counties. We feel assured, however, that Hayslope may be found by a diligent seeker in the northern part of Leicestershire, bordering on Derbyshire, and that the village of Snowfield, placed by our author in the centre of a mining district in "Stonyshire," is actually situate in the bleakest part of Derbyshire.

We have a theory of our own, which we shall not divulge, to account for the author's seeming caprice of hiding under false names the precise spots which he has rendered memorable by his interesting and veracious history. But, at all events, philology, that great helper of philosophers in trouble, affords decisive evidence that our conjectures as to the positions of Hayslope and Snowfield are very near the truth. To any one who has lived in the Midland Counties, the dialect of the inhabitants of those villages resounds as the familiar language of childhood. Whittaws (harness-makers), gell (girl), a soft (a fool), a cade lamb (a pet lamb), thack (thatch), thrall (a sort of table, sometimes of wood, sometimes of brick), and many other words which we might cite from "Adam Bede," are in constant use at this day in the districts where, as we contend, Hayslope and Snowfield are situated.\*

The chief characters of the story are two journeymen carpenters and their querulous mother; a farmer and his wife and family, including two marriageable nieces; the rector, and the young squire of Hayslope. The central figure, Adam Bede, is a fine stalwart, broad-chested fellow, whose mind is as robust and firmly set as his body. His large head and overhanging brow denote the native force, vigorous grasp, and practical character of his intellect. He is self-sufficing, and has an unconscious trust in himself. He contrasts strikingly with the dreamy character of his brother Seth, whose eyebrows, we are told, had less prominence and more repose than Adam's, and in whose forehead "you discern the exact contour of a coronal arch that predominates very decidedly over the brow." Our author did wisely in pointing out these structural differences as the organic source of the widely differing

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\* The word *geck*, used once or twice, we suspect to be an importation from Yorkshire.

characters of the two men. Their mother, Lisbeth, remembered how, when a child, "Seth 'ud allays lie i' th' cradle wi' his eyes open;" whereas "Adam ne'er 'ud lie still a minute when he wakened." Seth's "glance, instead of being keen, is confiding and benignant." He lacks the practical element so conspicuous in his brother; is prone to aimless musing and reverie. You see at once that when the tide of Methodism reached to Hayslope, he was sure to be swept along with it, while Adam kept his ground. On one occasion, Seth, who was employed in the same workshop with his brother, exclaimed—"There! I've finished my door to-day, anyhow!" Amid the laughter of his fellow-workmen, he was reminded that he had left out the panels. They ascribed his absence of mind to the influence which Methodism had got over him. But Seth himself, when referring to the affair of the door, gave a truer account of the matter—"It is na religion," said he, "as was o'fault there; it was Seth Bedc, as was allays a wool gathering chap, and religion has na cured him, the more's the pity." Adam is always intent on doing the duty which lies straight before him. Seth is chiefly concerned about saving souls. On the death of their father, who was drowned when returning home drunk, and whom Adam had often upbraided for his thoughtless and ruinous life, their opposite characters came out in strong relief: "Seth's chief feeling was awe and distress at this sudden snatching away of his father's soul; but Adam's mind rushed back over the past in a flood of relenting and pity."

In one of Lisbeth's querulous moods, Seth told her that if she would pray to God to help her, and would trust in His goodness, she would not be "so uneasy about things." His exhortation provokes her to compare the result of the different doctrines held by the two brothers:—

"Unaisy? I'm i' th' right on't to be unaisy. It's well scen on *thee* what it is niver to be unaisy. 'Thee'l gi' away all thy carnins, an niver be unaisy, as thee'st nothin' laid up again' a rainy day. If Adam had been as aisy as thee, he'd niver ha' had no money to pay for thee. 'Take no thought for the morrow'—Take no thought! that's what thee's allays sayin'; an' what comes on't? Why, as Adam has to take thought for thee."

"Those are the words o' the Bible, mother," said Seth. "They don't mean as we should be idle. They mean we shouldn't be over-anxious and worreting ourselves about what'll happen to-morrow, but do our duty, and leave the rest to God's will."

"Ay, ay, that's the way wi' thee; thee allays makes a peck o' thy own words out o' a pint o' the Bible's. I donna see how thee's to know as 'take no thought for the morrow' means all that. An' when the Bible's such a big book, an' thee canst read all thro't, an' ha' the pick o' th' texes, I canna think why thee dostna pick better words as donna mean so much more nor they say. Adam doesna pick a' that'n; I can

understan' the tex as he's allays a-sayin', 'God helps them as helps theirsens.'"

"Nay, mother," said Seth, "that's no text o' the Bible." \* \* \*

"Well, how 'm I to know? It sounds like a tex."

Adam expressed his notion of religion as follows:—

"Nay, Seth, lad; I'm not for laughing at no man's religion. Let 'em follow their consciences, that's all. Only I think it 'ud be better if their consciences 'ud let 'em stay quiet i' the church—there's a deal to be learnt there. And there's such a thing as being over-sperit; we must ha' something beside Gospel i' this world. Look at the canals an' th'aqueducts, an' th' coal-pit engines, and Arkwright's mills there at Cromford; a man must learn summat beside Gospel to make them things, I reckon. But t' hear some o' them preachers, you'd think as a man must be doing nothing all 's life but shutting 's eyes and looking what's a-going on inside him. I know a man must have the love o' God in his soul, and the Bible's God's word. But what does the Bible say? Why, it says as God put his sperrit into the workman as built the tabernacle, to make him do all the carved work and things as wanted a nice hand. And this is my way o' looking at it; there's the sperrit o' God in all things and in all times—weekday as well as Sunday—and i' the great works and inventions, and i' the figuring and the mechanics. And God helps us with our headpieces and our hands as well as with our souls; and if a man does bits o' jobs out o' working hours—builds an oven for 's wife, to save her from going to the bakehouse, or scrats at his bit o' garden and makes two potatoes grow instead o' one, he's doing more good, and he's just as near to God, as if he was running after some preacher, and a-praying and a-groaning.'"

It will be readily understood how greatly the respect and trust of the inhabitants of Hayslope centred in Adam Bede. But, alas! his clear-sightedness, undeviating rectitude, and unblemished life, could not shield him from terrible mental misery. So closely are we knitted together by the tangled web of interests and affections, that no man can isolate himself and live his own life, undisturbed by those around him. In Adam's case, the external forces which exerted a paramount influence upon him were the two nieces of the Poysers, who occupied the Hall Farm, and Captain Donnithorne, the squire of Hayslope. One of these nieces, Hetty Sorrel, resided permanently at the Farm; the other, Dinah Morris, paid long visits to her aunt, and was repeatedly urged to stay with her altogether, but her duties at Snowfield constrained her to spend much of her time there. She had "a call" to minister to the spiritual needs of the poor miners of that barren district.

This fair young Methodist, Mr. Eliot tells us, had "a small oval face, of a uniform transparent whiteness, with an egg-like line of cheek and chin, a full but firm mouth, a delicate nostril,

and a low perpendicular brow, surmounted by a rising arch of parting, between smooth locks of pale reddish hair." Her character seems to have been a mixture of the ecstatic spiritualism of Madame Guyon with the earnest love of souls which shaped the life of Wesley. When young, she heard him preach; and living at Snowfield with her aunt, who was a member of the society, she had cause to be thankful, she said, for the privileges which she had thereby from her earliest childhood: The influence of that fervid form of Christianity on Dinah's pure, impressible, and self-forgetting nature, is admirably depicted. The following is her account of herself in a conversation with Mr. Irwine, the rector of Hayslope. In reply to his question, how she first came to think of preaching, she said:—

"Indeed, sir, I didn't think of it at all. I'd been used from the time I was sixteen to talk to the little children, and teach them, and sometimes I had had my heart enlarged to speak in class, and was much drawn out in prayer with the sick. But I had felt no call to preach; for when I'm not greatly wrought upon, I'm too much given to sit still and keep by myself: it seems as if I could sit silent all day long with the thought of God overflowing my soul, as the pebbles lie bathed in the Willow Brook. For thoughts are so great—aren't they, sir? They seem to lie upon us like a deep flood; and it's my besetment to forget where I am, and everything about me, and lose myself in thoughts that I could give no account of, for I could neither make a beginning nor ending of them in words. That was my way as long as I can remember; but sometimes it seemed as if speech came to me without any will of my own, and words were given to me, that came out as the tears come—because our hearts are full, and we can't help it. And those were always times of great blessing, though I had never thought it could be so with me before a congregation of people. But, sir, we are led on, like the little children, by a way that we know not."

Our author has preserved the greater part of one of her sermons, together with a prayer delivered at Hayslope; and certainly, if Methodism could count many such preachers as Dinah Morris, the decree of Conference, which suppressed women preachers, was far from being a benefit. Of course, Seth Bede—who, as we have said, was himself a Methodist—saw in Dinah the saint and angel wondrously blended with all that makes woman lovely. That he worshipped her with all his soul is not improbable, for, as our author says—

"He was but three-and-twenty, and had only just learnt what it was to love—to love with that adoration which a young man gives to a woman whom he feels to be greater and better than himself. Love of this sort is hardly distinguishable from religious feeling. What deep and worthy love is so? whether of woman or child, or art or music? Our caresses, our tender words, our still rapture under the

influence of autumn sunsets, or pillared vistas, or calm, majestic statues, or Beethoven symphonies—all bring with them the consciousness that they are mere waves and ripples in an unfathomable ocean of love and beauty; our emotion in its keenest moment passes from expression into silence; our love at its highest flood rushes beyond its object, and loses itself in the sense of divine mystery.”

Seth pleaded his cause with all the tenderness and fervour of which he was capable; cited St. Paul in proof that Dinah ought to marry, and assured her that he'd never be the husband to make a claim on her which could interfere with her doing the work God had fitted her for; but all to no purpose. She said to him—

“It could only be on a very clear showing that I could leave the brethren and sisters at Snowfield, \* \* \* where there is very hard living for the poor in winter. \* \* \* When I saw that your love was given to me, I thought it might be a leading of Providence for me to change my way of life, and that we should be fellow-helpers; and I spread the matter before the Lord. But whenever I tried to fix my mind on marriage, and our living together, other thoughts always came in—the times when I've prayed by the sick and dying, and the happy hours I've had preaching, when my heart was filled with love, and the Word was given to me abundantly. And when I've opened the Bible for direction, I've always lighted on some clear word to tell me where my work lay. \* \* \* I see that our marriage is not God's will; He draws my heart another way. I desire to live and die without husband or children.”

Poor Seth! he is not the first mortal who, dazzled by the vision of an angel, became incapable ever afterwards of seeing any woman with the eyes of love.

It was well for the inhabitants of Hayslope that Dinah said to herself—“My life is too short, and God's work is too great, for me to think of making a home for myself in this world.” They sorely needed her. When Adam's father was drowned, his widow, Lisbeth, stricken with sorrow, was greatly consoled by “the soothing influence of Dinah's face and voice.” “I'd be glad to ha' ye wi' me,” said the old woman, “to speak to i' th' night, for ye've got a nice way o' talkin'. It puts me i' mind o' the swallows as was under the thack last 'ear, when they fust begun to sing low and soft-like i' th' morning.”

Mrs. Poyser's opinion of Dinah, expressed in her own shrewd fashion, has also been preserved:—

“Poor child! she's never likely to be buxom as long as she'll make her dinner o' cake and water for the sake o' giving to them as wants. She provokes me past bearing sometimes, and as I told her, she went clean again' the Scripture, for that says, 'Love your neighbour as yourself;' but I said, 'If you love your neighbour no better nor you

do yourself, Dinah, it's little enough you'd do for him. You'd be thinking he might do well enough on a half-empty stomach."

On another occasion Mrs. Poyser added—

"Dinah's one o' them things as looks the brightest on a rainy day, and loves you the best when you're most in need on't."

The whole village, including even the rector and squire, felt the hallowing and peace-giving influence which emanated from her, and all alike desired her near them; and thus she was drawn now to Snowfield, and now to Hayslope, her feelings divided by the many claimants on her help and sympathy. As she sat musing in her bedchamber, on the eve of her departure for Snowfield, our author thus describes her:—

"She thought of the struggles and the weariness that might lie before them in the rest of their life's journey, when she would be away from them, and know nothing of what was befalling them; and the pressure of this thought soon became too strong for her to enjoy the unresponding stillness of the moonlit fields. She closed her eyes, that she might feel more intensely the presence of a love and sympathy deeper and more tender than was breathed from the earth and sky. That was often Dinah's mode of praying in solitude, simply to close her eyes, and to feel herself enclosed by the Divine presence; then gradually her fears, her yearning anxieties for others, melted away like ice crystals in a warm ocean."

A strong sense of duty was the ruling principle both of Adam and of Dinah; their benevolent feelings were probably also equally deep and ardent; and what is more to the point, the manner of each, in carrying out their ideas and feelings, was equally practical and effective. In fact, their spiritual affinities were strong and numerous; but there were also seemingly insurmountable barriers between them. On the few occasions that Adam saw Dinah during the first period of their acquaintance, he recognised the excellence of her character, despite her Methodism, and her unfeminine practice of preaching. But his opinion of Methodism, which we have already given, restrained him from intimate acquaintance with her. He was too intent on fulfilling his own common-sense view of daily duty, and had too strong an appreciation of the importance of attending to those material realities which are the basis of mundane existence and happiness, to occupy himself with the vexed questions of religious doctrine and church government. It seemed natural and respectable to go to church, as other people did; and he, of course, looked upon Methodism as a fanatical excitement which his sense of justice called upon him to tolerate, but which his judgment decidedly condemned. Under the circumstances, it was not likely that he and Dinah should be drawn to each other. Moreover, he had reason to believe that his brother Seth was deeply in love



with her. This belief alone would have prevented him from thinking of her for himself, even if he had been inclined to do so, which he was not.

But besides these obstacles which prevented the natural affinities by which Adam and Dinah were related to each other from coming into action, an extraneous influence was attracting Adam with a power to which he could not but yield himself. He was on visiting terms at the Hall Farm, where Dinah's cousin, Hetty Sorrel, was budding into womanhood. To say that she was the belle of Hayslope would convey no adequate notion of her extraordinary beauty, which seems to have fascinated not only men, but women. We quote Mr. Eliot's account of it:—

“There are various orders of beauty, causing men to make fools of themselves in various styles, from the desperate to the sheepish; but there is one order of beauty which seems made to turn the heads not only of men, but of all intelligent mammals, even of women. It is a beauty like that of kittens, or very small downy ducks making gentle rippling noises with their soft bills, or babies just beginning to toddle and to engage in conscious mischief—a beauty with which you can never be angry, but that you feel ready to crush for inability to comprehend the state of mind into which it throws you.

“Hetty Sorrel's was that sort of beauty. Her aunt, Mrs. Poyser, who professed to despise all personal attractions, and intended to be the severest of Mentors, continually gazed at Hetty's charms by the sly, fascinated in spite of herself; and after administering such a scolding as naturally flowed from her anxiety to do well by her husband's niece—who had no mother of her own to scold her, poor thing!—she would often confess to her husband, when they were safe out of hearing, that she firmly believed ‘the naughtier the little huzzy behaved, the prettier she looked.’”

Ah, if she had been as good as she was beautiful! We are not informed that she had positive faults: she assisted her aunt in managing the house, and in looking after the children; she appears to have been entrusted with considerable control of the dairy, and to have been especially skilful in butter-making. She was obedient whenever her uncle or aunt requested her to do anything; and though Mrs. Poyser used to complain of her thoughtlessness and want of interest in her duties, Mr. Poyser saw in her only such defects as are incident to girlhood, and which she would outgrow. In fact, with the exception of her extraordinary beauty, she might be justly regarded as typical of a large number of her sex: she was ignorant, vain, and entirely wrapped up in herself. Persons and things interested her only in so far as she might be affected by them. A genuine, disinterested solicitude for others she never experienced; she could not; and, probably, such a feeling would exceed her comprehension. But Adam saw nothing of all this: he saw only her beauty.\* It never occurred to him

to doubt but that the inward nature of a being so exquisitely formed as she was must be also beautiful. He was enchanted. The advantageous marriage with Mary Burge, his master's daughter, and a simultaneous partnership in the business—both within his reach—had no attraction for him. His cherished hope, cherished in silence, but gaining strength every time he visited the Hall Farm, was, that some time in the future he should be able to establish for himself an independent home, and that Hetty would be prevailed upon to share it with him. But that time might still be far distant; and as she had never evinced any special delight in his slight attentions (she did not think he would be able to buy her sufficiently fine clothes), except occasionally by way of a little triumph over Mary Burge, he contented himself with feasting on her beauty, as often as he could visit the Poysers, without shaping that hope of his into words.

Such was the state of affairs when, in company with the rector, Captain Donnithorne, the young squire, called one day at the Hall Farm. It is thought that he expressed a wish to see Mrs. Poyser's well-ordered dairy, in the hope of seeing Hetty there, who was just then making the butter. As chance would have it, Mrs. Poyser was so occupied in talking to the rector or in attending to Totty (her little daughter), while he was questioning Dinah about her preaching, that the Captain was left a long time alone with Hetty, whose foolish young heart was fluttering with delight and vanity at the thought that so great a gentleman, and so handsome withal, should pay her such attention, and should say so many beautiful things to her.

If the reader could imagine the subtle, inexpressible beauty which Hetty rejoiced in, he will easily understand that a man like Captain Donnithorne would yield himself up to its fascination, attending only so far to his conscientious scruples as was needful in order to argue them away. And so it happened: Hetty was in the habit of going to the house of the squire to take lessons from the lady's-maid in tenth-stitch, lace-mending, and other like mysteries; on her return Captain Donnithorne met her as if by accident the first time, and by appointment afterwards. He succeeded of course in winning her affections, and she, foolish creature, was enraptured, with the ear-rings, and the locket, containing their hair intertwined which he gave her, and felt sure that he would marry her. Adam knew nothing of these interviews, but the added beauty, a somewhat more thoughtful mood, and a newly-manifested gentleness, which love imparted to her, made her increasingly charming in his eyes, and were interpreted as signs of her dawning affection for him. On the day when Captain Donnithorne came of age there was a great gathering of all the tenantry to celebrate the event. Hetty danced both

with the Captain and Adam Bede. While the latter was near her she dropped the locket which she had worn concealed in her bosom, and about which, to the astonishment of Adam, she evinced extraordinary anxiety. He picked it up, saw the hair in it, and felt a painful shock thrill through him. Was it possible that she loved another? For several days this question haunted him. Revolving it in his mind in every possible form, he at length succeeded to his own satisfaction in answering it in the negative. But very soon afterwards, passing along the avenue of beech-trees which formed part of the road between the squire's house and Hayslope, he was transfixed with amazement at seeing Captain Donnithorne and Hetty standing opposite each other with clasped hands, just in the act of kissing before they parted! The locket and several other heretofore inexplicable incidents were intelligible now. Hetty hastened home, but a terrible scene ensued between Adam and the Captain, in which the different characters of the two men are admirably exhibited. The end of it was, Adam forced the Captain, who denied that anything but the most trifling flirtation had occurred, to promise that he would see Hetty no more, and that he would write her a letter which should prove to her that he could not marry her, and that it was best that they should not see each other again. This letter Adam conveyed to her. Its withering effects upon Hetty may be easily imagined.

Her meetings with Captain Donnithorne were known only to Adam: he kept her secret, let her feel that she might trust him, and treated her with the utmost kindness and tenderness. She, from an intense longing to be able to lean on some one in her trouble, welcomed Adam's attentions; she grew calmer and even more beautiful than ever; Adam persuaded himself that her intimacy with Captain Donnithorne was of too slight a character to hinder her from returning his affection at no distant time, and soon—a few months only having elapsed—became her acknowledged lover.

"Possibly," says Mr. Eliot, "you think that Adam was not at all sagacious in his interpretations, and that it was altogether extremely unbecoming in a sensible man to behave as he did—falling in love with a girl who really had nothing more than her beauty to recommend her, attributing imaginary virtues to her, and even condescending to cleave to her after she had fallen in love with another man, waiting for her kind looks like a trembling dog waits for his master's eye to be turned upon him. But in so complex a thing as human nature we must consider it is hard to find rules without exceptions. Of course I know that, as a rule, sensible men fall in love with the most sensible women of their acquaintance, see through all the pretty deceits of coquettish beauty, never imagine themselves loved when they are not loved, cease loving on all proper occasions, and marry the women most fitted for them in every respect—indeed so as to compel the approbation of all

the maiden ladies in their neighbourhood. But even to this rule an exception will occur now and then in the lapse of centuries, and my friend Adam was one. For my own part, however, I respect him none the less: nay, I think the deep love he had for that sweet, rounded, blossom-like, dark-eyed Hetty, of whose inward self he was really very ignorant, came out of the very strength of his nature, and not out of any inconsistent weakness. Is it any weakness, pray, to be wrought on by exquisite music?—to feel its wondrous harmonies searching the subtlest windings of your soul, the delicate fibres of life which no memory can penetrate, and binding together your whole being, past and present, in one unspeakable vibration; melting you in one moment with all the tenderness, all the love that has been scattered through the toilsome years, concentrating in one emotion of heroic courage or resignation all the hard-learned lessons of self-renouncing sympathy, blending your present joy with past sorrow, and present sorrow with all your past joy? If not, then neither is it a weakness to be so wrought upon by the exquisite curves of a woman's cheek, and neck, and arms, by the liquid depth of her beseeching eyes, or the sweet childish pout of her lips. For the beauty of a lovely woman is like music: what can one say more? Beauty has an expression beyond and far above the one woman's soul that it clothes, as the words of genius have a wider meaning than the thought that prompted them: it is more than a woman's love that moves us in a woman's eyes—it seems to be a far-off mighty love that has come near to us, and made speech for itself there; the rounded neck, the dimpled arm, move us by something more than their prettiness—by their close kinship with all we have known of tenderness and peace. The noblest nature sees most of this *impersonal* expression in beauty (it is needless to say that there are gentlemen with whiskers dyed and undyed who see none of it whatever), and for this reason the noblest nature is often the most blinded to the character of the one woman's soul that the beauty clothes. Whence, I fear, the tragedy of human life is likely to continue for a long time to come, in spite of mental philosophers who are ready with the best receipts for avoiding all mistakes of the kind."

The affectionate respect which both Mr. and Mrs. Poyser entertained for Adam caused the news of his betrothal to Hetty to fill the Hall Farm with quiet joy. She herself seemed to share it, but shortly before the time fixed for the marriage she proposed to pay a visit to Dinah at Snowfield, and if possible to induce her to return with her. She was expected back in a week or ten days, but did not come; her friends became anxious, and Adam on the fifteenth day of her absence, unable to bear it longer, set off to Snowfield, intending to bring her back the next day; Dinah, too, if she were coming. He soon found Dinah's lodgings, but learnt to his horror that Hetty had never been there, and that Dinah was away—visiting "the Lord's people" at Leeds. The wretched lover searched in every direction he could think of, but could get no clue to guide him in tracking the

wanderer, and was constrained to return to Hayslope utterly disconsolate. But worse than the consciousness of his present loss was the dreadful fear that took possession of him, and which grew into an irresistible conviction, that she had felt at last that she could not marry him—that she was attached too strongly to Captain Donnithorne. He did not divine the more terrible truth which he had yet to learn. But he knew enough to feel compelled to make a confidant of the rector, Mr. Irwine, to whom he related what we have already told of Captain Donnithorne's intimacy with Hetty, and stated his intention of starting immediately for Dublin, where the Captain then was, and whither he thought Hetty might have gone. The journey was needless: Mr. Irwine, as a magistrate of Hayslope, had that morning been informed that Hetty was in Stoniton gaol, charged with the crime of child-murder. She had managed to find her way to Windsor, where she believed her seducer was with his regiment, but learnt that he had left for Ireland three weeks before. Friendless and in utter despair she expended her last resources in getting back to the neighbourhood of Stoniton, half-resolved on going to Snowfield to cast herself on Dinah, but her courage failed her: she could not expose her shame to any one who knew her. Having become a mother in the house of a poor woman who befriended her in Stoniton, she stole away suddenly with her baby, and at length abandoned it alive in a field near the town. The child was found dead, evidence was forthcoming to prove that it was Hetty's, she was convicted of the crime with which she was charged, was condemned to death, and was only saved from this last ignominy by the commutation of her sentence to transportation for life. This naked outline of poor Hetty's history is filled in by Mr. Eliot with scenes and incidents full of intense interest; they are narrated with admirable simplicity and impressiveness, and the narrative itself is pervaded by such wisdom and charity as ought to make every reader the better for reading it.

Such are the manifold relations of human beings to each other that when a heroic deed is done, or a crime committed, all participate in the ennoblement of the hero, or in the degradation of the criminal in proportion to their nearness to the one or the other. As the goodness of the good man is fruitful of blessings to himself and to those around him, so crime results in suffering not only to the criminal, but to all connected with him. If we always bore in mind that no cause produces one effect only, but innumerable effects—the secondary one producing another, and so on in endless succession—how great and solemn should we feel our responsibilities, how we should shrink from wrong! Captain Donnithorne acted as if he thought consequences could

be confined within the circle of the actors, whereas he not only involved Hetty in the tragic fate just mentioned, but plunged Adam Bede, the Poysers and their relatives and friends, into misery, which they had no share in causing, and which they were powerless to avert. How nature exacts security from every man for the good conduct of his neighbour, how she punishes the innocent with the guilty, how—to use Mr. Eliot's expression—"the bitter waters spread," is strikingly illustrated in this Flayslope History. It also clearly shows, what indeed is but another side of the same truth, that strictly speaking no sin can be atoned for—no wrong righted. This we take to be the chief moral of the story, a moral which Adam Bede seems to have drawn early from his own experience, and which by long and intense suffering on account of Hetty he abundantly confirmed.

When reproaching himself for having been too stern a censor of his father's faults, he says.—

"It seems to me now, if I was to find father at home to-night, I should behave different; but there's no knowing—perhaps nothing 'ud be a lesson to us if it didn't come too late. It's well we should feel as life's a reckoning we can't make twice over, there's no real making amends in this world, any more nor you can mend a wrong subtraction by doing your addition right."

Referring to the squire's sin, which brought such terrible misery to Adam, his friend Bartle Massey said to him by way of consolation:—

"I've that opinion of you that you'll rise above it all, and be a man again; and there may good come out of this that we don't see." "Good come out of it!" said Adam, passionately. "That doesn't alter th' evil: *her* ruin can't be undone. I hate that talk o' people, as if there was a way o' making amends for everything. They'd more need be brought to see a' the wrong they do can never be altered. When a man's spoiled his fellow-creature's life, he's no right to comfort himself with thinking good may come of it. Somebody else's good doesn't alter her shame and misery."

Adam was right: the selfish thought placed before him by his friend as source of consolation, and which is often indulged in, deserved his strongest hatred. But though wrong once done can never be undone, and though its consequences can never be effaced, there often grows, thank God! out of the sorrow that wrong induces a hallowing influence, which enlarges our affections, gives depth and tenderness to our sympathies, and fills us with charity towards the errors and weaknesses of our fellows, to whom we seem more nearly related than before, and whose lives and actions we can now estimate more justly. Long after the convulsive suffering occasioned by Captain Donni-

thorne's sin had subsided into the calm of memory, these effects were visible in Adam Bede, who though—

“Quite master of himself, working hard and delighting in his work, after his inborn, inalienable nature, had not outlived his sorrow, had not felt it slip from him as a temporary burthen, and leave him the same man again. Do any of us? God forbid. It would be a poor result of all our anguish and our wrestling if we were nothing but our old selves at the end of it—if we could return to the same blind loves, the same self-confident blame, the same light thoughts of human suffering, the same frivolous gossip over blighted human lives, the same feeble sense of that Unknown towards which we have sent forth irrepensible cries in our loneliness. Let us rather be thankful that our sorrow lives in us as an indestructible force, only changing its form, as forces do, and passing from pain into sympathy—the one poor word which includes all our best insight and our best love.”

It is this “best insight” and “best love” which Tennyson ascribes to his dead friend:—

“There must be wisdom with great Death:  
The dead shall look me thro' and thro'.

Be near us when we climb and fall:  
Ye watch, like God, the rolling hours  
With larger other eyes than ours,  
To make allowance for us all.”

How Adam's pain was gradually transformed into sympathy, how affection and friendship became more precious to him than they used to be, and how he clung more closely to his mother and to Seth, and had unspeakable satisfaction in the sight or imagination of any small addition to their happiness, is beautifully sketched. Hopes radiant with joy, such as those which Hetty had inspired in him, were, he imagined, extinct; love, he thought, could never be anything to him but a living memory—a limb lopped off but not gone from consciousness, and *thus* he worked on, his work continuing as it had always been, a part of his religion; for “from very early days he saw clearly that good carpentry was God's will—was that form of God's will that most immediately concerned him.” But though Adam was unconscious of it, the spirit of love was creating a new life in him, hidden as yet beneath the sorrowful experiences of the past, but destined soon to burst forth again, fruitful of serene and lasting happiness.

As soon as Dinah heard of the fate impending over Hetty, she hastened to Stoniton, and remained in the prison cell with her night and day, until what was believed to be her last hour had arrived. She succeeded in penetrating the icy crust which despair and shame had frozen round Hetty's heart, and thus enabled her pent-up feelings to gush out in a flood of sorrow and repentance.

Under the softening influence of Dinah's loving sympathy and fervent prayers she became a changed creature; and when at length Adam had strength to see her, she implored forgiveness for the suffering she had caused him. Until Hetty's removal from Stoniton, Dinah's help and consolation throughout the trying scenes endeared her to all concerned. Afterwards she went to stay at the Hall Farm in order to comfort her relatives, and not infrequently paid a visit to Adam's mother, whose declining health often caused her to need assistance. At home, and when he visited the Hall Farm, Adam looked on Dinah with increasing admiration, but with no thought of love. She, on the contrary, began to find that when in his presence her wonted serenity was disturbed. When she met him a slight flush suffused her cheek, and despite herself her manner often betrayed her inward agitation. Formerly she had to struggle against the love which Seth proffered her, and which he cherished still; now she had to contend with a far more formidable enemy—her own love for Adam. His mother suspected her secret, and by convincing Adam that she had divined Dinah's feelings truly, suddenly roused him into consciousness of the deep love which had been silently growing in him. He offered himself to Dinah; but she, uncertain which way her duty pointed, could give no decisive answer. Before he spoke, she felt that she must wrestle against her affection as against "a great temptation," and that the command was clear that she must go away; but now her mind was full of questionings, and what had been clear became dark again.

"From my childhood upwards," she said to Adam, "I have been led by another path; all my peace and my joy have come from having no life of my own, no wants, no wishes for myself, and living only in God, and those of his creatures whose sorrows and joys he has given me to know. \* \* \* I must wait for clearer guidance: I must go from you, and we must submit ourselves entirely to the Divine Will. We are sometimes required to lay our natural, lawful affections on the altar."

And so she went to Snowfield, and again "spread the matter before the Lord," but the answer seems to have been less clearly intimated than before. She stayed there until Adam could rest no longer without seeing her. He resolved to go and learn her decision. When they met, Dinah spoke first. "Adam," she said, "it is the Divine Will. My soul is so knit to yours that it is but a divided life I live without you. And this moment now you are with me, and I feel that our hearts are filled with the same love, I have a fulness of strength to bear and do our heavenly Father's will that I had lost before."

Mrs. Poyser once said to Dinah, in answer to her assertion that she did not preach "without direction."—"Direction! I know very well what you mean by direction. When there's a



bigger maggot than usual in your head, you call it 'direction.'" Certain scoffers will perhaps maleiciously inquire whether the "direction" under which Dinah rejected Seth and gave herself to Adam is not susceptible of Mrs. Poyser's interpretation—whether, in short, she was not simply giving through her imagination an objective shape to her own feelings and will. We are not disposed to argue with such sceptics, if such there be. We only wish more of our women acted under such "direction" as Dinah did. If in exchange for *their* crinoline they could get *her* Christianity, their "emancipation," of which so much has been said of late, might not be far off.

One of the chief qualifications of an able historian or biographer is the large-heartedness which enables him to accord a cordial recognition to opinions and formulæ of faith differing from each other and from his own, without himself lapsing into indifference. This catholic spirit is constantly manifested by Mr. Eliot, and especially with reference to religious doctrine. He nowhere obtrudes his own convictions; but, hazarding a conjecture, we think we see indications that he regards the numerous theological creeds, about which the clerical mind has so long disputed, as being only shells of different shape and colour, enclosing the fruit of the religious spirit common to the human race, or as so many mental structures which in less successive metamorphoses man forms and afterwards casts off. At all events, whether this conjecture be correct or not, it is certain that our author shows a genuine sympathetic appreciation of the religious notions of Adam Bede, who, in a rough chaotic sort of way, is a free-thinker without knowing it; of the Broad Church doctrines of Mr. Irwine, the generous comfort-loving rector of Hayslope; of the intense evangelicalism of his successor, Mr. Ryde; and especially of the ardent Wesleyanism of Dinah Morris. It may be that we exaggerate somewhat in implying that our author sympathized much with Mr. Ryde; it would be more correct, possibly, to say that he appreciated such worth as was in him. But, as in cases of doubtful interpretation, it is best to see the original, we will quote it:—

"Perhaps you think Mr. Irwine was not, as he ought to have been, a living demonstration of the benefit attached to a national church? But I am not sure of that; at least I know that the people in Broxton and Hayslope would have been very sorry to part with their clergyman, and that most faces brightened at his approach; and until it can be proved that hatred is a better thing for the soul than love, I must believe that Mr. Irwine's influence in his parish was a more wholesome one than that of the zealous Mr. Ryde, who came there twenty years afterwards, when Mr. Irwine had been gathered to his fathers. It is true Mr. Ryde insisted strongly on the doctrines of the Reformation, visited his flock a great deal in their own homes, and

was severe in rebuking the aberrations of the flesh, put a stop, indeed, to the Christmas rounds of the church singers, as promoting drunkenness and too light a handling of sacred things. But I gathered from Adam Bede, to whom I talked of these matters in his old age, that few clergymen could be less successful in winning the hearts of their parishioners than Mr. Ryde. They gathered a great many notions about doctrine from him, so that almost every church-goer under fifty began to distinguish as well between the genuine gospel and what did not come precisely up to that standard, as if he had been born and bred a dissenter; and for some time after his arrival there seemed to be quite a religious movement in that quiet rural district. 'But,' said Adam, 'I've seen pretty clear ever since I was a young un, as religion's something else besides notions. It isn't notions sets people doing the right thing—it's feelings.' \* \* \* 'Somehow the congregation began to fall off, and people began to speak light o' Mr. Ryde. I believe he meant right at bottom; but you see he was sourish-tempered, and was for beating down prices with the people as worked for him; and his preaching wouldn't go down well with that sauce. \* \* \* Mr. Ryde was a deal thought on at a distance, I believe, and he wrote books; but as for mathematics and the nature o' things, he was as ignorant as a woman. He was very knowing about doctrines, and used to call 'em the bulwarks of the Reformation; but I've always mistrusted that sort o' learning as leaves folks foolish and unreasonable about business. \* \* \* Nobody has ever heard me say Mr. Irwine was much of a preacher. He didn't go into deep speritual experience; and I know there's a deal in a man's inward life as you can't measure by the square, and say, "do this, and that'll follow;" and "do that, and this'll follow." There's things go on in the soul, and times when feelings come into you like a rushing mighty wind, as the Scripture says, and part your life in two a'most, so as you look back on yourself as if you was somebody else. Those are things as you can't bottle up in a "do this" and "do that;" and I'll go so far with the strongest Methodist ever you'll find. That shows me there's deep speritual things in religion. You can't make much out wi' talking about it, but you feel it. Mr. Irwine didn't go into those things: he preached short moral sermons, and that was all. But then he acted pretty much up to what he said; he didn't set up for being so different from other folks one day, and then be as like 'em as two peas the next. And he made folks love him and respect him; and that was better nor stirring up their gall wi' being over busy. Mrs. Poyser used to say—you know she would have her word about everything—she said Mr. Irwine was like a good meal o' victual, you were the better for him without thinking on it; and Mr. Ryde was like a dose o' physick, he griped you, and worreted you, and after all he left you much the same."

We incline to think that the author has allowed his feelings to influence him in giving Adam's comments at such length: In conversation it might have been all very well to quote Mrs. Poyser's sarcastic opinion of the relative merits of the two rectors

but to print it, looks, we must confess, very much like a little sly maliciousness, and scarcely becomes the grave historian. That he has a certain weakness for Mr. Irwine is evident from the following passage, in which he apologizes for his failings, and defends him from the aspersions of Mr. Rœe, the "travelling preacher:"—

"He really had no very lofty aims, no theological enthusiasm: if I were closely questioned, I should be obliged to confess, that he felt no serious alarms about the souls of his parishioners, and would have thought it a mere loss of time to talk in a doctrinal and awakening manner to old 'Feyther Taft,' or even to Chad Cranage, the blacksmith. If he had been in the habit of speaking theoretically, he would, perhaps, have said that the only healthy form religion could take in such minds, was that of certain dim but strong emotions, suffusing themselves as a hallowing influence over the family affections and neighbourly duties. He thought the custom of baptism more important than its doctrine, and that the religious benefits the peasant drew from the church where his fathers worshipped, and the sacred piece of turf where they lay buried, were but slightly dependent on a clear understanding of the Liturgy or the sermon. Clearly, the rector was not what is called in these days an 'earnest' man: he was fonder of church history than of divinity, and had much more insight into men's characters than interest in their opinions; he was neither laborious, nor absolutely self-denying, nor very copious in alms-giving, and his theology, you perceive, was lax. His mental palate, indeed, was rather pagan, and found a savouriness in a quotation from Sophocles or Theocritus that was quite absent from any text in Isaiah or Amos. But if you feed your young sotter on raw flesh, how can you wonder at its retaining a relish for uncooked partridge in after-life? and Mr. Irwine's recollections of young enthusiasm and ambition were all associated with poetry and ethics that lay aloof from the Bible.

"On the other hand, I must plead—for I have an affectionate partiality towards the rector's memory—that he was not vindictive, and some philanthropists have been so; that he was not intolerant—and there is a rumour that some zealous theologians have not been altogether free from that blemish; that although he would probably have declined to give his body to be burned in any public cause, and was far from bestowing all his goods to feed the poor, he had that charity which has sometimes been lacking to very illustrious virtue—he was tender to other men's failings, and unwilling to impute evil."

Notwithstanding the implacable enmity evinced by Mr. Bartle Massey towards all womankind, we confess to a decided liking for him. As the schoolmaster of Hayslope, he was looked up to as a profound genius; he certainly discharged his duties with the enthusiasm which belongs to genius; and, though he resolutely refused any room in his heart for the love of woman, it was not wanting in generosity and cordial sympathy for his friend Adam

when in trouble. In fact, bearing in mind that his early life was wholly unknown to Mr. Eliot, and that when speaking to Mr. Irwine of Adam's love for Hetty, he let drop incidentally that he had been a fool himself in his time, it seems not improbable that his feminine antipathies were but an indication how fervently he had once loved, and how cruel had been his disappointment. With this preliminary, we will just look in upon him as he entered the kitchen after leaving the school-room for the day. His friend Adam was with him.

"A faint whimpering began in the chimney corner, and a brown-and-tan-coloured bitch, of that wise-looking breed with short legs and long body, known to an unmechanical generation as turn-spits, came creeping along the floor, wagging her tail, and hesitating at every other step, as if her affections were painfully divided between the hamper in the chimney corner and the master, whom she could not leave without a greeting.

"'Well, Vixen, well then, how are the babbies?' said the schoolmaster \* \* \* holding the candle over the low hamper. \* \* \* Vixen could not even see her master look at them without painful excitement: she got into the hamper and got out again the next moment, and behaved with true feminine folly. \* \* \*

"'Why you've got a family, I see, Mr. Massey,' said Adam, smiling. 'How's that? I thought it was against the law here.'

"'Law! What's the use o' law when a man's once such a fool as to let a woman into his house?' said Bartle. \* \* \* He always called Vixen a woman, and seemed to have lost all consciousness that he was using a figure of speech. \* \* \* 'And now you see what she's brought me to—the sly, hypocritical wench—and contrived to be brought to bed on a Sunday at church-time. I've wished again and again I'd been a bloody-minded man, that I could have strangled the mother and brats with one cord.'"

Bartle prepared supper for himself and Adam; and they both sat down. "But," said Bartle, rising from his chair again,

"'I must give Vixen her supper, too, confound her! though she do nothing with it but nourish those unnecessary babbies. That's the way with these women—they've got no headpieces to nourish, and so their food all runs either to fat or to brats.'"

Bartle continued in a bitter misogynic strain, especially with reference to the women of the Hall Farm, when Adam put in a word for them, and added his opinion of the value of a wife\* to a working man:—

"'Nonsense!' exclaimed Bartle; 'it's the silliest lie a sensible man like you ever believed, to say a woman makes a house comfortable. It's a story got up because the women are there, and something must be found for 'm to do. I tell you, there isn't a thing under the sun that needs to be done at all, but what a man can do better than a woman, unless it's bearing children, and they do that in a poor make-

shift way; it had better ha' been left to the men. I tell you, a woman 'ull bake you a pie every week of her life, and never come to see that the hotter th' oven the shorter the time. I tell you, a woman 'ull make your porridge every day for twenty years, and never think of measuring the proportion between the meal and the milk—a little more or less, she'll think, doesn't signify: the porridge *will* be awk'ard now and then: if it's wrong, it's summat in the meal, or it's summat in the milk, or it's summat in the water.' ”

When Adam went away he accompanied him to the gate, and having watched him till he disappeared in the darkness, he turned to his only domestic companion, saying—

“ ‘Well, well, Vixen, you foolish wench, what is it, what is it? I must go in, must I? Ay, ay; I'm never to have a will o' my own any more. And those pups, what do you think I'm to do with 'em when they're twice as big as you? \* \* \* But where's the use of talking to a woman with babbies?’ continued Bartle, ‘she's got no conscience—no conscience—it's all run to milk.’ ”

Mrs. Poyser is one of the most original characters Mr. Eliot has portrayed. Some faint idea of her sterling common sense, piercing insight, and caustic humour, may be obtained from the few of her sayings that can be isolated from the context, but a just conception of her is only to be had by studying her in her everyday life as mistress of the Hall Farm. We commend her judicious observations on marriage to all whom they may concern:—

“ ‘Ah,’ she would say, ‘it's all very fine having a ready-made rich man, but may-happen he'll be a ready-made fool, and it's no use filling your pocket full of money if you've got a hole in the corner. It'll do you no good to sit in a spring-cart o' your own, if you've got a soft to drive you; he'll soon turn you over into the ditch. I allays said I'd never marry a man as had got no brains; for where's the use of a woman having brains of her own if she's tackled to a geck as everybody's a laughing at? She might as well dress herself fine to sit back'ards on a donkey.’ ”

Mrs. Poyser's objection to late marriages is perhaps equally worthy of attention:—

“ ‘I am no friend,’ said Mr. Poyser, ‘to young fellows a-marr'ing afore they know the difference atween a crab an' a apple; but they may wait o'er long.’ ”

“ ‘To be sure,’ replied his wife, ‘if you go past your dinner-time, there'll be little relish o' your meat. You turn it o'er an' o'er wi' your fork, an' don't eat it after all. You find faut wi' your meat, and the faut's all i' your own stomach.’ ”

The existence of old bachelors Mrs. Poyser accounted for by the following ingenious theory:—

“ ‘Yes,’ said she, ‘I know what the men like—a poor soft, as 'ud

simper at 'em, like the pictur' o' the sun, whether they did right or wrong, and say thank you for a kick, and pretend she didna know which end she stood uppermost till her husband told her. That's what a man wants in a wife mostly; he wants to make sure o' one fool as 'll tell him he's wise. But there's some men can do without that—they think so much o' themselves a'ready; an' that's how it is there's old bachelors.' ”

Her estimate of Mr. Craig, Squire Donithorne's gardener, who was perhaps somewhat given to *over-estimate* himself [he was a bachelor], is highly characteristic:—

“‘For my part I think he's welly like a cock as thinks the sun rose o' purpose to hear him crow.’ ”

At the harvest supper the conversation ran rather high, as it will do on such occasions, and that misogynist, Bartle Massey, provoked Mrs. Poyser by expressing his opinion a little too openly.

“‘Ah,’ said he, sneeringly, ‘the women are quick enough—they're quick enough. They know the rights of a story before they hear it, and can tell a man what his thoughts are before he knows 'em himself.’ ”

“‘Like enough,’ said Mrs. Poyser; ‘for the men are mostly so slow, their thoughts overrun 'em, an' they can only catch 'em by the tail. I can count a stocking-top while a man's getting 's tongue ready; an' when he outs wi' his speech at last, there's little broth to be made on't. It's your dead chicks take the longest hatchin'. However, I'm not denyin' the women are foolish: God Almighty made 'em to match the men.’ ”

Leaving Mrs. Poyser, it is worth while to linger a little over the happy characterization, discriminating comment, and judicious opinions of the historian of Hayslope, Mr. Eliot himself. How admirably the stupid apathy of the peasantry is hit off in the following extract from the description of the gathering to hear Dinah preach:—

“Now and then there was a new arrival; perhaps a slouching labourer, who, having eaten his supper, came out to look at the unusual scene *with a slow bovine gaze*, willing to hear what any one had to say of it, but by no means excited enough to ask a question.”

This is only equalled by a like simile made use of by a non-dancing friend of ours when in a ball-room. Looking on the couples whirling past him, he said to a companion, “I feel like a cow looking at an express-train.”

We imagine that the experience of our readers will assure them that the class of women typified by Lisbeth did not become extinct when she died. She is thus portrayed:—

“Women who are never bitter and resentful are often the most querulous; and if Solomon was as wise as he is reputed to be, I feel sure that when he compared a contentious woman to a continual

dropping on a very rainy day, he had not a vixen in his eye—a fury with long nails, acrid, and selfish. Depend upon it; he meant a good creature, who had no joy but in the happiness of the loved ones whom she contributed to make uncomfortable, putting by all the tit-bits for them, and spending nothing on herself. Such a woman as Lisbeth, for example, at once patient and complaining, self-renouncing and exacting, brooding the live-long day over what happened yesterday, and what is likely to happen to-morrow, and crying very readily both at the good and the evil.”

The mysterious blending of antagonistic elements in human character is beautifully indicated:—

“Family likeness has often a deep sadness in it. Nature, that great tragic dramatist, knits us together by bone and muscle, and divides us by the subtler web of our brains; blends yearning and repulsion; and ties us by our heart-strings to the beings that jar us at every movement. We hear a voice with the very cadence of our own uttering the thoughts we despise; we see eyes—ah! so like our mother’s—averted from us in cold alienation; and our lost darling child startles us with the air and gestures of the sister we parted from in bitterness long years ago. The father to whom we owe our best heritage—the mechanical instinct, the keen sensibility to harmony, the unconscious skill of the modelling hand—galls us, and puts us to shame by daily errors; the long-lost mother, whose face we begin to see in the glass as our own wrinkles come, once fretted our young souls with her anxious humours and irrational persistence.”

In reply to his idealistic friend, who cannot see the good of taking pains to give an exact likeness of old women and clowns, and who has no sympathy with low phases of life and with clumsy, ugly people, Mr. Eliot makes the following admirable remarks.—

“But bless me, things may be loveable that are not altogether handsome, I hope? I am not at all sure that the majority of the human race have not been ugly, and even among those ‘lords of their kind,’ the British, squat figures, ill-shapen nostrils, and dingy complexions, are not startling exceptions. Yet there is a great deal of family love amongst us. I have a friend or two whose class of features is such that the Apollo curl on the summit of their brows would be decidedly trying; yet to my certain knowledge tender hearts have beaten for them, and their miniatures—flattering, but still not lovely—are kissed in secret by motherly lips. I have seen many an excellent matron who could never in her best days have been handsome, and yet she had a packet of yellow love-letters in a private drawer, and sweet children showered kisses on her sallow cheeks. And I believe there have been plenty of young heroes, of middle stature and feeble beards, who have felt quite sure they could never love anything more insignificant than a Diana, and yet have found themselves in middle life happily settled with a wife who waddles. Yes! thank God, human

feeling is like the mighty rivers that bless the earth ; it does not wait for beauty—it flows with resistless force, and brings beauty with it. All honour and reverence to the divine beauty of form ! let us cultivate it to the utmost in men, women, and children, in our gardens and in our houses, but let us love that other beauty, too, which lies in no secret of proportion, but in the secret of deep human sympathy. Paint us an angel, if you can, with a floating violet robe, and a face paled by the celestial light ; paint us yet oftener a Madonna, turning her mild face upward, and opening her arms to welcome the divine glory ; but do not impose on us any æsthetic rules which shall banish from the regions of art those old women scraping carrots with their work-worn hands, those heavy clowns taking holiday in a dingy pot-house, those rounded backs and stupid weather-beaten faces that have bent over the spade and done the rough work of the world—those homes with their tin pans, their brown pitchers, their rough curs, and their clusters of onions. In this world there are so many of these common, coarse people, who have no picturesque sentimental wretchedness ! It is so needful we should remember their existence, else we may happen to leave them quite out of our religion and philosophy, and frame lofty theories which only fit a world of extremes.”

Our remaining extracts shall consist of passages in which different aspects of the master-passion are painted with a master's hand. The following is an account of the first meeting of Arthur and Hetty in the wood :—

“They were alone together for the first time. What an overpowering presence that first privacy is ! He actually dared not look at this little butter-maker for the first minute or two. As for Hetty, her feet rested on a cloud, and she was borne along by warm zephyrs ; she had forgotten her rose-coloured ribbons ; she was no more conscious of her limbs than if her childish soul had passed into a water-lily, resting on a liquid bed and warmed by the midsummer sunbeams. \* \* \* Hetty lifted her long dewy lashes, and met the eyes that were bent towards her with a sweet, timid, beseeching look. What a space of time those three moments were, while their eyes met and his arm touched her ! Love is such a simple thing when we have only one-and-twenty summers and a sweet girl of seventeen trembles under our glance, as if she were a bud first opening her heart with wondering rapture to the morning. Such young unfurrowed souls roll to meet each other like two velvet peaches that touch softly and are at rest ; they mingle as easily as two brooklets that ask for nothing, but to entwine themselves, and ripple with ever-interlacing curves in the leafiest hiding-places.”

The mystery of expression in the human countenance elicits this admirable sentence, illustrative of Hetty's face :—

“It had a language that transcended her feelings. There are faces which nature charges with a meaning and pathos not belonging to the single human soul that flutters beneath them, but speaking the



joys and sorrows of foregone generations—eyes that tell of deep love, which doubtless has been, and is somewhere, but not paired with these eyes—perhaps paired with pale eyes that can say nothing; just as a national language may be instinct with poetry unfelt by the lips that use it.”

Referring to Adam's love for Dinah, Mr. Eliot thus expresses his opinion of “our later love:”—

“Adam could not sit down to his reading again, and he sauntered along by the brook and stood leaning against the stiles, with eager, intense eyes, which looked as if they saw something very vividly; but it was not the brook or the willows, not the fields or the sky. Again and again his vision was intercepted by wonder at the strength of his own feelings, and the strength and sweetness of this new love—almost like the wonder a man feels at the added power he finds in himself for an art which he had laid aside for a space. How is it that the poets have said so many fine things about our first love, so few about our later love? Are their first poems their best? or are not those the best which come from their fuller thought, their larger experience, their deeper-rooted affections? The boy's flute-like voice has its own spring charm, but the man should yield a richer, deeper music.”

We have seldom read a book in which we could find so few faults as are detectable in *Adam Bede*. There is perhaps a little too much minute description and detail here and there, especially in the account of the harvest supper. This, however, is a fault leaning to virtue's side. Dutch pictures are always valuable, and their faithful realism is infinitely preferable to those products of “high art,” in which all individuality of character is merged into vague, expressionless, and generalized human faces, evincing no particular attribute, and presumed therefore to comprehend all. The introduction of the supernatural incident on the night when Thias Bede was drowned is, in our opinion, a disfigurement.

We doubt the artistic fidelity of making Captain Donnithorne gallop up the street of Stoniton with a reprieve in his hand at the very time when Hetty is actually on her way to the scaffold: this seems to us in the style of a dramatic trick. We think, too, that the history is brought to a close too abruptly. The reader longs to know somewhat of the fate of Hetty during those dreary years of transportation, as well as the circumstances of her death. It would also be a satisfaction to him to be informed of the chief events of Captain Donnithorne's life after his return to Hayslope. But we suppose the author wrote under the inexorable condition of filling three volumes of the stereotyped size, and of not exceeding them. If so, he has doubtless exercised a wise discretion in determining what to publish and what to withhold.

We speak of the author as of the masculine gender, but the delicate appreciation of feminine feeling conveyed in this ques-

tion—"What woman was ever satisfied with apparent neglect, even when she knows it is the mask of love?" would alone suffice to make us sceptical as to whether *George Eliot* ever wrote it. Not this sentence only, however, but many scattered throughout the work display such an acute and subtle perception and delineation of the affections and of the countless ways in which they manage to express themselves while eluding even the most vigilant of *man-kind*, that we are forced over and over again to doubt whether, after all, *George Eliot* is a real person. The more we think of the description of *Hetty*, the more this feeling strengthens. It may be alleged that as she is typical of thousands of her sex her portrait may be easily drawn. Perhaps so, as she appears in ordinary life, but not, we think, when exposed to the terrible trials and overtaken by the cruel fate under which she sank. Given an exquisitely beautiful creature, vain, ignorant, and entirely wrapped up in herself, as *Hetty* was, it may be easy to conceive what a power such a man as *Captain Donnithorne* would readily obtain over her; how wholly she would trust his seductive assurances, and give herself into his hands; how her vanity would be stimulated by the attentions of a lover whose rank was far above her own; how the hope of becoming a fine lady—wearing silks, satins, and jewels, and riding in her own carriage—seemed to her like a distant view of *Elysium*, and even that admirable scene in her bedchamber, when she secretly feasts her self-love by dressing herself to look like the picture of a lady in *Miss Donnithorne's* dressing-room, might be imagined without much difficulty; but after *Captain Donnithorne* has deserted her, after she finds "the hidden dread" is growing into an appalling reality, which forbids her marriage with *Adam*, to whom she had engaged herself, her life enters on a phase which, as it seems to us, could only be delineated as it is by an author combining the intense feelings and sympathies of a woman with the conceptive power of artistic genius.

A character built up from the firm foundations of native sagacity and an indomitable sense of justice as is that of *Adam Bede*, or developed from the loose material constituting the good-intentioned, but weak, vacillating, and self-indulgent mind of *Captain Donnithorne*, or moulded and directed by an informing and ever-present influence—an unfaltering religious faith, as was *Dinah's*, is, in our opinion, far more easy to understand and describe, than it is to track the devious course of a wayward creature like *Hetty* throughout the latter part of her career. The more completely a mind is directed by unreasoning impulses and seeming caprice, the more difficult it becomes to imagine its probable action under extraordinary circumstances, and the more entirely is the artist compelled to trust his instinct or genius for

guidance. This trust is manifest to us in the description of the poor, stricken, helpless Hetty during her journey to Windsor, of her fitful, aimless wanderings and return to Stoniton, of her struggles between her impulses to drown herself and her intense horror of death, of the abandonment of her child, her mental attitude during her trial, and especially the last scene in prison, when her death-like impenetrability is at length overcome by Dinah's deep and effective sympathy.

But the hypothesis that the book is written by a woman is beset with even greater difficulties than is the belief in George Eliot. Few perhaps have greater faith in woman, and in what she may accomplish than we have; but how many women are there of this generation who combine the breadth, depth, and justness of thought, the genuine catholic spirit of religion—freed from all verbal formulæ, the vigorous imagination which fashions its creations with the unity and minute accuracy of detail that belong to organic growths, the wit, humour, and rich poetic feeling, and the admirable simplicity and lucidity of exposition, which distinguish the author of *Adam Bede*. Considering the weighty reasons on either side, we find it difficult to determine from internal evidence whether the work is the product of a man or woman. But while pronouncing no decisive opinion on this point, we may remark, that the union of the best qualities of the masculine and feminine intellect is as rare as it is admirable; that it is a distinguishing characteristic of the most gifted artists and poets; and that to ascribe it to the author of *Adam Bede* is to accord the highest praise we can bestow.



#### ART. VII.—DE LAMENNAIS : HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS.

1. *Œuvres Complètes de F. De Lamennais*,<sup>1</sup> Paris. Paul Daubree et Cailleux, Editeurs. Rue Vivienne. 1836-7.
2. *Œuvres Posthumes de F. De Lamennais, publiées selon le vœu de l'auteur*. Par E. D. Forgues. Paris. 1857-8.

**A**N eminently practical age may occasionally turn, if but for relaxation from the severity or the monotony of its favourite pursuits, to the contemplation of the lives and labours of men, who chose speculative subjects as the serious business of their existence, and laboured with unflagging and almost barren dili-

gence to extract truth from political and theological discussions. The late Abbé De Lamennais was peculiarly such a man. Honest and able, yet in the beginning of his career imbued with the inevitable and excusable political and religious prejudices of a Breton and of a Catholic, his early creed consisted in believing the Bourbons necessary to the political constitution, not of France only, but of Europe, and the Catholic religion the only faith that could satisfy the spiritual wants of mankind. But he had the courage to confess himself mistaken, nor did he remain consistent to the close of his life in political bigotry and religious intolerance. He deliberately sacrificed peace of mind and worldly prosperity to his altered convictions, for moral cowardice was not among his weaknesses, nor worldly ambition among his vices.

The cast of his mind was essentially polemical, and he revelled in political, but especially in theological discussion, so that the opinions or the faith which most men are content to maintain in the recesses of their own hearts and consciences, were to him the fruitful sources of innumerable disquisitions. He was one of many who have existed at a period scarcely suited to their tastes, fitted to develop their talents usefully. He might have been eminent among the fathers of the Church, had he lived in the times wherein flourished the lights of patristic theology; he might have rivalled the eloquence of Chrysostom, or might have crushed beneath a weight of eloquent words the heterodoxy of Tertullian or the heresies of Pelagius; but as an ardent and honest Catholic, he affronted the selfishness of the Gallican clergy, and astonished the Pope and the Sacred College by the sincerity of his faith and the strength of his convictions. They were amazed and troubled to find a man of the first controversial capacity who regarded religion as a sacred conviction, and by no means as a policy, and who was desirous it should appeal to the nation on its intrinsic merits, in the full confidence that the truth could only be injured by an alliance with political influence, or the snares of an extensive patronage. When he found that those who occupied the high places of the Church neither shared the honesty of his motives nor the strength of his convictions, but that the hard and crooked wisdom of the serpent governed their councils, without any vestige of the confiding innocence of the dove, he renounced his early delusions with sorrow and with scorn, and professed to see no hope for mankind, but in a combined effort of the masses to throw off the political bondage and brute ignorance under which they had herded so long, and dreamed that from the midst of a political millennium so constituted, might emerge a pure and earnest religious faith.

Felix or Felicité De Lamennais, the youngest of three children,

was born in 1782, at St. Malos, in Brittany; his father, Pierre Louis Robert De Lamennais, was a wealthy merchant of a family long settled in that place, and noted, according to local tradition, for strength of character and tenacity of purpose. Unfortunately for himself and his family, he received from Louis XVI., in 1788, a patent of nobility, and assumed the title of De Lameinnais from a small property situate in the parish of Trigavoux, Côtes du Nord. This unlucky patent cost him the greater part of his fortune in the Revolution which burst forth in the following year. Of his youngest son, Felicité, there are very few incidents preserved connected with childhood, nor did he himself ever assist his friends by his own reminiscences, for, as his latest biographer and editor observes, he was ever disposed to look forward rather than backwards.

In 1796, when in his fourteenth year, he accompanied his father to Paris during the rule of the Directory; and the general liberty, and more particularly the universal jubilee of an emancipated press, quite astonished at its own freedom, seems to have made a strong impression upon the boy, increased probably when recalled in after days, by the speedy eclipse of that which had rather been license than rational liberty. Even thus early the literary propensity declared itself, and he intimated that some of his lucubrations were at that time inserted in one or other of the short-lived journals of the day, though he did not indicate them specially—most probably in some of the various Royalist feuilletons then established, to recall, if possible, French loyalty to the house of Bourbon—such as *Le Thé*, conducted by Bertin d'Antilly; *Les Actes des Apôtres*, by Barruel-Bauvert, *Le Miroir*, by Sourguieres et Beaulieu, or *Le Messager de Soir*, by J. Langlois.

He had been educated by his father in the traditionary loyalty of Brittany, a feeling further strengthened by the merciless and revolting cruelty of the Jacobins in that recusant province, for no name in the catalogue of terrorist ruffians is more execrable than Carrier's. The Catholic faith, equally proscribed, shared, with royalty, the boy's early reverence; and in late years he recalled how in those evil days the family stealthily assembled in a garret to hear mass, before a table in place of an altar, on which two candles were kept burning. He never seems to have received any regular scholastic education, but was fortunate in the possession of a maternal uncle, Robert de Sandrais, whose literary cultivation is attested by translations of writings so contrasted, as Horace and the Book of Job. By this relative, to whose instruction he owed much, his bias towards absolutism in government and to the Church of Rome was additionally confirmed, for not only was Sandrais, like nearly all Bretons, a Jacobin hater,

but he was also a professed opponent of the freethinkers in matters of religion, against whom he had entered the lists, and had confronted Diderot and Voltaire by the publication of an orthodox satire, called the "Good Curate." It was at La Chenaile, on the borders of the forest of Coetquen, in Brittany, that F. De Lamennais and his elder brother Jean retired to pursue, under their uncle's auspices, with all the ardour of his character, somewhat multifarious and irregular studies. The old note-books and papers which he then used are partly preserved, and while their contents attest the extent of his reading, the coarse blue paper and yellowish ink bear witness to the imperfection of the local manufacture.

A translation of the "Œdipus Tyrannus;" a long extract from Viger's work on the principal Greek idioms; a table of Greek conjugations; the plan or sketch of an Arabic grammar; remarks on the mutation of points in masculine Hebrew nouns, &c., seem to indicate that his early objective tendencies were decidedly philological. His faculties, however, were not entirely absorbed in the pursuit of knowledge, and his zeal in behalf of the outraged and humiliated Church of Rome, kindled by the example of his brother, who always remained a zealous Catholic, and rose to some preferment, was evidenced in his first work, which appeared in 1808, and which, according to the evidence of the able Manet, who knew both the brothers intimately at that time, was their joint production. It is entitled "Reflections on the State of the Church in France during the Eighteenth Century, and on its present condition." This book, for no very obvious reason, and notwithstanding a marked compliment to the reigning emperor which it contained, was seized by the police, and suppressed. It recognises the Pope as the unquestioned head of the Catholic Church throughout all the world, France included, a proposition distasteful possibly to the imperial Government, from the thralldom of which he was desirous to see it rescued, for as he long afterwards remarked, with epigrammatic force, in another work, in speaking of the state of the Church after the Revolution in July, 1830, "the slavery of the Church was legally the same as under a man (Napoleon I.) who excelled in the art of oppressing everything that he took under his protection." Read in these days, and by the light of the author's subsequent change of opinion, many of the doctrines enunciated in the "Reflections," &c., seem slavish and superstitious; but the young and enthusiastic Breton, reared in solitude, unread in impartial history, ignorant of the world, knew nothing of the machinery of Church government at head-quarters; to him it appeared as an ancient, august faith, persecuted for its virtues; nor could he realize how much that Church had, by its habitual deference to

despotism in government, and by its bigoted cruelty, consummated the wrongs of the people, and justified the Revolution; the sufferings of the Calas family, and the equally hideous cruelty at Abbeville, had only reached him in a form which made them appear but as justifiable severity.

De Lamennais must in his late years have re-called with anything but satisfaction such a passage as the following, which appears in the "Reflexions sur l'état de l'Eglise, &c." of 1808:—

"Son état (of the Church of Rome) ici bas est un état d'épreuve; elle le sait; mais elle sait aussi qu'elle ne succombera jamais. Si des combats lui sont annoncés, la victoire lui est promise; et la passé à cet égard lui repond de l'avenir. Fille du ciel et rebut de la terre, comme son divin fondateur, il n'est un seul instant de sa durée où Dieu ne manifeste d'une manière sensible sa protection sur elle, et on l'aperçoit la main toute puissante qui la defend contre les attaques de ses ennemis, la protege contre la foiblesse de ses propres enfans, et la porte, comme en triomphe, à travers les siècles, dans le sein de cette éternité qui doit être son partage."

Again he must have found his subsequent democratic opinions strongly in contrast with his earlier expressions:—

"Les reformateurs du seizième siècle saperent à la fois les fondemens de l'ordre religieux et de l'ordre social. Ils etablirent l'anarchie en principe dans l'église et dans l'état, en attribuant la souveraineté au peuple, et à chaque particulier le droit de juger de la foi."—Vol. vi. p. 6. (Collected Works, 1836.)

Apropos to the appearance of the "Reflexions, &c." the latest editor, M. E. D. Fergues, writing only last year at Paris, has a passage which, considering its present applicability, would seem to indicate more of freedom in the French press than is generally supposed to be the case, at least in England. Judging by a letter written to one of his relations, dated February 26, 1815, De Lamennais does not seem to have improved his very moderate worldly circumstances by his devotion to the church, which he seems to have formally entered in 1812; he was still in the provincial solitude of Brittany, and speaks of his income as amounting to only fifteen or twenty pounds a-year, while he announced his intention of retiring to one of the colonies in the hope of bettering his fortunes. On the return of Napoleon from Elba, on the 20th of March, 1815, he quitted Brittany for Guernsey, where he assumed the name of Patrick Robertson, for some months. Some portion of his exile was, however, passed in England, where he sought employment as a family tutor, and according to an historiette which finds acceptance with more than one biographer, was rejected on his first application by an English lady, who required a master for her son, on account of his mean and insignificant exterior. Notwithstanding his love of

liberty he does not seem to have acquired by contact a more favourable opinion of England and Englishmen (one excepted) than most other foreigners who have landed among us with no better resource than their talents and acquirements.

The exception alluded to was a young Englishman of moderate station, ordinary talents, and with a soft and amiable, if somewhat secretly selfish character, by name Henry Moorman, whom he is supposed to have met at the house of Mrs. Jerningham, at Kensington, to whose son he was tutor. Their correspondence, extending from January 1st, 1816, to October 7, 1818, is all that remains to guide us in estimating the character of Moorman, whose early death seems to have affected De Lamennais more deeply than any other event of his life. Moorman had been strongly urged by his friend to embrace the Roman Catholic faith, which was of course as strongly opposed by the young man's friends, and in the letters we find much of that vacillation and irresolution which seems to have been natural to Moorman's character, but which was excusable enough on an occasion when he was contemplating a step calculated to compromise him with his friends, and to mar his worldly prosperity. Though no man was better calculated to make proselytes than De Lamennais, partly from the sincerity and strength of his convictions, and partly from his great dialectical power, he would by no means countenance anything like clandestine proceedings on Moorman's part, but advised him to reason with his friends; the young man, however, had scarcely sufficient resolution to encounter social martyrdom, but after an internal struggle, fled from London, and reached Paris, where he formally embraced Catholicism. De Lamennais was then in Brittany, but the proselyte was received by the Abbé Carron, whom he had known in London as almoner to his distressed and exiled countrymen, on behalf of the Bourbon princes, and by M. Teyssiere, director of the school of St. Sulpice. His friends, however, discovered his place of retreat, urging his return; and Carron, who seems to have been a sensible and honest man, recommended him to comply, on condition that he was allowed the unfettered exercise of his new creed. Ultimately he returned to England, greatly to the disappointment of De Lamennais, and died on the 19th of November 1818. M. E. Forgues dwells upon this short and obscure episode, because it seems to have exerted considerable influence on De Lamennais, whose friendship was in this instance singularly warm, as he seems to have made a kind of idol (*il fit une sorte d'idole*) of one whose character and position were in no respect remarkable.

Under the auspices of the abbé Carron, De Lamennais, shortly after his return to Paris, at the close of the year 1815, had been established in the small community of the Feuillantines, situate



at No. 12 in the street or lane of that name; here he was received with much respect and kindness by certain faithful, old-fashioned royalist ladies, who enjoyed small pensions from the restored government on account of losses incurred by their obstinate loyalty; many of his published letters were subsequently addressed to one or other of these ladies; and even when in his later years he had outraged their strongest prejudices, by the rejection of his former political and religious creeds, these good women still retained their regard for one, whom they had known sufficiently well, to appreciate justly. Many of the leading Parisian clergy were in the habit of visiting this small and unpretending establishment, partly from the respect with which they were uniformly received by its loyal and pious inmates, and partly on account of the influence which the Abbé Carron was known to possess with the highest political and ecclesiastical persons; these visitors were principally of the ultramontane and Jesuit party, and already the decided opinions, and powerful abilities of De Lamennais were becoming influential, and both inmates and visitors became his declared partisans.

The dignity and importance of the priesthood, and its independence of the civil power, were at this period of his life one of his strongest persuasions; but though the companion of Jesuits and Carlists, he was an honest and conscientious ultramontanist; regarding the Pope in all sincerity as the infallible and inspired medium for declaring God's will on earth, he would have allowed no question of policy or expediency to interfere between him and the clergy of a Church of which he was everywhere the head; he honestly believed that between profession and practice there must be some agreement, and that men whose duty it was to preach peace, good-will, and charity, were themselves animated by these feelings; thus one of the most honest men that ever lived became for a time the apostle of that Fideism, which usurps everywhere the attributes and the influence of true religion; that is, faith not in the justice and wisdom of the Supreme Intelligence, but in the professions of an erring, intolerant, time-serving body of men, who usurp functions for which they have no peculiar fitness.

It was this spirit that animated the work which he next published, entitled "Essay on Indifference in Matters of Religion," the first volume of which had great success, and his reputation and influence in the religious world were much increased by it, and by the numerous contributions having a similar tendency which he sent to the "Conservateur." The second volume was scarcely so well received, and his book entitled the "Progress of the Revolution," which came out in 1820, raised a storm of abuse from the whole body of the French

clergy. In it De Lamennais does not scruple to attack Louis XIV., his spiritual adviser, Bossuet, and the Articles of 1684, which are the charter of the constitution of the French Church, for by these the King reserved the right to nominate to all benefices that fell vacant in France, and in effect asserted *privilèges* similar to those claimed for the crown by Henry VIII. in England. De Lamennais, who never counted the personal consequences of his doctrines, and was indignant that a Louis XV. or Regent of Orleans should, in fact though not in name, have been the real head of a learned and pious ecclesiastical body, gave to his arguments all the effect of a forcible and copious, if occasionally harsh and dogmatic, rhetoric, and most vigorous dialectical faculty. The *Constitutionnel*, in a paroxysm of patriotic indignation, compared him to Ravaillac, the assassin of Henry IV.—a parallel which must have amused all who were better acquainted with the quiet-looking little man than with that Christian charity which inspires the pen of a thorough-going polemic. This work was also condemned by the Archbishop of Paris, in a Charge which was read in all the churches of the kingdom; he made haste to convince the civil power of his anxiety to preserve the spirit of Gallican independence, and to renounce a doctrine so calculated to embroil the clergy with the secular authorities; nevertheless, though the censure and the condemnation of De Lamennais' ultramontanism were most explicit, the Archbishop at the conclusion of his Charge renders emphatic testimony to the reputation and abilities of the man whose tenets he condemned:—

“Doctrines,” he says, “que nous gémissons d'entendre annoncer, fut-ce par le plus habile écrivain, par le plus profond publiciste, par le plus grand génie, et si nous osions le dire après l'apôtre, par un ange même descendu du ciel; doctrines que nous nous sommes efforcés d'arrêter, tantôt par notre silence, tantôt par nos protestations réitérées et publiques; doctrines enfin, que nous repoussons avec toute la loyauté d'un cœur Français, sans croire rien perdre pour cela, de l'intégrité d'une âme Catholique.”

In November, 1822, his elder brother, the Abbé Jean De Lamennais, had been nominated Vicar-General to the Grand Almoner of France, while his own anti-Gallican doctrines were an effectual bar to any preferment for himself. Yet after he had left the Feuillantines, all the inmates, even to the domestics, retained an affectionate regard for the “bon Abbé Féli,” and the liveliest of his correspondents there, Mademoiselle de Lucinière, records in one of her letters, that an old female servant was much enraged at hearing him designated in some hostile journal, “the Old Man of the Mountain”—“Qu'ils sont impertinents, ces vilaines gens-là,” s'écria-t-il; “M. l'Abbé est encore jeune homme; et ils n'ont assurément aucun droit de le mépriser ainsi. Il vaut

mieux dans son petit doigt qu'eux dans toute leur personne." In the same letter his correspondent adds, that one of her friends had lately been in Prague, and had conversed with "le bon vieux roi," Charles X., in exile there; that the King had spoken of De Lamennais, declaring his belief that he had too much genius to retain the opinions which he seemed to have adopted, and that his evidently sincere faith could scarcely fail to withdraw him from the edge of such an abyss. "I know not why," says M. Forgues, in giving the citation, "but this double appeal from the aged woman and the old King are symbols of the times; the ancient dogmas, thus well personified, seem to extend their arms to the seceder, and to recall him with their bleating voices."

The "Essay on Indifference in Matters of Religion," while it made him so many enemies in France, was not altogether well received at Rome, though its principal object was to inculcate the paramount importance of a lively faith and zealous practice of the Romish religion to the well-being of states and of individuals; but the naturally conservative spirit and worldly knowledge of Papal authorities is ever averse to an appeal to the people or to fundamental changes, even when proposed to their own advantage. Extravagant pretensions of the kind, advocated by De Lamennais and his followers, were likely to risk all, by disgusting those continental potentates whose countenance had ever been regarded as the best protection of the Roman See.

In 1823 the *Mémorial Catholique* was the journal principally employed by De Lamennais for the expression of his opinions in his attempts to awaken religious feelings in the minds of Frenchmen, and though he did not actually join at its formation the "Association for the Defence of the Catholic Faith," organized somewhat later, he openly concurred in its opinions and purpose, and even hoped by its aid to establish at Malestroit, in Brittany, a kind of religious school or colony, in which he might train young and ardent spirits in his own doctrines, and send them forth to preach the spiritual regeneration of a servile and corrupted faith.

From Leo XII., whom he never saw, but who approved the sincere and impassioned religious spirit which animates his writings, he received some flattering attention, which could scarcely fail to gratify one who had encountered so much undeserved obloquy, and who had not yet been shaken in his respect for the head of his faith or repelled and disenchanted by the coldness of Leo's successor, Gregory XVI. At Rome he had two zealous friends and correspondents, Fathers Orioli and Brzozowski; the former especially apprised him from time to time of anything affecting him or his doctrines. He mentions how that the portrait of De Lamennais was graciously received by Leo, and was hung in the Pontiff's audience chamber. In a letter, dated August 9,

1827, the same correspondent informs him that in an interview which he had with the Pope on the preceding day, the Holy Father demanded news of De Lamennais, and commanded Orioli, when he wrote, to say a thousand things from his holiness, and to assure him of his entire affection. But the great controversialist had mortifications to endure at home; and it appears from a letter of his enthusiastic disciple, the young Countess Riccini, of Modena, who had translated into Italian his work, "Sur l'Indifference," that he had been cited before the Tribunal of Correctional Police at Paris on account of the strongly anti-Gallican opinions he was in the habit of expressing.

De Lamennais' health was never vigorous, and about this time—viz., during the summer of 1826—he passed some weeks at the then fashionable baths of St. Sauveur, in the Lower Pyrenees, accompanied by his friend, the abbé Salinis, whose robust health and exuberant vigour were in striking contrast with the feeble and emaciated frame of his distinguished companion. It was here that M. Forgues, then a boy of thirteen, brought thither by his mother in search of health, saw the distinguished abbé for the first time, in virtue of introductory letters from M. Vitrolles, the common friend of his mother and of De Lamennais.

The lad became the almost daily companion of the two abbés in their walks, never very prolonged, on account of De Lamennais' physical weakness. Another occasional companion was that austere Catholic and royalist, then a young man, Bazin de Raucou. On one occasion, when young Forgues was questioned about his schoolboy pursuits, and course of reading, having owned to the great amusement he found from perusing "Gil Blas," he was rebuked by Bazin de Raucou, and his friends censured for allowing a book of such heterodox tendencies to be placed in his hands. De Lamennais came to the rescue: "Bah!" said he; "a boy must read, and should love reading; the choice of subjects can be made afterwards."

He was as fluent a colloquialist as Bentham or Coleridge, though somewhat embarrassed in the presence of strangers, and perhaps not quite so absolute in monologue as either. His evenings with his stanch royalist friend, M. Vitrolles, were usually occupied in theological or political discussions, with M. Forgues as an unwearied listener; but as De Lamennais was little disposed at all times to defer to experience or observation, and insisted rather upon what ought to be than what was, it was indispensable that a hearer should grant his premisses without examination, in order to be satisfied with his conclusions. Sometimes these discussions would become a little animated, when M. Vitrolles, outraged in his worldly experience by some bit of declamation or assertion, would interpose an objection, that provoked

a vehement reply, and the friends would become decidedly warm; but always on such occasions the discussion ceased immediately, there was a sincere shaking of hands, and this friendship of opposites remained unbroken to the last. No one knew him better than did M. Vitrolles, who, though a zealous royalist, if a somewhat less zealous Catholic, always retained a sincere respect for the independence, discretion, and genius of the abbé. Towards the end of 1826 he was informed by his friends at Rome that there was a rumour current of his probable elevation to the cardinalate; but in his reply he expresses neither eagerness or anxiety on the subject.

Notwithstanding his zeal for the extension of Catholicism, De Lamennais entertained an antipathy to the crooked policy of the Jesuits, which was fully reciprocated; and it was an object with some of his friends to effect a reconciliation. Among these was the Countess de Senfft, wife of the Austrian ambassador at the court of Tuscany, and afterwards at Rome; she even requested of him as "etronnes," for the year 1827, that he should think better of the Jesuits and of Austria. His royalist opinions seem to have been weakened, while yet firm in his religious creed, by the fated folly of the Bourbons. No one better interpreted the signs of the times in 1828-9, and no one more clearly anticipated the fall of the elder branch of that family whom no experience made wise. He hoped that the political revolution which he foresaw would acknowledge and obey an enlightened Catholicism, and that democracy would seek in religion its teacher and its guide. Had he been content to apply the ordinary inductive method in reasoning of mankind, he would never have nourished such astonishing credulity; his own disinterestedness and overpowering religious instinct made him blind to the common truths which are the hackneyed creed of worldly men. An intense but amiable egotism caused him to judge the herd by the standard of his own moral nature, in defiance of his senses, and he refused to believe that those instincts which we possess in common with the lower animals are, and ever will be, the pervading, though not always acknowledged, means of influencing the masses. While other men, especially those of his own profession, were thinking how they might best secure their own interests in the new order of things which was now imminent, he was dreaming of the realization of those great abstract truths of virtue and of liberty which are the Utopia of theorists. All such aspirations for sudden enlightenment must ever be vain; slowly and painfully nations grow wiser and better; no man can teach those who are not willing to learn, nor is the teacher welcomed who would forestal experience.

It must have been hard, indeed, for the enthusiastic and ardent

Breton to resign his loyalty ; but in so honest and so enlightened a man the feeling could not withstand the fatuity and folly of the reigning family ; already he prophesied a Republic when to others such a possibility seemed chimerical. It was in August, 1830, after the "three days" had deposed for ever a family which was unfit to govern, that he established his journal *l'Avenir*, the literary organ by which he sought to further the realization of a political and religious millennium in France. A more worldly man would have been too wise to encounter, a more selfish man would have shrunk from the disappointment, the obloquy, and the heart-aches which are the lot of a reformer. Sometimes, indeed, his harassed spirit was soothed and gratified by the knowledge that his disinterested efforts were appreciated even beyond the limits of France, and that his enthusiastic aspirations after spiritual freedom were at least shared by others. But in the bosom of his own church, and from former friends and correspondents, he met oftener with condemnation than approval or assistance, when he sided with the people against the Bourbons. "Can there ever be," shrieks an old arch-presbyter of Modena, "any reason which can justify a good Catholic in rebelling against legitimate authority, however tyrannical and cruel?" and the Italian Countess, Riccini, writes to him that she is sorry to hear that the Catholics of Belgium were about to imitate the example of Paris, as however oppressed and worried they might be, it was not permitted them to rebel.

The central authority at Rome remained for a time silent, neither censuring De Lamennais, as the Jesuits demanded, nor restraining the Gallican clergy, who were loud in condemning him. At length, however, the Pope, roused to action by advisers hostile to the most honest and most enlightened Catholic living, directed another encyclical letter to the French clergy, condemning the political and religious doctrines enunciated in *l'Avenir*. De Lamennais was surprised, perhaps, disgusted, at such a return for efforts which he sincerely meant to widen and to deepen the influence of the Papal See, and felt deeply how little his exertions were appreciated by those they were intended to benefit. But the *parti prêtre* comprehended its own material interests better than he, and were naturally much more desirous of retaining their livings and benefices, than to risk a collision with the secular power. The Archbishop of Toulouse had been particularly urgent in pressing for this magisterial condemnation, in which liberty of conscience and liberty of the press are stigmatized in latin superlatives as the greatest evils than can afflict a community. "The man who resists the powers that be," runs the letter, "resists the commands of God." Leo was dead ; and this encyclical missive emanated from Gregory XVI., who

became Pope in February, 1831. No one, indeed, had better reason to be disgusted with the prevalent revolutionary spirit than this pontiff, who came to the papacy in very troubled times for constituted authorities, especially ecclesiastical. He spoke like other men according to the tenor of his own interests, and it was safer to risk official infallibility in collision with the mere principles of human nature, than to countenance doctrines which were particularly displeasing to the "constituted authorities" of Austria and Spain. De Lamennais felt, however, that it was useless to persevere with his journal when his opinions were publicly condemned by the head of the Church he meant to serve; but before finally abandoning his long-cherished designs to regenerate Catholicism, he was desirous of personally submitting his projects and opinions to the Pope. He accordingly determined, in 1832, to visit Rome, to lay before the Holy Father a candid exposition of his designs, and to abide absolutely by the decision, so far as any further exertions in the cause of religious improvement were concerned.

It was in the companionship of MM. Lacordaire and Montalembert, who shared his opinions and aspirations, that he made the journey to Rome, in the vicinity of which he remained during the winter of that year in the house of the Theatines at Frascati. To this journey, and to his short residence in Italy, we owe the "*Affaires de Rome*," perhaps the best, though not the most pretentious, of his numerous writings, remarkable as it is for the comparative condensation of style, the absence of declamation, and the firm spirit in which his statements on personal questions are submitted to the public. He had not, indeed, to fear the fate of his countryman, the monk Conecta, of Rennes, who, in 1482, undertook a journey to Rome with the object of preaching reform of doctrine and morals to the Pope and cardinals, and was burnt for his presumption; but he left behind him that faith in his creed which was the earliest and most deeply-cherished of his sentiments.

In the exordium of the "*Affaires de Rome*," he clearly states the intention with which his journal, and *l'Agence Catholique* had been established. *L'Avenir*, he says, proposed to advocate the interests of Catholicism, languishing and persecuted even by the powers assuming to protect it. It seemed necessary that it should extend its almost sapless roots into the heart of mankind, that it might imbibe the vital juice of which it stood so much in need, and in making common cause with the people it might hope to recover its extinct vigour, regulate and forward the social movement then in progress, by impressing upon it that religious impulse which, naturally allied to all the most elevated human instincts, is itself a powerful agent:

“ Quelque chose de semblable à ce qui passer lors de la prédication de l'Évangile, paraissait nécessaire pour ramener au Catholicisme défail-  
lant les populations qui s'en éloignaient. La fraternité universelle  
proclamée par Jesus, cette doctrine si belle, si consolante, si divine, re-  
cueillie dans les profondeurs d'idées de l'âme humaine y ranima sou-  
dain les germes fétrés du vrai et du bien, que Dieu y avait déposés  
originaiement.”

Nevertheless, one is astounded at the simplicity of a man of fifty who could make a journey to Rome to propose to Gregory and his advisers an alliance with democracy, or could imagine that abstract principles of truth and virtue would not be out-weighed by the actual dust of the balance in the estimation of papal politicians. As he and his companions passed through Lyons, *en route* for Rome, they found the capital of the south in a state of insurrection, or as he phrases it, in the power of “des pauvres ouvriers, que tous, hors leur implacables ennemis, bénissaient,” though a month later Marshal Soult, when he besieged the town, was exceedingly blind to the private virtues of these “pauvres ouvriers.” At Valence, on the Rhone, he grumbled as sincerely as the most insular Englishman, at the vexatious interference of certain gendarmes who boarded the vessel: “pour exercer toutes ces petites et basses et vexatoires inquisitions d'où depend aujourd'hui, comme chacun sait, la sureté des empires.”

The untravelled abbé was naturally struck with Avignon; dismissed Marseilles in three complimentary lines; and at Toulon very naturally recalls the early fortunes of Napoleon. Whenever he describes natural objects and scenery, it is done with a truth and force which may cause regret that his voluminous writings should have been so nearly exclusively devoted to reflections and speculations, the justice of which can generally only be admitted, when we are disposed to acquiesce in a perpetual *petitio principii*.

At Cocolletto, between Nice and Genoa, he visited the house in which Columbus was born, and takes exception to the pompous inscription over the door, which is so much less eloquent than the mere name of the inspired geographer. He well describes the impressions produced by Italy, the mingled beauty and magnificence of its physical features, and the ghostly grandeur of its unfading memories.

His entry into Rome must be given in his own language, to which translation can scarcely do justice:—

“ Ainsi s'en allaient vers la cité pendant si longtemps dominatrice et reine, trois obscurs chrétiens (MM. Lecordaire, Montalembert, et De Lamennais) vrais représentans d'un autre âge par la simplicité naïve de leur foi, à laquelle aussi se joignait quelque intelligence de la réalité présente, de son esprit et de ses besoins et de ses vœux, dont nulles résistances n'empêcheront l'accomplissement. Des notes diplomatiques de



l'Autriche, de la Prusse, de la Russie les avaient devancés à Rome—où y pressait le pape de se prononcer contre les révolutionnaires audacieux, ces impieux séducteurs des peuples qu'ils poussaient à la révolte au nom de la religion. Le gouvernement Français agissait dans le même sens, secondé en cela par le parti Carliste, à la tête duquel se trouvaient le Cardinal de Rohan, le Cardinal Lambruschini, et les Jésuites, qui l'on rencontre partout où se remue quelque intrigue."

It surely required all the courage that confidence in the goodness and honesty of his intention could impart, to persevere in a purpose opposed by the representatives at the Roman court, of the three leading continental powers, and by the most determined and unscrupulous intriguers in Rome itself.

His two chief open enemies—Rohan and Lambruschini—are described by him with graphic impartiality—

"The former, estimable in the main, honest and upright, mingled with feelings of genuine piety excessive prejudices of birth and rank. But his attachment to an unfortunate dynasty was, in his position, both natural and honourable. Educated in sentiments of feudal devotion, he could scarcely have entertained any but the old monarchical ideas, even had his mind been capable of receiving any others, which it was not; with a very fair complexion, and of almost feminine delicacy, he never attained to genuine manhood. Nature designed him to grow old in a long infancy; he had all its weakness, its tastes, its small vanities, its innocence even; by the populace of Rome he was nicknamed 'il bambino' (the baby). A merely passive instrument, he exerted his influence only under external pressure, and can therefore scarcely be charged with the moral responsibility of his actions."

Lambruschini had been apostolic nuncio at Paris, and had there known De Lamennais, whose opinions and efforts he then approved; but they became estranged when the nuncio allied himself with the fatal clique which encouraged the bigotry of Charles X., and by whose influence all the results of the Restoration were lost to the elder branch of the House of Bourbon. Nevertheless, after the three days of July, 1830, when the Duke of Orleans was chosen rather as President of a Republic than King of the French, Lambruschini resumed his relations with De Lamennais, affected to approve the policy of *l'Avenir*, and was at least obliged to modify his political calculations, if he had not really changed his opinions; but afterwards he again looked coldly on De Lamennais and those who acted with him; and having been recalled from Paris, where he was not agreeable to the Government, scrupled not when in Italy to propagate statements unfavourable to his former friend; and after he had obtained the Cardinal's hat uniformly manifested towards him a determined hostility.

With the Jesuits the honest and able Frenchman had never

been on good terms, though the object with which Loyola founded the society was nearly identical with that of the Breton abbé; but the spirit which animated the enthusiastic Spaniard and his immediate successors had long ceased to influence the order which he established; committed to a mistake, "entrenched behind the ruins of the Past," they vainly essay, in Schiller's phrase, to clutch and retard "the chariot wheels of Destiny;" while, on the other hand, De Lamennais, animated with the spirit of an apostle, sought to impart to Catholicism a genial expansion, and to place it in harmony with the growing hopes and aspirations of mankind. In one of his largest works, the "Progress of the Revolution," De Lamennais had spoken of them with singular fairness and moderation, but they considered the truth even thus stated as too libellous, and had ever after pursued him with the quiet malice of irritated but somewhat timid theologians.

Never did any one enter Rome on a grave errand under more unfavourable circumstances; he came to urge revolutionary principles as the policy of a court which was nearly overwhelmed by pecuniary and political embarrassments, produced by this very spirit; and with some inconsistency, though in all sincerity, he scrupled not to tender advice on the management of its spiritual affairs, to what he professed to regard as the infallible source of all spiritual wisdom. He thus addresses the incarnate Papacy:—

"Votre puissance se perd et la foi avec elle; voulez-vous sauver l'une et l'autre, unissez-les toutes deux à l'humanité, telle que l'ont fait dix-huit siècles de Christianisme. Rien n'est stationnaire en ce monde—vous avez régné sur les rois, puis les rois vous ont asservi. Séparez-vous des rois, tendez la main aux peuples, ils vous soutiendront de leur robuste bras, et, ce qui vaut mieux, de leur amour. Abandonnez les débris terrestres de votre ancienne grandeur ruinée; repoussez-les du pied comme indigne de vous; aussi bien l'on ne tardera guère à vous en dépouiller. Qu'est ce que ces lambeaux de pourpre, moquerie de ce que vous fûtes, et à quoi servent-ils, qu'à voiler les cicatrices glorieuses qui attestent les saints combats livrés par vous dans les temps antiques pour le genre humain contre la tyrannie? Votre force n'est point dans l'éclat extérieur, elle est à vous, elle est dans le sentiment profond de vos devoirs paternels, de votre mission civilisatrice; dans un dévouement qui ne connaisse ni lassitude, ni bornes. Reprenez avec l'esprit qui les animait, la boulette des premiers pasteurs, et, s'il le faut, les chaînes des martyrs. Le triomphe est certain, mais à ce prix seulement."

But it had been too long the privilege of Roman authorities to make martyrs to encounter martyrdom; and even De Lamennais scarcely expected that his advice, however good in his own eyes, would really be followed: he must have remembered how it failed with Joseph II. of Austria, when he, a powerful monarch, endeavoured to infuse a liberal element into the dull despotism he

inherited; the controversialist only desired that the Pope should refrain from censuring his efforts in *l'Avenir* and elsewhere to forward a reformation which he believed, and perhaps rightly believed, to be essential to the vitality of Catholicism.

By a few who had known him personally he was hospitably welcomed, but was received with the utmost coldness by the authorities and their cautious parasites. The Pope's vicar, Cardinal Zurla, consented at first to see him, and then refused. Gregory himself only granted an audience on condition that De Lamennais should, while in the presence, preserve a perfect silence on the objects which really brought him to Rome. Cardinal Rohan was present during this interview; his Holiness was civil, but evidently ill at ease, and would not touch upon the business nearest De Lamennais' heart, which he had previously explained in a clear and distinct written statement of his doctrines, though he had subsequently reason to believe this had not been perused by the Holy Father. A person of some consideration at Rome assured De Lamennais that timidity at head-quarters was the chief obstacle to his success, while he with natural bitterness was disposed to attribute to a short-sighted selfishness the opposition or the indifference he encountered. He was content to plead zeal and disinterestedness in the cause of truth as the best title to a consideration of his claims, without reflecting that such qualities have long been regarded as feigned or fabulous by Italian politicians—

“Nous avons pu,” he says, “en combattant pour l'église catholique, être entraînés trop loin par un zèle, si l'on veut, imprudent et peu éclairé; mais ce zèle étant pur, exempt d'arrière vues et d'ambition, nous en avons la conscience entière, et cela était d'ailleurs assez visible à tous les yeux. La voie où nous marchions, hérissés de souffrances et de persécutions, ne conduisait qu'aux cours d'assises—on ne suit guère une pareille route, à moins d'être soutenue par une pensée vraie ou fautive de devoir—où rien ne contriste plus amèrement l'âme que de voir cette pensée totalement méconnue—Que si, la reconnaissant on n'a pour elle qu'un froid dédain, ou une sèche indifférence, il est impossible de se dérober à un sentiment plus amer encore.”

Had his Holiness, instead of refusing either to hear or to condemn him personally, acted frankly; had he at once professed a willingness to give him credit for good but mistaken intentions; had he assured him that the interests of the Church were safe in his keeping, and that before an inferior ventured to interfere in affairs so difficult and delicate he was bound to seek the advice of those whose authority should be his guide, De Lamennais declared that he should have been satisfied, and would have dutifully deferred to an authority which all consistent Catholics are bound to respect. But Gregory appears scarcely to have felt sufficient confidence in his own judgment, though sufficiently

certain of his inclinations, to act thus towards one whose intellectual pre-eminence he must have regarded with a mixture of fear, respect, and perhaps dislike, and which a secret instinct assured him was so much superior to his own. Undaunted though disappointed, he presented yet another memoir to his Holiness, drawn up principally by M. Lacordaire, setting forth—1. The state of religion in France under the Restoration in 1815. 2. The danger which religion had to fear from the Revolution of 1830. 3. The two principal lines of conduct the Catholics might adopt under the government of Louis Philippe. 4. The hostile policy pursued by the revolutionary government, both with respect to the hierarchy of the Gallican Church, and the system of general education, from which the clergy were as much as possible excluded by the monopoly granted to the University of Paris. 5. A proposal for the separation of Church and State. 6. Considerations with a view to healing schism in France. The 7th article entered into an explanation of the policy pursued in his journal, *L'Avenir*, and of the concurrent "Generale Agence pour la Défense de la Liberté Religieuse" which seems to have resembled in its constitution, though scarcely in its success, the English Anti-Corn-Law League. The council was composed of nine members, De Lamennais being president, and was supported by annual subscribers of ten francs. In 1831, such was the temporary activity of the Liberal religious party in France, that the Agency possessed funds to the amount of thirty-one thousand francs. It caused petitions to be presented to the legislative bodies, praying for that liberty of teaching expressly stipulated in the charter of 1830; and on the 29th April, 1831, confiding in the charter, a free school was opened in Paris under its auspices, while three of its members, the Abbé Lacordaire, M. de Conx, and Count Montalembert, assumed the duties of instructors, and imparted religious and general knowledge to twenty poor children whom they had collected in the school. But the police interfered and turned out teachers and scholars; the masters were brought before the Tribunal of Correctional Police, which referred the case to the assizes; but before the trial could come on the elder Montalembert died, and his son, the present Count, who succeeded to the peerage, demanded to be tried by his peers. He and his companions were, however, condemned; but something had been gained, as the principle of free public instruction had been prominently brought before a French public. There were other instances in which the Agency interfered with effect in the cause of humanity and true religion; but too much space would be consumed in the detail.

In submitting these matters to the judgment of the Supreme Pontiff, De Lamennais and his companions conclude their memoir in the following respectful language:—*Voilà ce que nous avons*

dû représenter pour acquitter nos âmes envers Dieu. Le souverain pontife jugera dans sa sagesse ; et maintenant, pleins d'amour pour lui, et dociles à sa voix comme de petits enfants, nous nous prosternons à ses pieds, en implorant la bénédiction paternelle. Rome, 3 Fév. 1832." Several weeks after the delivery of this paper, the memorialists were apprised, in a short dry note by the Pope's secretary, Cardinal Pacca, that his Holiness persisted in his disapproval of their efforts, though he would proceed to a complete examination of their statements ; a promise which De Lamennais believed was never fulfilled. Gregory, in truth, wanted peace and quiet, and had very little liking for reformers of any kind. The reflections which follow in the late chapters of the "Affaires de Rome," which, though temperate, could scarcely fail to be influenced by strong personal feelings, are decisive of the effect produced on his faith in the merely human machinery of Catholicism by actual contact with Rome and its holy things. He was a polemic by nature, but he loved truth more than anything else, and sincerely scorned all simulated sanctity and hollow profession ; in the words of the scoffing Mohareb, but in a very different spirit, he turned his back on Rome, and was soon after engaged on his "Paroles d'un Croyant"—

For the dupes of humankind  
Keep this lip-righteousness ; 'twill serve thee in the mosque  
And in the market-place—but Spirits view the heart.

After a residence of some months at Frascati, he returned to Paris, and with a tottering faith and wearied patience, must have regretted the unshaken convictions and unabated zeal of his earlier years ; yet, his trust in God's providence remained unimpaired, and though appalled by the general indifference to religion prevailing in French society, he hoped much from the future, that paradise of dreamers. His journal, *l'Avenir*, which had been suspended during his Italian pilgrimage, was not resumed. Vexatious legal annoyances, consequent upon former engagements, the abrupt cessation of *l'Avenir*, and the dispersion of *l'Agence Catholique*, of which he was regarded as the leader, were not calculated to soothe his agitated spirit. Ignoble persecutors followed him, and a professor of the Sorbonne, suspected of corresponding with him, was suspended as a lecturer ; while a preacher of some eminence, who had formerly contributed to *l'Avenir*, and had been one of the select band which acknowledged the leadership of De Lamennais, was compelled to renounce this spiritual allegiance before he was allowed to enjoy any preferment in peace. His position was, indeed, singular. In his earlier life he had been of no school ; in his later career he had been of no party ; he was hated by the Carlists and Conser-

vatives, for he had renounced his early Royalism, while the Liberal party could scarcely bring themselves to believe in the sincerity of one who was yet a priest; with them, no good could come out of Galilee. He vainly strove to influence the masses by appeals to abstract principles, which are too rarely operative with the best of our species, not only not having recourse to self-interest, but ignoring it as a motive; and those who held this master-key of the human heart in their hands were those whom he was constantly provoking against himself with all the honest and fiery zeal which saw in his own heart a reflection of the general feelings and motives of mankind.

During the year 1833 he was chiefly occupied at Chesnaie in composing the "*Paroles d'un Croyant*," which was published in the beginning of 1834. It is a collection of eloquent rhapsodies denouncing kings and priests as the oppressors of mankind, and exhorting the nations to shake off a yoke which the art of a few, and their ignorance of their own rights and strength, had imposed upon them. The effect of this book is said to have been astonishing at Paris, and to have been considerable at Venice and at Rome. The more moderate of his friends were shocked at the extreme Radicalism of his opinions, though from several he received emphatic commendation, and particularly from an intelligent young English Catholic then at Rome, a nephew of Dr. Wiseman, who, after indulging in strong reflections on the supineness and selfishness of the Papal authorities, assures him that his uncle participated in his own high estimate of the book. In the *Augsburg Gazette* it was said that, were the devil to visit the earth in his proper person, he would undoubtedly bring the book with him in his hand. In England such a work would produce no other effect than surprise, and indeed its publication here would be superfluous. Rational liberty is too much a matter of necessity with us to be defended by declamation, nor have we found that its enjoyment banishes selfishness and pride from the heart; these evil propensities are not exclusively confined to the highly-placed or powerful among us, but influence alike the duke and the cobbler.

De Lamennais, and the enthusiasts who think with him, sigh for the realization of a scheme of government in which the ruling maxim shall be "The tools to him that can handle them;" in the teeth of self-interest and selfishness this abstraction can never be realized; it was perhaps intended to be so in the theory of the Constitution of the United States of America, and the result has been the worst and weakest government, in fact, combined with the lowest commercial tone that ever existed in a free community. As a specimen of the style of thought and expression in the "*Paroles d'un Croyant*," we may subjoin the

commencement of the third chapter, which thus accounts for the origin of royalty :—

“ Et je fus transporté en esprit dans les temps anciens, et la terre était belle, et riche, et féconde ; et ses habitants vivaient heureux, parcequ'ils vivaient en frères. Et je vis le serpent qui se glissait au milieu d'eux ; il fixa sur plusieurs son regard puissant, et leur âme se troubla, et ils s'approchèrent, et le serpent leur parla à l'oreille. Et après avoir écouté la parole du serpent, ils se levèrent et dirent ' Nous sommes rois.' Et le soleil pâlit, et la terre prit une teinte funèbre, comme celle du linceul qui enveloppe les morts," &c. &c.

Another encyclical letter from Gregory, dated the 15th July, 1884, condemned this harmless production of a high-minded enthusiast. Yet another work similar in tone followed a few years later, less political in character, entitled “ Amachaspands et Darvands,” in which he borrows the nomenclature of the Manichæan theology, and in a series of letters between individuals of the separate classes of good and evil spirits who respectively acknowledge the sway of Ormusd and Ahriman, indulges in his beloved ethical and theological speculations. His most pretentious work, the “ Esquisse de Philosophie,” consists of somewhat vague generalizations, expanded to an indefinite extent by that torrens scribendi copia, which no one possessed more amply. For physical science he had neither liking nor respect, though he was somewhat attracted by those great physical and mathematical theories which seem to explain the scheme of omnipotence in some portion of its works.

Henceforward De Lamennais cast in his lot with the democratic party in France, relinquishing without regret the position he had so long held, as Coryphæus of a band of cultivated religious enthusiasts. He was content to occupy a place in the ranks of a body in which all can claim equality, and where no leader can count upon a continuance of power when he has ceased to be useful. Unselfishly and faithfully he adhered to a creed which brought him only persecution, for he dreamt of rational liberty secured by a strong and free political Constitution to a Celtic race—a dream which, perhaps, hovered mercifully over the deathbed of the enthusiast, though he died under a despotism boldly imposed on the people by the apparent consent of the majority.

In 1848 he was sent to the prison of St. Pelagie, where he remained during the whole of his sixty-first year, for reasons not clearly apparent, and which it is said could not have been explained to the authorities who sent him there. He had probably written something in contravention of the will of “ la royauté bourgeoise.” During the whole time, he scarcely crossed the threshold of his prison-room, which was of tolerable size, and in-

differently well lighted; but he received the visits of friends, and of a few political prisoners who shared his opinions and his lot. The feeble old man seated on a straw chair, at a coarse table, exposed to the bitter cold of winter, and the burning heat of summer—for the room was at the top of the building, immediately beneath the roof—disdained to murmur, or to solicit any indulgence, which would scarcely have been refused him. Béranger visited him not unfrequently, and his never-failing and somewhat exuberant gaiety served to lighten the long captivity. In the memorable 1848, De Lamennais, who was honestly popular, was named a member of the Committee of the Constitution, and submitted to his colleagues an elaborate project for securing a liberal government to his country. It probably looked better on paper than it would have worked in practice; it was not received, at least in its integrity, by his colleagues, and he did not care to struggle for any partial adoption of his views. He contented himself with a silent seat on the bench of deputies. His last attempts to further true liberty in France were made in a journal—*Le Peuple Constituant*—which he established, and abandoned on the passing of the law, “*Sur les Cautionnements.*” In a final farewell he prophesied to the people, in powerful and Cassandra-like accents, their approaching thralldom.

He now for ever relinquished politics, as before theology, and passed the later years of his life in tranquil literary occupation. His principal effort in this way was in accordance with the character he had developed in his former struggles, selecting Dante's great poem for translation—a task he had contemplated and begun years before, during his stay in Italy. If any Frenchman could perfect this labour, De Lamennais was the man, though he could scarcely hope to overcome the epic inadequacy of his own tongue. He also, in imitation of Pascal, completed a collection of “*Pensées,*” first published in 1841, and which appeared in a complete state in 1856, after his decease. He wished to leave his copious “*Correspondence*” in a fit state to be published by his literary executors; but a lady of some note in Paris society, with whom he had formerly largely corresponded, and who possessed more than four hundred of his letters, refused to give them up, on grounds personal to herself and friends. Many of his letters, however, are published by M. Forgues.

But he was soon to be at peace for ever, and that feeble frame and restless intellect were about to find the repose they had never known in life. On his sick-bed he refused to receive the visits of two priests (Father Ventura, and M. Martin de Noddes), who had formerly been acquainted with him, and who wished to recall the allegiance of the sick man to his forsaken creed. Their request to be introduced was formally made known to him by



several of his friends, and he replied in their presence in a clear and decided voice—"Jo sais dans quel but viennent ces Messieurs ; et c'est parceque je le sais, que je ne puis les recevoir. On les remerciera de ma part." Somewhat later the curate of the parish of White Mantles, in whose cure De Lamennais' house was situate, presented himself on the part of the Archbishop of Paris, demanding admittance ; though somewhat pertinacious in his request, he left when assured of the impossibility of obtaining the requisite assent.

De Lamennais died calmly February 7th, 1854, in the presence of his friend M. Forgues, and his soul departed as the feeble winter sun struggled in the early morning through the mists and fogs of Paris ; two white pigeons out of a number on a neighbouring roof, at the instant, separated themselves from the rest, and perched on the ledge of the window of that chamber in which De Lamennais was expiring. "Une imagination une peu exaltée eut pu voir en elles deux anges envoyés pour recevoir l'âme tourmentée, et la conduire au sein de l'éternel repos." Perhaps the kind old man had often fed them there.

Among his papers were found directions as to the funeral arrangements, which were as follows—

"I desire to be buried among the poor, and in the same manner as the poor. Nothing is to be placed above my grave, not even a simple stone. My body to be carried straight to the cemetery without being previously presented in any church ; no letters desiring attendance at my funeral to be sent to any one ; my death to be simply announced to MM. Béranger, de Vitrolles, Em. Forgues, J. d'Ortignes, Montanelli, and Madame, the widow Elie de Kertanguy. It is expressly commanded that no memorial be erected above me.—Paris, January 16th, 1854."

These instructions were complied with to the letter, and the police not only dispersed the crowd which would have followed their champion to the grave, but refused admission into the cemetery to his friends. Since the death of Howard no distinguished man has received humbler obsequies or a simpler tomb.

ART. VIII.—ENGLAND'S POLITICAL POSITION IN  
EUROPE.

*Lord Palmerston, l'Angleterre, et le Continent.* Par le Comte de Fiequelmont. Paris. 1832.

MANY years ago, at a period of great political agitation, a number of persons of different nations being assembled at a table-d'hôte at Geneva, and the conversation turning on the crisis of the day, one of the party observed—"This must be the policy of England; such will be the course she must pursue;" and supported his opinion by many apparently cogent reasons. An Englishman, who had listened to the discussion in silence, here put in his word—"If it be the interest of England," said he, "she will act thus, if not, she will pursue the opposite course." Our national pride leads us either to deny altogether, or greatly to attenuate, the truth of this avowal; but we cannot conceal from ourselves that this is the opinion current on the Continent. How often we meet with persons professing the greatest admiration for the English, as a nation, feeling the warmest affection for individuals, who yet denounce our Government as the most perfidious of allies, the most treacherous of foes, whose friendship and whose enmity are equally to be dreaded. Nor is this hatred confined to one school of statesmen alone. Were these denunciations uttered by the courtiers of despotism only, we might perhaps listen to them with complacency, attributing them to jealousy of our superior prosperity, but we find this hatred of our policy accompanied with a desire for our downfall, expressed by writers as diametrically opposed to each other as Count de Fiequelmont, the friend and colleague of Metternich, the devoted adherent of the policy of the late Emperor of Russia, and M. Ledru-Rollin, the ultra-Republican, who profited by the freedom granted him by our laws to attack all our institutions. Agreeing in nothing else, these two men, whom we may take as types of the absolutist and democratic parties, as far as the question we are now treating is concerned, unite in denouncing England, and prognosticating her ruin. Nay, this evil opinion is shared by moderate men, partisans of constitutional monarchy, whom we might expect to find our natural admirers, and who, nevertheless, mournfully hang their heads at the name of England, and while they praise her institutions, lament that her policy is such that no reliance can be placed on her support in questions of vital interest to their native countries.

Were England morally as isolated as she is geographically, it  
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might, perhaps, be indifferent to her people to be loved or detested, blessed or cursed. But this is not, cannot be the case. All our commercial and political interests are so many links of union between us and continental nations, and are affected by the relations of our Government with them. It may therefore be worth while, at this moment of agitation, to examine a little into the opinions entertained of England on the Continent, and to inquire how far the conduct of our Government has deserved a character so opposed to that of our people.

That this is a time of agitation we presume none will deny. Even while we write dismay seems to be spreading through all classes of society, silently, but surely as the circles caused by throwing a stone into still water. No man can assign the exact cause of quarrel, nor point out the precise reason which may serve as a pretext for drawing the sword; yet the belief in the approach of war seems to be all but universal, and exercises a sinister effect on public securities and commercial action. This disquietude, as vague as it is general, almost resembles the instinct which is said to forewarn the animal creation of the approach of storms of which man can perceive no sign, and is too remarkable to pass unnoticed in England. We cannot stand aloof, indifferent to what is passing around us. Even if war between two of the great Powers actually breaks out, it may, and it is our most earnest hope that it will be possible for England to avoid taking an active part in a struggle which can only affect her indirectly. We trust that our country may be spared the sacrifices and losses entailed even by foreign war, but she cannot forego her right of counsel and influence—which her independent position ought to make of peculiar weight—without abdicating her rank as a great European State. If, then, it be admitted that a crisis of immense importance is at hand, one which, considering the magnitude of the forces likely to be called into action, will probably decide the fate of Europe for many years, it behoves the English people, whose power of controlling the policy of Government is so great as to allow them no excuse for declining the responsibility of its acts, to be certain that in this instance the representatives of our country abroad have acted, and will act, in accordance with the will, and the real and permanent interests of the nation.

The position of the great Continental Powers at this moment is very singular. While all seem to have an interest in the permanence of peace, two at least are making the utmost preparations for active hostilities. In truth, under the mask of royal courtesies and friendly diplomatic relations, a spirit of jealousy and mutual antagonism has long been abroad, and perhaps one of the strongest motives now urging the appeal to the sword is

the feeling that the actual situation cannot long endure, and the wish to unravel it while in a position to exercise an influence on the result in which each is deeply interested. As a preliminary elucidation of our subject, we shall rapidly pass in review the relative situations of the great Powers, since they precisely account for the great weight now attached to the fiat of England.

We commence with Austria, our old and faithful ally, as she has been so often termed, though we must confess ourselves at a loss to discover what services and fidelity give her a claim on our gratitude. She is above all others the guardian of the *status quo*. Her provinces, extending from the frontiers of Piedmont to those of Turkey, comprise the fairest and richest portions of Europe, which practically she closes to our commerce, since not only is her customs-system a most serious barrier to the extension of our enterprise,\* but the crushing taxation she is obliged to impose on her subjects in order to sustain the armies to which she owes the maintenance of her dominion, completely debars her people from undertaking agricultural improvements, or establishing manufactures. The Austrian Government is aware that commercial freedom, by augmenting the wealth and importance of the subject, is the sure precursor of political liberty, the advent of which she justly considers as equivalent to the dissolution of the empire.† The cause which Austria is preparing to defend is therefore that of adhesion to the letter of the treaties of 1815, of military despotism and commercial stagnation. Her obvious policy is that of expectation, and though the impatience of a young and hot-headed Sovereign may urge him to be first in the field, we believe she will not fail to adhere to it. Austria is moreover the enemy of all nationality. With a population including people of every race that inhabits Europe, her constant endeavour is to trample out all national distinctions and sentiments, and she invariably pursues this policy as well abroad as at home.

With a form of government scarcely, if at all, less arbitrary, France, with her homogeneous population, thoroughly united by every tie of origin, language, customs, and religion, is bound by her traditions and history to a thoroughly different policy. The most powerful of the Latin races, for centuries the French have encountered the forces of the House of Hapsburg on the battle-fields of Spain, Italy, and Germany; and however despotic the Emperor whom the popular voice has seated on the throne, he is still a living protest against the treaties of Vienna, an heir of

\* While our commercial relations with all other countries have rapidly and steadily augmented, with Austria they have hardly increased.

† Hence her conclusion of the Riverain Treaty of the Danube, a convention hostile alike to the interests of England and to the spirit of the Treaties of Paris.

the Revolution, and, as such, bound by his very title to pursue, if not a liberal, at least a national policy, an obligation which he has acknowledged by the steadiness with which he has hitherto adhered to the alliance of England. The treaties of Vienna were a compact concluded for the maintenance of the rights of kings, and the exclusion of the Napoleonic dynasty, in which peoples were parcelled out like flocks of sheep, without regard to the antipathies of race, or the natural bonds of geographical position. This forgetfulness of the promises by which they had been roused to war against Napoleon but two short years before, entailed on Europe a heritage of discontent, which, though its open manifestations have been few, has ever spread wider and wider, and which, though forcibly suppressed in 1848-9, is to this hour the most anxious pre-occupation of statesmen. Seated on the throne, a Napoleon cannot be expected to forget the enmity which overthrew the founder of his family; and if he now draws the sword, it will be, avowedly, in support of that principle of national independence which he has already defended by arms in Turkey, and advocated by his plenipotentiaries in the instance of the Danubian Principalities. Beyond the acquisition of Savoy, he will scarcely be unwise enough to let his aim be material conquests, for such a course would inevitably draw upon him the enmity of all Europe; he will rather confine his efforts to the establishment of independent national governments, which, dating from the subversion of the treaties of 1815, would be the natural and necessary allies of his dynasty. It would be Quixotic to suppose that a despotic Sovereign, one of whose motives for war is undoubtedly the wish to bridle and turn into a more practical channel the ultra-revolutionary spirit which is the offspring of extreme oppression, and which menaces at once his life and throne, and the social order of which he has constituted himself the special guardian, will, if victorious, endow Italy with freedom, as we in England understand the word: this reflection cannot but chill the sympathies of a large number of Englishmen, who would otherwise hail with delight the prospect of Italian independence; but he may, without risk, bestow on her the still greater boon of national existence, which, once attained, will in the progress of time enable her to model her institutions according to her wishes and requirements.

Thus we find that the very nature and origin of their power forces, as it were, the Emperors of Austria and France into a position of hostility. The one reigns by divine right, the other by popular election—the empire of the former is an agglomeration of provinces, held together by the sword, and each struggling to escape from the common centre; that of the latter is a compact unity, ever tending to a more complete fusion of the interests

of each of its parts. This contrast between the internal circumstances of the two empires, entails on each a corresponding foreign policy, which necessarily leads to antagonism so decided that its only natural issue is war.

The other two great Powers are farther removed from the scene of probable conflict, and but indirectly interested in it. The position of Prussia is a difficult one. Neutrality would seem her natural policy, to which we may hope she will adhere—a policy which would preserve Germany from becoming the theatre of war. She is urged to it by jealousy of Austria, her ancient rival, whose defeat could not fail to render her influence supreme in Germany, while even the hypothesis of Austrian victory, purchased, as it must be, by enormous sacrifices, would so weaken that Power as to leave Prussia, with forces unimpaired, the virtual, if not the acknowledged, head of the Germanic Confederation. On the other hand, there is the hereditary hatred of France, and the fear lest, flushed with victory, that Power may not content herself with changes in Italy, but may demand the re-establishment of her Rhenal frontier; there is also the desire of a high-spirited and military nation to retrieve the position in Europe imperilled by inaction during the Crimean war. Such are the reasons for taking an active part. We cannot but think, however, that the former motives, aided by the desire of confining war, if it be inevitable, within as narrow limits as possible, will probably prevail in the councils of Berlin, and the late circular of M. de Schlcinitz seems to confirm this opinion.

The hostility of Russia towards Austria, whom she saved from dissolution in 1849, and whose ingratitude she has since so bitterly experienced, cannot be questioned. Her alliance with Piedmont, the recent revolution in Servia, the unexpected result of the elections in the Principalities, which creates, *de facto*, the union advocated by France and Russia, and deprecated by Austria, who is thus forced to choose between its recognition or an armed intervention, the articles of the Russian official press, and we might perhaps add, the conspiracies in Galicia, though the absence of reliable information prevents our positively affirming the fact, are all proofs of the silent but sleepless enmity of Russia, and testify that, far from counting on the assistance and sympathy she received ten years ago, Austria must now fight, leaving behind her a Power that will rejoice at her every perplexity, and in case of her defeat in Italy might not be unlikely to stir up enemies in her rear. It is not, however, likely that Russia will put herself forward among the active foes of Austria. She may sustain and encourage France and Piedmont by her approval and sympathy, she may assemble an army on her Polish frontier, but she has need of time and tranquillity to complete

her internal reforms, to create the vast railroad system destined to connect her distant provinces, and, above all, to recover the losses she sustained during the Crimean war.

This being the relative position of the great Continental Powers (the smaller States we consider as the mere satellites of the former, and incapable of any automatic action), it is obvious that the key of the question lies in the policy of England. She alone is powerful and independent enough to sway the balance at her pleasure. We doubt whether even she is able to avert the breaking out of war altogether, for reasons which it is not our present object to discuss; but she is certainly called upon to decide whether it shall be a duel between two great Powers settling old differences on an historical battle-field—the one defending every abuse of military and priestly despotism, the other striving to establish the principle of national existence—or a general war, in which all the fierce passions of humanity will be let loose, and the very interests of civilization may be imperilled. It is for this reason that the eyes of French, Italian, and Austrian statesmen are turned on England with indescribable anxiety, and that the slightest word tending to elucidate her policy is discussed with an eagerness, of which Englishmen, seated at home by their pleasant coal fires and secure from the storm now hanging over the Continent, can have no idea.

Many reasons tend to cast doubt on the line of policy she intends to pursue. England is the ally both of France and Austria; with the former of whom she fought in the Crimea, while, since the Congress of Paris, her policy has tended to unite her with the latter. As a Protestant Power, she can take no direct part in the affairs of Rome; yet, as the chief representative of civil and religious liberty, she is surely bound to approve the reforms of the Papal Government advocated by France, and to which Pius IX. must necessarily submit, were his opposition not countenanced by the presence of Austrian troops in the Legations. Furthermore, the despatches of Lord Palmerston in 1848 prove that at least one English Secretary of State considered the evacuation of Lombardy not only as a possible, but as a desirable solution of the Italian question; while, on the other hand, rendered an accomplice in the spoliation of Venice by her protectorate of the Ionian Islands, England is in a manner bound to sustain Austria in possession of her share of the prey.

England, we were told by the Earl of Derby in the debate on the Address, is bound by no secret engagements,—an assurance we were glad to receive, since there is nothing we deprecate more for our country than to see her involved by secret diplomatic conventions in the policy of the great military despots, in a manner contrary at once to her real interests and the sympathies of

her people. We must, however, at the same time acknowledge that this very independence of engagements, which is almost tantamount to the absence of an avowed and definite policy, forms one of the most general, as well as of the most just, causes of complaint against the English Government. In public, as well as in private affairs, a steady and reliable friendship is in the long run sure to meet with recognition and gratitude; an open and consistent hostility deserves at least respect, since there is ground for supposing it based on conviction, and a sentiment of duty; but the only moral result of a policy alternately friendly and inimical, whatever its material success, is the dislike of all affected by it. Those benefited acknowledge no obligation of gratitude, those injured are not even impressed by respect for the power that has subjugated them; and thus we find the accusation—there is no dependence to be placed on England, to be one that comprises the complaints of all parties against her.

It is extremely curious to read the attacks directed against England by writers of the most opposite schools, every prepossession and aspiration of each of whom is in violent antagonism to those of the other, and to see how, starting from points thoroughly different, each arrives at the same conclusion, and accuses England in terms almost identical. The ideal of Count Ficquelmont is the purest despotism: he would see the soldier and the priest supreme in the State, and dividing the powers of government between them. Parliaments he regards as useless and troublesome machines invented to embarrass the free action of the sovereign—freedom of speech and of the press, the right of association, the power of controlling the policy of Government, all that we, a free people, are accustomed to prize as the most precious privileges of our liberty, he evidently considers with the horror with which the pious regard the crime of sacrilege. All these liberties seem to him so many impertinent usurpations on the divine right of kings; and the Count, who in his private capacity is probably by no means a cruel or inhumane man, seems to regard the knout and the gibbet as no exaggerated or inappropriate punishment for those who venture to complain of the amenities of martial law. He would fain see the same system universally applied, so that the discontented may have no excuse in an appeal to the condition of neighbouring States—no refuge to which to fly from the paternal care of their Governments. He execrates England as the bulwark of constitutional monarchy, as the insidious enemy of all good government, as the haunt of refugees and assassins, as the fosterer of discontent, and the active supporter of all rebellion. He examines her internal condition, and prognosticates her fall, to which he looks forward as to an era of universal happiness, peace, and tranquillity



for all men. Were we only acquainted with Lord Palmerston through his pages, we might be induced to regard the noble Viscount as another species of General Walker, carrying dismay into all peaceable dwellings, and, by a fatal enchantment, turning good and loyal subjects into rebels and incendiaries.

If we now turn to writers of a totally different class, different by country, social position, education—the Ultra-Republicans of France—and open the work, “*Décadence de l’Angleterre*,” by M. Ledru-Rollin, a gentleman who, by the high office he once held in his native country, and the consideration he still enjoys among his fellow-refugees, may fairly be supposed to represent the opinions of his party, and read the chapters devoted to the internal state and prospects of England, we shall be almost tempted to doubt whether we have not fallen on a continuation of the work of M. de Ficquelmont. The views and doctrines of M. Ledru-Rollin are too well known to need exposition here; it is therefore superfluous to add, that the *grounds* of accusation are different—that England is accused of betraying the liberal cause all over the world—of allying herself with tyrants—and of being the one serious obstacle to the establishment of universal freedom; but it is curious to note the identity of the conclusions, the equal virulence of abuse, the anxiety of each writer for the downfall of England from internal causes, or her destruction by the combined forces of Europe as the necessary preliminary to the establishment of his own ideal. These opinions might deserve nothing but contempt, did they merely express the irritated feelings of obscure individuals, but, put forward by men highly esteemed in their respective parties, they represent the views entertained by numerous and influential classes. The opinions of the Republicans are at this moment of less immediate importance, as they are now, and may long be, excluded from all direct influence on political events; but at a period when we may perhaps be called upon to assist Austria either directly or indirectly, it is desirable to be acquainted with the real feeling her statesmen entertain towards our country.

We wish we could consider either accusation against us as absolutely false. Both are, no doubt, greatly exaggerated by prejudice and passion; yet, if we impartially examine the history of Europe since its last great settlement, we are reluctantly obliged to confess, that both the extreme parties have grounds for their enmity, and that the mournful anxiety with which the moderate party—who would fain seek their surest ally in England, whose example they desire to emulate in their internal development—await the course she will now pursue, is amply justified by the experience of the past. Arbitress of Europe in 1815, England was a principal party to the arrangements at

present existing. She sanctioned the divisions of States and the partitioning of races, which have resulted in keeping Europe ever on the verge of revolution, and assisted in creating a balance of power so artificial, and so nicely poised, that one of the principal arguments used by the defenders is, that should a single error or wrong be redressed, the whole fabric would fall to the ground. A few years later, a Protestant scruple alone withheld her from giving her sanction to the provisions of the Holy Alliance—a barren protest being the only opposition she offered to the arbitrary decisions of the Congress of Verona in 1822. So soon did the final settlement of 1815 need fresh confirmation at the hands of its authors. She stood by unmoved while the armies of France and Austria forcibly abolished the constitutions of Spain and Naples; while, a few short years later, her policy veering round to another point of the political compass, she assisted in establishing the independence of Greece, thereby acknowledging the right of a people to throw off a foreign and oppressive yoke. An insurrection in the streets of Paris changed the dynasty of France, and the first to recognise the new Sovereign was the very country which had spent so much blood and treasure to place on the throne the race thus summarily dismissed. Next, and almost at the same period, England interfered to detach her Belgian provinces from Holland, yet took no step to prevent Poland from being deprived of the vestiges of liberty secured to her by the very treaties of 1815.

At the eventful epoch of 1848 these inconsistencies in the policy of England, which have earned for her more hatred than any decided hostility could have done, were more remarkable than before. To the Lombard and Piedmontese envoys Lord Palmerston held language which induced them to believe that the English Government was favourable to the entire separation of the Lombardo-Venetian Provinces from Austria, and the formation of a powerful kingdom of Northern Italy under the House of Savoy, while to the Sicilian provisional ministry he wrote despatch upon despatch, with the assurance that if entire independence were aimed at, and the crown offered to the Duke of Genoa, his title would be immediately recognised by England. Nothing can be more clear and decided than the expressions in Lord Palmerston's despatches, notably in those addressed to Viscount Ponsonby, then minister at Vienna; yet, when Austria, in the tide of returning fortune, receded from the concessions she had formerly proposed, and which Lord Palmerston had then regarded as insufficient, and the King of Naples drowned in blood the constitution England herself had bestowed on Sicily in 1812, no word of disapproval escaped the lips that had so lately given hope of a directly opposite consummation.

But the feelings of the Republicans, embittered though they be, are yet those of amity and tenderness, compared with those entertained by the pure absolutist party. The former, even while condemning our Government, cannot refuse their admiration to the liberty our people has known how to conquer and defend; and this sentiment is joined to gratitude for the safety our laws have secured to the refugees of every shade of opinion; but the latter, however it may suit their purposes at times to flatter and cajole, regard us in truth with far deeper abhorrence. Their hatred embraces not only our Government, but our liberty, our laws, our institutions. The bare hospitality we accord to the exile, and by which many of their leaders were the first to profit, is in their eyes an inexpressible crime. Our island is regarded much in the light in which the inhabitants of a peaceable district may consider the cavern supposed to be haunted by a band of outlaws; our free press is represented as the advocate of disorder, the inciter of rebellion in all countries; and, ludicrous as it may appear to our readers, there are many who believe that our writers, our orators, our people, nay, the Government itself, are all engaged in a covert conspiracy to weaken all other States by external division, for the sole advantage of perfidious Albion. The acts of the Government, favourable to absolutism, are described in this view as an additional perfidy—as a mask intended to disguise its schemes and to lull asleep suspicion, while such acts as the dismemberment of Holland are pointed to as proofs of its real objects. The jealousies of the military despotisms inherent to their very existence, the necessity in which each alternately finds itself, of courting the support and alliance of England, have hitherto prevented the formation of a great military league against our country, and will continue to do so as long as the Government of France is not wholly conformable to pure absolutist doctrines. Were it possible for a dynasty by divine right to regain dominion there, we might find by experience how little worth are the flatteries uttered by despotic Powers in their time of need. For the same reason, the opinions we have here attributed to the absolutist party are seldom given to the world, save in a moment in which vexation and ill-humour have temporarily overcome habitual dissimulation, but our readers may rest assured that this is the feeling entertained, and that there is no absolutist whose favourite dream would not be to see England debased from her proud pre-eminence, and constrained to remodel her institutions on the pattern of the Continental despotisms. In proof of this assertion, we need but note the joy felt, and even openly expressed, at the moment of our disastrous winter campaign in the Crimea. The lion was supposed to be mortally wounded, and the wolves already congratulated themselves on the

approaching division of spoil. Our prompt recovery on that occasion rendered these prophets more careful in their calculations of coming events; yet the general sentiment was discernible in the tendency to magnify our losses, and exaggerate our peril during the mutiny in India.

It is comparatively easy to trace the feelings of the two extreme parties towards England. The lines of demarcation are broad and plain, the relations of causes and effects easily discernible. The task of defining the sentiments of the moderate party is one of far greater delicacy. The ultra-absolutists and ultra-republicans, however different the object of their worship, have a certain resemblance to each other. Equally bigoted, we might perhaps add, equally illiberal in their devotion to their respective ideals, both attach the same importance to *form*, seeking in it the panacea for every evil they desire to remedy, and it is natural that both should regard with equal hatred the country that appears to them as the one great past and future obstacle to the universal realization of their favourite dogmas. But between these two parties, happily too absolute and exclusive in their ideas to count numerous adherents, though dangerous by the energy and fanaticism of those they do possess, lies a far larger and more reasonable party, less compact, it is true, since it comprises men of many shades of opinion, and therefore more difficult to rouse to united action, yet which, though its existence as a defined party dates but a few years back, is daily increasing in numbers and influence. We allude to the national party, insufficiently known and appreciated in England, who, were she inclined, might find in it her surest supporters, her most fervent adherents. The connecting bond of these men is the principle of national existence, the negation of form. Some among them may theoretically prefer a monarchy little less than absolute, the majority a constitution with a king as chief of the State, while many lean towards a republic, but all are agreed to treat form as a secondary question, and to give their hearty support and adhesion to any State or Government that will adopt the doctrine of independent nationalities. They would fain ally themselves with a Power that can have no direct interest to serve, from whose subsequent intervention they can have nothing to fear, but, in default of such a State, they will grasp any helping hand that may be extended towards them.

It is painful to hear the sad and solemn judgment these men pass upon the policy of England. Rabid vituperation may provoke a smile of contempt, and seldom fails to excite sympathy for the object assailed, but it is, we repeat, painful to listen to the admiration expressed for our institutions, to the distinction carefully drawn between our internal and external policy, fol-

lowed up by condemnation of the conduct of our Government, and lamentations over the apathy of our people, so ready to applaud at public meetings any orator who comes forward to advocate theoretically the rights of nations; so indifferent when they are practically at stake, that no member of Parliament ever thinks himself bound to answer to his constituents for his votes on foreign policy, and who, it is truly urged, having the power of control whenever they are pleased to exercise it, are responsible for acts which they have not indeed expressly sanctioned, but which they have assuredly taken no measures to prevent. That no dependence can be placed on England, is the judgment reluctantly passed by the national party. They do not, indeed, accuse her of deliberate perfidy, of deep-stained treachery, but of allowing herself to be made the instrument of dynastic interests in the preservation of the *status quo*, of over-attachment to the outward semblance of peace, even when purchased by sufferings not inferior to those of war, and of far longer duration, of sacrificing her own grand permanent interest in the welfare of the world and of the human race to temporary tranquillity, of staving off an inevitable cataclysm, which, the longer it is deferred, will be the more terrible in its effects, in order to avoid for a while the convulsions in commerce incident to a violent political crisis.

It is said that the question of nationalities is one of recent origin, a species of literary invention, a dream of politicians of a poetic temperament. The origin of the question is of small importance. It is impossible to deny that it is actually one, on the solution of which the fate of all Europe may depend, and the recent date at which it was first formulated, as compared to its rapid rise to supreme importance, is rather an argument in favour of the eagerness with which it has been adopted, and of the deep root it has already taken in the minds of men. We grant that the time is not long passed in which nations allowed themselves to be grouped or divided with the docility of slaves who are bought and sold, but if their heavings and discontents are now so dangerous to the public peace that they form the chief pre-occupation of every European Government, they must be dealt with as positive and practical facts. From whatever source it springs, the feeling of unity of race that can induce Poles to lay aside their hereditary hatred of Russians in the recollection that they are alike Slavonians;\* that leads the sons of Venice and Florence to sacrifice the cherished independence of their native cities to the unity of Italy, that may one day efface the distinctions of

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\* Our readers may not be aware that a party has of late years arisen, whose aim is to re-unite the scattered provinces of Poland under Russian supremacy.

Spaniard and Portuguese; that can make Moldavians and Wallachians forget their mutual mistrust and the jealousies of party to concur in the election of a Hospodar, whose sole title to their suffrages was his known attachment to the cause of the union of the Principalities; and finally, that causes all the different members of the Germanic race to tend towards a common centre, cannot be summarily dismissed as the dream of a few Utopists. It is a real and living fact; as a fact it must be treated, and therefore the opinion of those who, belonging to every land and religion, are equally members of the national party, is not to be lightly disregarded.

Undoubtedly other reasons, such as prejudice of country and education, jealousy of our power, envy of our wealth and superior prosperity, contribute in no slight degree to the distrust or dislike of England, which we unhesitatingly assert to be all but universal on the Continent. No doubt such sentiments induce many, who would otherwise be indifferent in the question, to join in the general condemnation, but we believe the opinions which we have now passed in review to be those of men who reflect, and who form their judgments without regard to passion or prejudice. It is assuredly galling to our national pride to feel ourselves the objects of so severe a censure, and to know that, instead of being looked to with affection and confidence, as a State, which being itself happy and prosperous, would willingly contribute to place its neighbours in the enjoyment of equal blessings, it is regarded by those who are now preparing to join in the struggle for existence and independence as capable of ranging itself beside the oppressors. They do not venture even to hope for more than England's unsympathizing neutrality while they are striving for all that can render life dear to man.

In the debate on the Address at the opening of Parliament, to which we before referred, the Earl of Derby indeed asserted that England is bound by no secret engagements, a declaration which, as minister, it was absolutely incumbent on him to make; but his language sufficiently showed to which side his sympathies incline. That such doctrines should be held by the Conservative leaders is not surprising; but it was hardly to be expected that the statesmen on the opposition benches should betray so slight a difference between their opinions and those of the ministry, and that in all the English Parliament no single member should be found to plead the cause of national independence, and the rights of the oppressed, and we cannot but sympathize in the deep indignation with which these debates were read on the Continent. It is grievous to say, but the moderate Liberal party, (we do not speak of those who, seeing no salvation save in the subversion of all organized government, rejoice over acts which give a certain

confirmation to their doctrines,) which aspires to the conquest of institutions similar to our own, which looks with hope towards the despotic Government of France, and counts upon the sympathy of Russia, now dreads lest the influence of England, thrown into the opposite scale, should operate to deprive it of the aid of the Sovereign who has testified the will, as he has the power to assist it, and should thus contribute to swell the ranks of the ultra-Republican party, now feeble and discouraged, but which will assuredly be joined by all but the adherents of despotic monarchy, if the hopes that have been raised and encouraged be dashed to the ground.

We are told of the respect due to diplomatic conventions, and of the inviolability of treaties. Far be it from us to advocate wanton violation of public faith, though we would observe that, were treaties really considered as inviolable, there never would have been but one concluded. Nay, more, the treaties, for instance, of Westphalia or Utrecht, were not less sacred than those of Vienna, yet where are the States then created, or the barriers then declared eternal? This is the inevitable course of events. There are certain geographical demarcations so decided, certain bonds of race so closely knit, that they do and must survive the changes of centuries, but the arrangements based on expediency or temporary interest, though perchance perfectly just and proper at the time they were entered into, may, by the mere progress of time, half a century later become an absurdity and a public evil. Man does not witness the growth and decay of the forest oak; successive generations repose under the shade of the self-same tree; yet it is none the less certain that it does spring from its acorn, rises gradually to its splendid maturity, and finally, after its branches have fallen away, and its trunk has long been hollowed by decay, droops and dies from extreme old age. Even thus is the life of states and nations. They, too, have their periods of infancy, of maturity, and of gradual decay; every revolving year brings some slight and imperceptible change in their position, and it were difficult logically to maintain that the treaties which might be conformable to their degree of development and position at one period, equally represent their requirements and necessities at another. We cannot therefore admit, even in principle, that the letter of treaties is permanently binding. We would willingly see some method discovered for their peaceable revision, but we believe that from time to time some revision is absolutely necessary to bring them into harmony with the changes in the state of public affairs.

If we allow, however, that treaties are sacred, and their provisions to be invariably respected, it is obvious that they must be preserved inviolate in all instances and by all parties. A contract

is binding while it is faithfully observed by all those who have entered into it, but no longer. \* If this be the case, it is absurd to talk of the sacredness of the treaties of Vienna, not only the spirit but even the dead letter of which has been repeatedly set at nought by almost every party to the bond in turn, without any protest on the part of the others. Is it in virtue of the treaties of 1815, we would ask, that Belgium (a State England herself contributed to create, and with which she is actually in close alliance) exists? that the Republic of Cracow was blotted out from the map, and the ancient Polish city occupied by Austrian troops? that the King of Naples concluded with Austria a treaty by which he solemnly bound himself never to grant to his subjects institutions that should contrast with those enjoyed by the Lombardo-Venetian Provinces? and that Austria has repeatedly occupied Tuscany, the Duchies, and the Legations, where her armies have been quartered for the last ten years, and have been greatly reinforced so recently as a few weeks back, thus extending her influence, and even her material power, far beyond the limits assigned to her by treaty? \* We are now told, indeed, that the foreign occupation of the Papal States is to cease, but the declarations of the official organs of the two Powers concerned do not tell us when this event is to take place, and in principle nothing is gained thereby, unless Austria admits that she never had any right to be there—an admission which, judging from her declarations as to her treaties with the Duchies, she will never be disposed to make. Above all, is it in virtue of the treaties of Vienna that Napoleon III. reigns in France? and yet the very statesmen who are now so eloquent in defence of the inviolability of diplomatic conventions, were the first to acknowledge his title, and to enter into the closest alliance with him.

Unless, then, we are to conclude that treaties are of no account when it suits the convenience of a despotic Sovereign to enlarge his frontiers, or to smother in neighbouring States a liberty which might be of evil example to his own subjects, but are to be rigidly adhered to when the happiness of millions and the tranquillity of the whole of Europe is at stake—a principle we can hardly imagine any one in these islands would be willing to acknowledge—treaties are not absolutely inviolable; those of Vienna are not more sacred than others that have preceded them, and every State having an interest in the general welfare has the right to seek to modify them in furtherance of the general

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\* Wherever Austrian troops are in occupation, their commanders assume all the powers of government, and any individual rendering himself obnoxious is liable to be seized, condemned, and dragged to the dungeons of Mantua or Kufstein, in the name and by the authority of the Emperor of Austria.



advantage. We believe the time has come at which a revision of the existing arrangements is absolutely requisite, if we would avoid the advent, after a few years more of the troubled and precarious peace we have enjoyed for ten years past, of a crisis as terrible as the great French Revolution, and far more devastating in its effects, since it would no longer be confined to a single country.

We do not enter into the causes that have brought on the present crisis. We assume the fact, loudly asserted by France and Sardinia, confirmed by the official organs of Russia, acknowledged even by Austria herself, that an Italian question, taking its origin in the incompatibility of the governed and governing race, does exist, which, if not speedily solved, may draw on an appeal to the sword; and we ask ourselves what will, and what ought to be, the policy of England at this moment—what line of conduct is she likely to pursue? The answer involves many and important considerations. The assertion that England, an insulated State sufficiently powerful to be above seeking petty alliances, deriving her wealth and prosperity from sources independent of the European Continent, can have no direct interest to serve, and can only desire to see all nations peaceful and happy, has been so often made, that we almost hesitate to repeat it; yet it is a truth so obvious, that we can only lament that it had not been always acted upon.

We are emphatically a commercial nation: the maintenance and increase of our prosperity depends not on dynastic alliances, but on the extension of our commercial relations—on the development of our import and export trade. To us it may be of no importance whether it is a despotic empire or a free republic we have to deal with, but it does greatly concern us to know whether our merchants can carry on their enterprises without bar or hindrance, and freely exchange our manufactures for the raw produce of other lands. Every bale of merchandize of which we can dispose tends to give additional employment to our artisans, and thereby contributes to their welfare; every cargo of wheat we receive in exchange is food for our working classes, and by bringing plenty, and its sure attendant content, to the home of the labourer and the mechanic, in so far removes from us the dangers necessarily attendant on want and misery. It is therefore obviously for our interest that nations with whom we are in relation should be rich and well-governed, for if they are ruined by excessive taxation they are unable to purchase our goods; if the peasant be torn from his plough to spend his best years as the unproductive mercenary of despotic power, which finally sends him back to his home, accustomed to a life of idleness, which renders him unfit for industrial pursuits, it is impossible for

agriculture to take those developments by which the prosperity of a nation is maintained and increased.

We affirm, then, that England has a strong and positive interest in the condition of her fellow States; and that that interest is advanced in exact proportion to the prosperity and internal contentment which they enjoy. The proof of this assertion lies in the extent and rapid increase of our commercial relations with such States as Sardinia, Belgium, and even semi-barbarous Turkey, as compared with that of those we maintain, for instance, with Austria, a State that takes a portion of our merchandize utterly disproportioned to the number of her inhabitants, and gives us in return but an insignificant portion of the raw produce that we might fairly expect from the vast extent and fertility of her provinces. But indeed Sardinia and Belgium, hampered as they are by the vicinity of the great military monarchies, which constrain them to keep up armies which heavily tax their resources, and which would not be required for internal purposes, do not afford a fair example of the development of trade that would ensue were all Europe as free. Even with France, despite of her vicinity and the friendly disposition of her emperor, our commercial relations do not increase to an extent nor with a rapidity proportionately equal to the development exhibited in our relations with the small constitutional States. We are, then, justified in saying that the existence of discontent, especially arising from the domineering of one race over another, for which the only remedy applied by despotic governments is forcible suppression, is a positive material evil. We may state the question thus:—Despotic government, especially if wielded by a foreign race, causes discontent, which, pushed to extremity, threatens to imperil the safety of the State. Thus the maintenance of vast standing armies is necessitated. Standing armies induce a ruinous pressure of taxation, and diminish industry by reduction of the productive population. This reduction is a material loss to England; and if a loss, then it follows that its causes, that is, the standing armies, and the wide-spread disaffection which they alone are able to restrain, are to us positive evils.

In this statement of the case we have endeavoured not to exaggerate. We have even omitted certain circumstances which really augment the evil we point out, and restrained ourselves to those which are the inevitable consequences of the present state of Europe. We have not yet mentioned the ill-will of those who dread lest commercial liberty, and intercourse with a free people, should be the heralds of revolution, and endeavour to shut out the spirit of freedom by a tariff more or less prohibitive; we have not taken so extreme a case as the King of Naples, who seeks to

stifle all industry in his dominions, nor have we spoken of the perturbations caused in the trade actually existing, by the rumours of war and insurrection which have not once died away for the last ten years. That the actual state of affairs is considered precarious, is sufficiently attested by the coldness with which the last Austrian loan was received in the English money market, in spite of the tempting terms by which it was accompanied, and of the support it received from the name of Rothschild. From these considerations we deduce, that the actual state of European affairs is an evil to England, and that, as it is of a nature to grow worse rather than better if left to itself, and finally, as every cord when drawn over-tight must at last break, to lead to a catastrophe far more perilous to our commerce and high political position, than any war, or any less violent and complete change that might ensue from war. We therefore believe that it is emphatically in the interest of England that a remedy should be applied to the evils which cause the actual state of Europe, and that the application of this remedy should be as prompt as possible.

To apply a remedy, it is necessary to know where the evil lies; and, in our opinion, the chief culprit is the very power in whose favour our statesmen invoke the sacredness of treaties, and their sympathy with whom is so openly avowed. Of the four States that maintain vast armies, Austria is the only one by whom they are required for internal purposes, and for holding her every province in subjection. Of the forces of Russia, 300,000 men are in the Caucasus or the adjacent provinces, and the remainder, disseminated through the vast dominions that spread from Archangel to Odessa, from Warsaw to Astrakhan, cannot be considered as menacing the peace of Europe. France and Prussia have no rebellious provinces necessitating their armaments, and were it not for extraneous circumstances, they would surely be glad to lay down so heavy a burden on their resources; but they cannot disarm, in presence of the forces of Austria, without abandoning, the one, her position in the Germanic Confederation—the other, her Italian ally, and her remaining influence in the Peninsula.

In our opinion, then, the root of the evil lies in the state of Austria. With a revenue of twenty-eight millions (her organs tell us, though we believe this is a favourable statement), raised by direct taxation, so oppressive that it varies from twenty to forty-five per cent. on the incomes of the landed proprietors, of which fully one-half is yearly spent on her armies, her debt of two hundred millions is regularly increased by the annual deficit in the treasury. Her mines and her railroads have already been sold on most disadvantageous terms; every expedient has been resorted to for raising money, yet already she has been obliged to recur to a foreign loan. This is a deplorable position, yet it is

one susceptible of no amelioration; for with her actual system of government, it is impossible for her revenue materially to increase, and she cannot dismiss the soldiery whose support consumes so vast a sum, and necessitates the degree of taxation we have stated above, without seeing every province of her empire rise in insurrection.

Is this, then, a Power for the sake of whose alliance it is advisable for England to incur the enmity of France, and perhaps of Russia? Is it well for us, the great constitutional and Protestant State, to forfeit the sympathy of every nation aspiring to freedom, in order to support yet awhile the harsh and oppressive government of Austria—her continual violations of treaty in Central Italy, her severities towards the reformed churches, and thus pave the way to revolutions which would see in England their most deadly foe? We are told, indeed, that it is our duty to support Austria, because she is our old and faithful ally; and were this statement exact, we might be disposed to concede much to the chivalrous feeling of supporting a true and ancient friend in the hour of need; but it is founded on two misconceptions. The Austria of to-day is not our ancient ally. We were formerly allied to the Emperor, an essentially German sovereign, in spite of his suzerainty over certain non-German provinces on the eastern frontier, which were, however, ruled separately, and over an insignificant portion of Italy, so detached from the empire that, in order to reach it, it was necessary to pass through the territories of the Venetian Republic. This is a State having no other resemblance with the Austria now existing, composed of Hungarian, Slavonic, and Italian provinces, all ruled alike by decrees from Vienna, than that of the same capital and the same reigning family. The old empire was a reality: when one sovereign race died out, another was placed on the throne, but the State remained the same; whereas now, remove the House of Hapsburg, and what would ensue? Hungary, with her sister provinces—Transylvania, Croatia, and Dalmatia—would resume their independence and their national laws, and form a constitutional State, extending from the Carpathians to the Adriatic, watered by the Danube and its confluents. Galicia would probably seek reunion with Poland under the government of Russia; Bohemia, an ancient fief of the empire, and the German provinces, might naturally be expected to take their places in the Confederation with which they are connected by the bonds of race and language; and the Lombardo-Venetian States, we know, from the vote they freely gave in 1848, tend towards union with Piedmont. The removal of the House of Hapsburg, then, would be followed by the rise of two Constitutional States—one in Italy, the other on the Danube; both of which, under whatever influence they might be formed, would be necessitated, by the

neighbourhood of the two great military empires, to seek the alliance of England; and we can scarcely think she would find in them allies less reliable, or with interests less in harmony with her own, than the actual empire of Austria.

As to the second part of the proposition, that Austria is our *faithful* ally, we will not recall the many instances in which she has betrayed our interests, and deserted us when we had most the right to count upon her. Such points are always liable to discussion; palliating circumstances may be alleged, dire necessity pleaded as an excuse. In proof of her fidelity and her attachment, we need only refer to the pages of Count Ficquelmont, who, having spent his life in service of the State, as an ancient ambassador and minister, may fairly be cited as an example of the feelings entertained by his colleagues, and common to the circle in which he moves, although we admit that he speaks with more sincerity than is usual in an Austrian, or, indeed, any other statesman. But this very decision is a proof the more that he speaks the opinion of a party, that he was sure of the approbation of those by whom he is habitually surrounded, since we have no grounds for supposing the Count a man of original genius, likely to form and maintain an individual opinion in contradiction to his friends and contemporaries. On the contrary, that which most contributed to draw attention to his work, at the time of its publication, was the belief that Count Ficquelmont was less the author of the book than the responsible organ of his party, and that he had put forward his name, honoured and esteemed among his colleagues, as the sanction of doctrines which all or any of them would have been willing to countersign.

We have already stated what sentiments he expresses towards England, what hatred he has vowed to her institutions, what treatment we receive at his hands for the protection we accord to the unfortunate of every nation and opinion; and though such feelings are naturally concealed at the present moment, when Austria has the utmost need of the support of England, without which she would find herself completely isolated, and the honied language of cajolery is substituted for the harsh tones of vituperation, it were folly to suppose that they are reversed or obliterated; for the antipathy, in fact, arises from the very nature of things, and may be traced to its origin, in every liberty of which we are justly proud. It was, no doubt, an imprudent act to give to the world a work like that of M. de Ficquelmont, which removed the mask under which the Absolutists had hitherto concealed their real sentiments towards a country of whose powerful alliance they might at any moment have need; but the resentment and hatred to England of Prince Felix de Schwarzenberg, prime minister, and chief of the Reactionist party in Austria, at

the time this book was written, were notorious, and account sufficiently for an outward ebullition of ill temper which would never have been allowed a vent by the prudent Metternich, or the conciliating Count Buol.

If, then, the English Government and people think it their duty and interest to place themselves in a position of hostility to France, supported by Russia—a position which might perhaps entail a general war—we should find ourselves opposed to the forces of those two empires in order to preserve the alliance of a Power that will, no doubt, be most happy to take our subsidies, but will afterwards repay us by the hatred she has manifested whenever she has dared to be sincere, and by the ingratitude with which she rewarded Russia for saving her in 1849. “The two most foolish sovereigns of Poland,” said the Emperor Nicholas, at Warsaw, “were Sobieski and myself—we both saved Austria!” Those who stand at the helm of our State should ponder well before they give Austria an opportunity of exhibiting similar ingratitude towards England.

In truth, however, it is from no abstract love of Austria that our sympathies are invoked in her favour. The real motive is distrust of Louis Napoleon, the avowed advocate of Italian independence, and dread lest the power which he may acquire in Italy after the Austrians are driven out should be used, not to confer freedom on the Italians, but to subject them to a Napoleonic dictatorship. Along with this distrust there no doubt exists in certain minds a traditional jealousy of French influence, whether exerted for good or for evil, in the sphere of European politics. This jealousy and dread are, in our belief, the result of an imperfect knowledge of the state of feeling on the Continent. The national party, which is now at the head of the Sardinian Government, and which wields a supreme influence throughout the Peninsula, though condemning the policy of the English Government, and driven by necessity into the arms of France, still looks back with hankering regret to the day when they hoped the salvation of their country from England. From her they would have had all to hope, nought to fear; and had she chosen to constitute herself their protector, their sympathy for her institutions would have induced them to support her measures with entire confidence, since even now, when her policy is so hostile, their censure is as that of a lover, who, struck to the heart by the inconstancy of the object of his affections, mournfully condemns, yet yearns for a return which would enable him to forgive. But were the Italians freed by France, we do not think England would have anything to fear from French influence in Italy; for in that country the object of hatred is the *stranger*; the aim of all true Italians is to be independent,

and to prevent any foreign power from possessing a foot of Italian soil. Thus, though it may seem a paradox, after their first formation as a State, the very fact of France being their liberator, would be contrary to the extension of French influence. England would only have to show a less hostile front, for her alliance to be eagerly grasped at as a counterpoise to the influences which we admit France would necessarily exercise over the constitution of a State owing its existence to her. But even thus France would gain by the pacification of Italy. It would be to her a great advantage, on the one hand, to be no longer in the close neighbourhood of a revolutionary volcano ever ready to explode, and on the other, to be delivered from the embarrassments occasioned by a rival power, whose opposite principles make her an antagonist in every point; but England would gain even more by the establishment of a powerful constitutional State, whose kindred institutions would make her prove a sure political ally, and whose free government would be of signal advantage to our commerce and the extension of our enterprise.

Three years ago the Congress of Paris declared the state of Italy to be one which, if prolonged, must become the cause of serious peril to the peace of Europe, a proposition at that time supported energetically by the plenipotentiaries of England. During the time that has since elapsed, no steps have been taken for its amelioration, and we see the consequence in the diplomatic difficulties that have arisen between France and Austria, in the enormous armaments now in preparation, and in the hostile attitude assumed by the Austrian and Sardinian armies on the Ticino. We have then the highest diplomatic authority, confirmed by facts patent to all the world, for affirming that the present position of affairs is precarious and unsatisfactory; and as France has strenuously advocated reforms in the Papal dominions, and offered to withdraw her garrisons, if Austria would at the same time evacuate the Legations, which the latter has not only evinced great reluctance to do, but has defended every abuse existing in the States of the Church, and also lately sent fresh troops to Ancona and Bologna, we cannot but consider her as the author of the present disturbance in the public mind, and regard her late declaration of her willingness to withdraw her armies as a feint, since, even if she do so, she counts on the immediate outbreak of an insurrection, which would give her pretext for returning, unembarrassed by the presence of French troops. In this paper it is our object to show the real feelings entertained towards England by the Absolutist party, to demonstrate the loss which materially even our country sustains by the mere fact of their dominion, and to prove thereby that she has a direct interest in seeing that which is wrong put

right. If this be her interest, we cannot but conclude, from all the considerations we have presented to our readers, that in order to secure it, it would be impossible to adopt a more fatal policy than that of supporting Austria.

Is this to say that we would have England take an active part in the war, which seems all but inevitable, or that we would desire her to engage in a crusade for the relief of suffering nationalities? By no means. Could the differences that divide Europe, and cause anxiety to every thinking man, be settled by peaceful means, we should certainly wish to see England take a leading part in the revision of the treaties of 1815: as she was a chief party in inflicting the wrong, so should she also be the first to seek to redress it by using the influence which her power and independent position assign to her, to appease the just discontents of the oppressed populations, and to deliver Europe from the nightmare of revolution which has so long hung over her. But we doubt whether any peaceful means can attain the object desired. No small concessions of this or that sovereign can put an end to the existing evils, and no motives of abstract justice or humanity will suffice to induce a monarch to dismember his empire and renounce his hold over the fairest provinces of Europe, while he is at the head of one of the finest armies of the world, and in possession of fortresses that have been strengthened by the labour of years against the very eventuality about to occur.

War, then, seems to us to be logically inevitable, as soon as there is found a State sufficiently powerful, and whose affinities of language, race, and geographical position, in a manner force her to lend an attentive ear to the complaints of the sufferers. England, who has no direct political obligation to take part, is not called upon to interfere; for not only do we hold that it would be grievous wrong to engage in war for the prospect of future material advantage only, but we also think that the circumstances in which England at present finds herself are such as to render war peculiarly undesirable for her. We are here treating of the external position of England, and we shall therefore not develop the reasons that lead us to this conclusion; but we may state that this is one of our motives for most earnestly deprecating any alliance with Austria, which we believe would be the surest prelude to a general war.

If England preserves her neutrality, it is probable that Russia and the German States, whose sympathies are enlisted on opposite sides, will also do the same, unless Austria, by rashly violating the provisions of the treaty of Paris, in the Principalities, either herself, or through her humble vassal, the Porte, forces the former to intervene. If England gives her voice actively in favour of



Austria, war may be retarded for a few months of anxious suspense, but when it does break out, must become general. It would then become a conflict between the Latin and Slavonic races on the one hand, and the great German element on the other—a contest the consequences of which no man can even pretend to divine; whereas, if three out of the five great Powers stay their hand, not only will the theatre of the war be restricted, but their influence, properly and honestly used, may prove effectual in regulating the next settlement of the map of Europe in a manner that will meet the just demands of all parties.

We have said that we consider war to be inevitable as soon as a State shall be found whose interests are bound up with those of the sufferers, and sufficiently powerful to encounter the forces of Austria. Our readers understand, of course, that such a State can only be France. If England has a general interest in seeing the world composed to stable peace, and in obtaining the free action of commerce throughout Europe, France has a direct and immediate political interest in the well-being and free development of Italy. We have already expressed our opinion that the sentiment of nationality is no vain dream of visionaries, but a positive fact; we will now go even farther, and state our belief that behind the sentiment of nationality there is another as yet undeveloped, though its direct corollary, that of the solidarity of races. In this century of vast enterprises, the relative value of the individual has sunk, that of the mass has risen. We do not now see a Shakspeare or a Machiavelli stand forth in striking contrast with the herd; but we are surrounded by men of talent, and one of the leading ideas of the age is that of association—association of artisans of the same trade, of capitalists engaged in kindred enterprises; association of provinces of the same State, and association of nations, divided, yet descended from the same stock, all striving to do by collective action that which each separately would be unable to effect.

In the case of provinces and nations, long arbitrary divisions, the dissensions of rulers, and the differences of constitutions and religions, prevent this principle from coming into full and complete action; but were they left to their own tendencies, and their governments even comparatively assimilated, we believe the destinies of Europe would turn on the relative action and connexion of the three great elements that compose its population—the Latins, the Teutonic, and the Slave. Thus we believe the policy that continually leads England towards an alliance with Germany to be the fruits of a true instinct erroneously applied. Were the Germans as free as ourselves, and equally governed according to the natural development of the Saxon mind, they would be our natural allies, for their interests and tendencies would be iden-

tical with our own. The mistake has been, that we have allied ourselves with the German Governments, as against their subjects, whom it has been their object to divide and oppress; whereas, it should have been our aim to encourage the development of free Protestant States in Germany, and to restrict, as far as possible, the action of despotic and Catholic Austria, a State the laws of whose development are essentially anti-German, were it only by the fact that the bulk of her population belong to other and hostile races.

By the same principle of affinities, France, the first and chief of the Latin nations, inevitably tends towards an alliance with Italy and Spain. With her sister States alone has she community of interests; in them alone can she find her true and natural allies. This solidarity of interests and tendencies would of itself supply a powerful motive for the sympathy the French Government has lately shown for the Italians, and for its half-avowed desire to rescue Italy from the domination of a German clement and army; it is, however, supported by others of a more temporary, but no less cogent nature. Having accepted for France the position in which she was placed by the treaties of 1815, Napoleon III. has an especial right to insist that they shall be observed by others, whereas in Italy they are manifestly violated by Austria. Moreover, the French occupation of Rome, excusable in so far as it prevented Austria from directly domineering over the whole peninsula, and from which it would be impossible to withdraw without aggravating the existing evil, as long as the Austrian garrisons remain in the Legations, makes France in part responsible for the misery of Italy, and lays upon her the moral obligation to redress the wrong she has helped to create. Finally, the volcanic state of Italy, and the danger of a revolutionary explosion, increased by every day the Austrian occupation is prolonged, is a cause of incessant peril to the Imperial Government. Louis Napoleon is thus enabled to justify himself in demanding that the present state of affairs in Italy shall cease, and were it possible to believe that the motives which we have assigned to him are strengthened only by a spirit of national chivalry and genuine regard for the Italians, we should not blame him for enforcing his demands by recourse to arms if Austria declines a peaceable solution, and maintains her garrisons in the Duchies, contrary to treaty, and the general balance of power by them established, on the pretence that her position in Lombardy would otherwise be untenable, a pretence which sufficiently proves how slender is the basis of right on which she stands.

England, we have already said, has no direct cause to engage in war with Austria, far less has she any reasonable motive for

supporting her; especially since the propositions of Lord Cowley have been rejected at Vienna. We therefore advocate neutrality, but we would have England withheld by no petty jealousy, by no vain fear of the prestige inseparable from victory, from giving to France and Piedmont the moral support due to the champions of a just cause. Let those descend into the lists whose duty, whose right, and whose necessity it is to do so. Let those whose happier position permits them to stand aloof without declining the responsibility cast upon them by events, applaud the combatants in favour of the great principles of national existence, and free independent development of States, and use the great influence they cannot abdicate, in order to render the inevitable evils of war as little extensive as possible, and to restrain the victor within the bounds of moderation and justice. This is the part we would have England play, as at once the most consistent with the principles that animate her internal government, with her dignity and her interests. Let her leave Austria to the fate that she has brought upon herself by her oppressive internal, and her false and treacherous external policy. Let her cast into the scale in favour of France the great weight of her influence and approbation, giving thereby to the Italian populations a security they cannot now feel, that their independence will not be bought at the price of their internal liberty, and assuring to herself a decisive voice in the arrangements that will be the consequence of war. If England uphold Austria, France, in our opinion, will not the less make war; but if victorious, she will have the full right to say to England—“The re-settlement of Europe shall now be made in accordance with my views and my interests. The prizes of war are for those who have run the risks of the conflict. She who supported the defeated enemy has here no right to advise.”

But we hope such a contingency is not even possible, in spite of the declarations of the Ministers of the Crown in Parliament, in spite of the explanations asked of the Sardinian Governments as to enrolments that have not taken place, and the remonstrances against a policy which is in truth one of legitimate defence, since every forward step on the part of Piedmont has been the direct consequence of an aggressive movement of Austria. We cannot believe that a free and liberal people like the English will ever permit their Government to aid the oppressor against the oppressed; or, that while they are claiming more extensive freedom for themselves at home, they will be the indirect means of tearing from others that which they already possess. It would be a terrible illustration of the words, “To him that hath shall be given, and from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath,” were the position of the oppressed nationalities

to be aggravated (an occurrence inevitable if the present crisis do not terminate in their favour) by the act of the very nation whose liberties are being increased at the same moment.

We repeat, we cannot believe that the English nation will abandon abroad the cause advocated at home; nor can we believe that the Government will be blind to the dignified part that England may play on this occasion. In the Crimean war, the first laurels were reserved for France. England met with misfortune, and just as she had developed all her strength, and was about to retrieve her disasters, the Peace of Paris, avowedly the work of the French Emperor, robbed her of the opportunity of showing that she had not degenerated since the last general war: now is the time to regain what was then lost. Let her support France as long as her cause is just and generous; but if, in the event of an appeal to the sword, the war of liberation should become a war for conquest, let England then say, "Halt! the cause advocated is won; let the nations now freed organize their internal government at their own good pleasure," and her word will be law. Let England take the opposite course, and on her may rest the responsibility of a long and bloody European war, in which all the existing territorial arrangements, nay, even all society, may be convulsed, and from which it is terribly doubtful whether she herself would come forth unscathed.

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## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

### THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON<sup>1</sup> was one of those men who have exercised an influence on their generation not soon to pass away, who have enjoyed a great living reputation, but who have not left behind them an achieved monument or finished work to command the admiration of posterity. His strength lay principally in the learning connected with his subject, in his power of clear review and precise criticism of preceding errors. He conferred a great benefit upon the study of philosophy in this country, by familiarizing a large number of persons with some of the Kantian philosophical terms and with some of the rudimentary Kantian distinctions, and by setting before them an unrivalled model of precision and clearness of statement in the treatment of metaphysical subjects. But his labours were too much distributed, too much frittered away in occasional papers and in rectifications of the views of others.

We think it will be understood with some disappointment by the general public, that the volumes now in course of publication consist simply of a biennial series of lectures, thrown off for the most part in the very currency of the Sessions when they were originally delivered, and repeated with no important additions during the twenty years that the author held the Chair of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh:—

“His first course of lectures (metaphysical) thus fell to be written during the currency of the session (1836-7) The author was in the habit of delivering three lectures each week; and each lecture was usually written on the day, or more properly on the evening and night, preceding its delivery. The course of metaphysics, as it is now given to the world, is the result of this nightly toil, unremittingly sustained for a period of five months.”—Pref., p. 10.

It is all which can be expected of a person of mediocre ability, if he succeeds in attaining a Professorial Chair in one of our Universities, that he should continue to repeat until he is greyheaded the respectable course of lectures which he concocted in his youth; but for one to do so who has the reputation of being first among his contemporaries on his particular subject, involves, to say the least of it, a loss of most valuable opportunities. It is sometimes reproached to Professors in the German Universities—or reproached to the system which bestows upon them most niggardly endowments—that when

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<sup>1</sup> “Lectures on Metaphysics and Logic.” By Sir William Hamilton, Bart., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh, &c. &c. Edited by the Rev. H. L. Mansel, B.D., Oxford, and John Veitch, M.A., Edinburgh. In four volumes. Vols. I. and II. Lectures on Metaphysics. Edinburgh and London. Blackwood and Sons. 1859.

they have obtained their "Stuhl," they employ themselves too frequently upon literary undertakings, rather designed to increase their individual reputation, than connected with the duties of their office; and it is better to acknowledge frankly that the publication of these lectures of Sir William Hamilton may give occasion for similar observations.

The editors remark justly, that the present volumes "may appear to some disadvantage, on account of the length of time which has elapsed between their composition and publication." For many things which would have been new to English readers twenty years ago, have become familiar to them, partly by means of the writings of the author himself, partly by reason of the stimulus which he assisted in giving to speculative studies. The lectures have no claim to be considered as a course upon metaphysics; on metaphysics, properly so called, they scarcely touch; but they are a valuable contribution to the literature of psychology. Metaphysics, indeed, necessarily includes psychology in a twofold manner, for metaphysics is the study of being in its essence or its causes. Mind is therefore one of its objects, inasmuch as it is a kind of, or manifestation of, being; and, moreover, the human mind, whatever it be physically, is itself the instrument through which alone all our knowledge can be attained. Now, it certainly would have been more philosophical and more candid in appearance, not to have assumed at the outset, in a treatise on "Metaphysics," a severance between mind and matter as distinct substances, and then to treat mind as the only proper object of philosophy. It might have been found to be so ultimately, when all causes were seen to be resolvable into mind or intelligence; but the investigation of causes was abandoned by the author, as carrying us beyond the legitimate boundaries of our faculties. It would therefore have been better for him to have said that metaphysics proper, being a fruitless study, and the cognition of facts with some limited inferences being all that is within the range of our powers, the course undertaken would be illustrative of the phenomena of human mind, and of the laws and limitations of human thought. These lectures will no doubt be made text-books and appliances for private study, and such a pretension as is put forth respecting them in the following words may mislead the less experienced:—

"Science and philosophy are conversant either about Mind or about Matter. The former of these is Philosophy properly so called. With the latter we have nothing to do, except in so far as it may enable us to throw light upon the former; for Metaphysics, in whatever latitude the term be taken, is a science, or complement of science, exclusively occupied with mind. Now the philosophy of Mind,—Psychology or Metaphysics, in the widest signification of the terms,—is *threefold*; for the object it immediately proposes for the consideration may be either, 1, PHENOMENA in general; or, 2, LAWS; or, 3, INFERENCEs,—RESULTS."—Lecture VII., Vol. I., p. 120.

The course is actually employed about the first division only of the subject; the second would have been found superfluous; for laws of mind would be distributable partly under observed phenomena, partly under inferential results. But the third division, or Results, could

alone present the objects of metaphysical study, strictly so called, as the author has elsewhere well expressed it thus:—

“Although, therefore, existence be only revealed to us in phenomena, and though we can, therefore, have only a relative knowledge either of mind or of matter, still by inference and analogy we may legitimately attempt to rise above the mere appearances which experience and observation afford. Thus, for example, the existence of God and the Immortality of the Soul are not given us as phenomena, as objects of immediate knowledge; yet if the phenomena actually given do necessarily require, for their rational explanation, the hypothesis of immortality and of God, we are assuredly entitled from the existence of the former to infer the reality of the latter. Now the science conversant about all such inferences of unknown being from its known manifestations, is called ONTOLOGY, or METAPHYSICS PROPER.”—*Id. ib.*, p. 125.

There are also other places in which these inferences or results are acknowledged as the proper end of the author's undertaking, and in which some of them are anticipated.

The ten first lectures are introductory, containing general observations on the subject of philosophy. Lect. XI.—XVIII. are concerned with the phenomena of the consciousness, which are distributed into three classes, of knowing, feeling, and endeavour. It is shown to imply knowledge, actual, immediate, and discriminating; laws are laid down under which its phenomena ought to be studied—the law of *Parcimony*, that is, that not the fact of consciousness, but the validity of its evidence, is the proper subject of discussion; the law of *Integrity*, that is, that all its phenomena are to be taken into account; the law of *Harmony*, that inferences from the phenomena must be consistent with the whole of the facts. The veracity of the consciousness being presumed, without which any attempt at philosophy would be childish, the first general fact presented by it is observed to be its simultaneous and indivisible perception of the self and the not-self; the second, is of the combined activity and passivity of mind. The third phenomenon is rather a question, problem, or inference, than an acknowledged fact—namely, whether the mind is modified unconsciously—and the author adopts the doctrine of latency, of which there are three degrees: 1, as when we know a language, but are not making use of it; 2, as when in certain states of exaltation or excitement the possession of knowledge is revealed of which we had previously been unconscious,—of which we remain unconscious on relapsing into our ordinary state; 3, mental modifications, of which we always remain unconscious, but “which manifest their existence by effects of which we are conscious.”

In concluding the portion of his lectures devoted to the consideration of the phenomena of consciousness, Sir William Hamilton directed attention to three principal observations or inferences, in anticipation of certain of the results to be established in another course upon metaphysics proper. These are, 1. The fact of our self-existence perceived intuitively in the very act of consciousness, which gives immediately, contemporaneously, and indivisibly, both the self and the not-self; 2. The fact of our mental unity; “as clearly as I am conscious of existing, so clearly am I conscious at every moment

of my existence. . . . That the conscious Ego is not itself a mere modification, nor a series of modifications of any other subject, but that it is itself something different from all its modifications, and a self-subsistent entity." (Lect. XIX., Vol. I., p. 373.) 8. The identity of mind or person, which is of the last importance as giving the hope of individual immortality. The unity and identity of the self depend for their evidence upon the "deliverance" of our consciousness. We employ a term in favour in the north, taken, we believe, metaphorically from the Scotch courts, but which has a very ambiguous sound in the south—and this "deliverance" itself may be an illusion, as Kant and Hume might object. The reply is given, that "the possibility of philosophy supposes the veracity of consciousness as to the contents of its testimony; therefore in disputing the testimony of consciousness to our mental unity and substantiality, Kant disputes the possibility of philosophy, and consequently reduces his own attempts at philosophising to absurdity." (Lect. XIX., Vol. I., p. 374.) Certainly the *Tu quoque* in this passage is little philosophical; and it should be remembered that, relatively to us, the "deliverance" of consciousness is not only veracious but true; we accept relatively to ourselves that the fact is so as the consciousness reports, yet we cannot know that absolutely in itself it is so; and this relative character of all human knowledge must apply to the reports of consciousness concerning the inner man, or mind become an object to it, as well as to its report of the outer or material world. And so Sir William Hamilton had well laid it down, after other philosophers, "that all human knowledge, consequently that all human philosophy, is only of the relative or phenomenal" (Vol. I., p. 136); "our whole knowledge of mind and matter is only relative" (ib., p. 138); therefore, the unity and identity of the thinking subject, which the consciousness reports, are phenomena, true relatively to us; but as to the supposed substance which they characterize, we know it not, nor whether they are more than apparent qualities of it. In order to facilitate some important inferences concerning the identity and continuance of the thinking subject, the relative character of all knowledge, so clearly stated (Vol. I., pp. 136—8), was afterwards suffered to drop somewhat out of sight.

The discussion of consciousness, in its general facts and relations, terminates with the 19th Lecture; the consideration of the special faculties of knowledge succeeds. These are found to be—

( Cognitive Faculties )	{	I. Presentative . . .	{ External—Perception.
		II. Conservative . . .	Internal—Self-consciousness.
		III. Reproductive . . .	Memory.
		IV. Representative . . .	Without will—Suggestion.
		V. Elaborative . . .	With will—Reminiscence.
		VI. Regulative . . .	Imagination.
			Comparison—Faculty of Relations.
			Reason—Common Sense."
			Lect. XX., Vol. II., p. 17.

Of these the first is treated in nine lectures, including an elaborate criticism of Reid and other authors, and establishing the doctrine of an immediate perception of an external world; or rather, showing



that hypothesis to be preferable to theories of representative perception, when it is properly guarded as to the relative and subjective character of the information so conveyed.\* Memory and recollection, the laws of association, imagination, judgment and the processes of abstraction and generalization which are subservient to it, are disposed of in eight more. In three others are explained the author's doctrine of the conditioned, and of the necessary limitations of human thought. Even the ancient philosophers acknowledged human thought to be compounded of two elements, an inner idea and outward matter, an inner faculty or insight and outward object, an inner form and outward substance, or the like. The *criterion* by which the native might be distinguished from the extraneous element was first enunciated by Leibnitz; the native element, or law of thought, being known by the mark of necessity—the necessity of thinking so and so—the impossibility of thinking otherwise. Not that any law of thought can be quickened into activity without experience, but according as our cognitions receive at once the stamp of necessity or contingency, they are *à priori*, or merely empirical. For instance, immediately the axiom is enounced, or an instance exhibited, of the whole being equal to its parts taken together, thought ratifies it as a universal or necessary truth: but an event of life or a material phenomenon, though presented as a fact, is not conceived of as necessary. These latter facts may serve as a basis of induction, but do not awaken a mental assertion superseding the necessity of induction. There is also a contribution of form to the sum of thought in every case of ordinary perception—the external world appears to us as it does, partly by reason of its own hidden nature which escapes us, and partly by reason of our constitution; and appears differently to us and to other animals by reason of the difference of their internal constitution from our own. But that is not now the question, which concerns the extent of range of the *à priori* faculty, or the value of the subjective element *per se*, whether it has any and what revealing power, and especially whether it can reveal to us the Absolute, the Eternal, the Infinite; for these are certainly not reached by experience. Of course, if any one maintain that he, individually, can fully and adequately conceive Infinity and Eternity as positive Being, we can have nothing to say, except that his faculties do not correspond with our own; but if the question is to be determined by an analysis of the human conceptions of what are called Infinity and Eternity, and of the relations which those concepts bear to the human faculties, then we must say that we can have positive conception only of the finite—that the infinite can be conceived of by us only approximately and under the limitations of our own possibilities of thought. Sir William Hamilton claims as his own the elucidating the law of

\* The doctrine of mediate perception and of an idealism resembling the hypothesis of "sensible species" is maintained in "The Essentials of Philosophy, wherein the Constituent Principles are traced throughout the various departments of Science: with Analytical Strictures on the views of some of our leading Philosophers." By the Rev. George Jamieson, M.A., one of the Ministers of the Parish of Old Machar, Aberdeen. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1859

the limitation of human thought, which he describes as vibrating between two contradictories. This term contradictory he uses in a quasi-logical and sometimes misleading sense. For the principle of contradiction in logic is simply this—that two alternatives being given, which cannot be true together, the affirming the one denies the other, and the denying of the one affirms the other. But this supplies a very rude and inapplicable analogy to the limitations of the human thought. Thus with respect to the conception of time. Contradictory to supposing a commencement of time is to suppose a non-commencement or infinite precession; but if a commencement be conceivable, the contradictory is not thereby established as conceivable. So a cutting short of time and an infinite succession of time are equally inconceivable; if one of the alternatives *could* be conceived it would exclude the other, but each being inconceivable, neither posits the other. Nothing could be more unsatisfactory than the statement and application of this law in Lecture XXXVIII., pp. 368—70:—

“Now, then, I lay it down as a law which, though not generalized by philosophers, can be easily proved to be true by its application to the phenomena, That all (?) that is conceivable in thought lies between two extremes, which, as contradictory of each other, cannot both be true, but of which, as mutual contradictories, one must.”—(p. 368.)

And with respect to the conception of space:—

“It is plain that space either must be bounded or not bounded. These are contradictory alternatives; on the principle of contradiction they cannot both be true, and on the principle of excluded middle, one must be true.”—(p. 369.)

And, again, the philosopher having a glimpse of a really serviceable doctrine, is blinded by his logical term of contradiction:—

“Now, then, both contradictories are equally inconceivable, and could we limit our attention to one alone, we should deem it at once impossible and absurd, and suppose its unknown opposite as necessarily true. But as we not only can, but are constrained to consider both, we find that both are equally incomprehensible; and yet, though unable to view either as possible, we are forced by a higher law to admit that one, but one only, is necessary.”—(Ib., p. 370.)

Further, in a paper written autumn, 1855—on desk May, 1856, (Appendix, Vol. II., pp. 523, ff.) he seems on the point of emancipating himself from the theory of logical contradiction, and distinguishes from it a psychological application of contradiction which admits, “that we may be unable to think the possibility of either alternative,” and this “psychological phasis of the law has been generally neglected;” “we are proved to be incompetent to think what we must necessarily think about;” but he falls helplessly back from his doctrine of limitation, if it really amounted to anything, when he gives as a *dernier mot*:—

“And thus while Existence, Time, and Space are the indispensable conditions, forms, or categories of actual thought, still are we unable to conceive either of the counter alternatives, in one or other of which we cannot but admit that they exist.”

The hesitation of Sir William Hamilton in the application of his own doctrine of limitation, or of the impotency of mind, is especially evident in his treatment of the idea of causation. Here, as elsewhere, it is probable that he was restrained from a full development of his views by theological considerations. It should have been frankly stated and rested in, that the human mind is equally impotent to conceive either of the alternatives of an infinite regression of causes, or of a first cause becoming active out of nothing: for the reality of Being which we cannot fathom is probably as little approximated by our attempts to conceive a first cause, as to conceive a regression of causes. The paper on causation of the date 1855-6, (App., Vol. II., p. 538), presents the author's last and most consistent views on that subject.

Perhaps, also, the theological influences to which we have alluded led Sir William Hamilton to guard himself on another point, in a way which is the more to be regretted, because professional divines may be tempted to think speculations secure of triumph which are founded on a distinction recognised by so great a man. The following is the distinction which he draws between belief and knowledge:—

“We know God according to the finitude of our faculties; but we believe much that we are incompetent properly to know. The Infinite, the infinite God, is what, to use the words of Pascal, is infinitely inconceivable. Faith, Belief, is the organ by which we apprehend what is beyond our knowledge.”—(Vol. II., p. 374.)

The mistake into which theologians may fall relative to such expressions is, that faith or belief can give conceptions which are denied this to knowledge; whereas believing, as well as knowing, presupposes as its object a concept already clear; believing is a mode of judgment and capable of degrees, but we may have a weak belief concerning a clear concept; nor can a strength in the belief supplement confusedness in the concept. In reference, indeed, to mysteries in the divine nature, Infinity, and the like, we cannot properly be said to believe *them*, but to believe that they are. It is a mere puzzle of language which confounds believing the Infinite, &c., with believing that there is an Infinite; and a like fallacy is at the root of the doctrine which maintains that we even know the Infinite, the Absolute, &c., for we can only know or conceive that there is an Infinite.

Six more lectures on the feelings, and their relation to the cognitive and practical faculties, conclude the series. There are in the Appendices some additional papers of no great extent, of a later date than the lectures themselves. The most elaborate of these is a physiological one, controverting the phrenological doctrine of the localization of the cerebral organs, with particular reference to those organs supposed to occupy the place of the frontal sinuses. This paper had appeared in the *Medical Times*, 1855, but is well worthy of being reproduced. The editors have performed their duty with singular pains and most exemplary forbearance: they have verified the author's numerous references to his authorities, and have supplemented them with copious additions out of a learning equal to his own, but have scrupulously abstained from advancing opinions either of assent or dissent. The work will not disappoint reasonable expectation, but it

will disappoint those who may expect to find in it a treatise on Metaphysics, or even a completed course of lectures on Psychology.

An important rectification of philosophy is undertaken in "Man and his Dwelling-place,"<sup>3</sup> in order to the establishment of a spiritualist theory of the universe. Observation represents the world around us, the phenomenal world, as passive and in itself inert or dead; but there is every reason to think appearances are to us in some way or other deceitful, at least that they do not represent to us the reality of things, and from these deceitful appearances we draw erroneous inferences; from our very attempt to be on our guard against them we are led into false hypotheses—as, for instance, to suppose the existence of a dead matter as the substratum of the material qualities which make impressions on us. But what if, instead of dead matter, the deadness be in ourselves, and we transfer our own defect into the universe wherein we exist? There will thus be no duality of essences in the universe called mind and matter—only one essence, that of spirit—which is life and its source; and material things will be only phenomena of spirit, appearing to us dead and inert, by reason of our own inertness, whereas they are in themselves not dead but living forms.

"The door is opened by the assertion of the existence of matter for any and every superstition. The argument by which all superstition supports itself has been conceded. For, in truth, the belief in matter, the belief that the world that we feel to be is the true world that is, is in the strictest sense a superstition. It is THE SUPERSTITION rather; the idol, or show which we worship, in which we believe. All other superstitions cling about this, and suck their life from it. Our ignorance, our actual spiritual death, whereby the eternal is not to us, and the phenomena or forms are the realities, this is the source of all the superstitions of mankind; even as to know THE ETERNAL is their remedy." —(p. 183.)

Hence, as conceived by the author, the temptation to a supernatural mysticism is done away with. For we only require to follow out our legitimate inferences from the fact that all the reality which the phenomenal has it derives from the defect in man's perception, in order to be led into a knowledge of absolute being. And this caution must especially be taken with us, that we cannot conceive the Eternal—we can know it only in life and within the soul: whatever is conceived in *thought* is no more eternal. Eternal life is a felt life, but not of time or sense.

Whatever may be the value of such speculations, they are connected with a certain criticism or rectification of some Biblical doctrines respecting salvation and damnation, judgment to come, everlasting punishment, and the like. And they may appear to have more value than otherwise would be thought to belong to them, by reason of this connexion; by reason of the solution which they undertake to bring of difficulties respecting an eternal punishment of the wicked. But when such speculations are closely bound up, as they are in this

<sup>3</sup> "Man and his Dwelling-place." An Essay towards the Interpretation of Nature. London: John W. Parker and Son, 1859.

volume, with attempted solutions of those logical problems, it gives reason to think that they have been originally set in motion, from a desire to discover some metaphysical hypothesis capable of reconciliation both with the letter of Scripture, and with the moral instincts. They are soon seen in consequence to have little substantial value. And however transcendental the metaphysics, they cannot be retained in unison with the letter of Scripture, whatever strain may be put upon its interpretation. The force applied to the Biblical terms *ἀιώνιος*, *ἔτι*, and the like, by scholars of our own time, is only worthy of those bygone days of the Unitarian disputations, when the letter of Scripture was the ultimate appeal in controversies. It should at least be acknowledged now by speculative theologians, that there may be a truth in Scripture behind and beyond its letter, beyond even the thoughts of those who composed its parts. And if sound theology, fair interpretation, and true science require us on the one hand to say that in the first chapter of Genesis a creation in six days is meant to be described, and on the other, that we are not bound down to believe the world was made in six days, so neither ought we to put a force on words in parables and elsewhere which speak of eternal reward and punishment, in order to make them square with our conceptions; nor when we have interpreted them fairly, are we bound down to them in defiance of the moral sense which God has given us.

It may further be observed, that the Hebrews had certainly not originally an idea of a metaphysical eternity—they could think only of an indefinite extension and succession of time—this is the idea presented in the Psalms, the Prophets, and the three first Gospels, by the words “ever and ever,” and like phrases. In the fourth Gospel and in the writings of St. Paul other forms of thought and expression meet us respecting the unseen, the spiritual, and the eternal. But it is contrary to all principles of sound criticism, to endeavour to force into unison, or to amalgamate by a transcendental solvent, ideas which belong to different schools of thought, because the books in which they occur are now bound up in one collection.

Apart, indeed, from its transcendental entanglements and scriptural reconciliations, there are many beautiful and deep things in this book; and there is one application of the author's favourite doctrine of the ETERNAL NOW, which has a good practical bearing.

“We find it hard to believe that damnation can be a thing men like. But does not what every being likes depend on what it is? Is corruption less corruption, in man's view, because worms like it? Is damnation less damnation, in God's view, because men like it? And God's view is simply the truth. Surely one object of a revelation must be to show us things from God's view of them, that is, as they truly are. Sin truly is damnation, though to us it is pleasure. That sin is pleasure to us, surely is the evil part of our condition.”—(p. 219.)

The purpose of “The Friendly Disputants”<sup>4</sup> is to pass in review the Scripture texts and usual arguments which bear upon eschatology; to

<sup>4</sup> “The Friendly Disputants; or, Future Punishment Reconsidered.” By Aura, Author of “Ashburn.” London: Arthur Hall, Virtue, and Co. 1859.

show that the biblical expressions do not require, and that other considerations forbid, the acceptance of a doctrine of eternal inflicted punishment. And the result is to lead from Eternism to Destructionism, from Destructionism to Redivivalism, and from Redivivalism to Omnism; and, moreover, to rest in the Universalist doctrine without abandoning an Evangelical and Scriptural scheme. Not to repeat what has already been said bearing on this subject, there are considerations which will render Universalism itself not a final resting-place. Certainly the spectacle or imagination of an eternity of misery is such as more readily to stimulate inquiry as to whether it be a necessary article of faith, than the contemplation of an eternity of happiness would be. Yet upon reflection, there will appear as much inappropriateness in the attaching a happiness of infinite duration, and of infinite intensity, as a reward of a finite and not perfect obedience, as there is in visiting with infinite woe a finite wickedness, which is in no person unmixed with some good. It is as disproportionate and unsuitable for Lazarus to rest for ever and ever in Abraham's bosom, in requital of a few years' poverty and disease, as for Dives to be tormented for ever in a flame, for a few years' luxury and hard-heartedness. The parable need not be pressed in the detail of its expressions, nor on good exegetical rules need some other figurative passages; but whether pressed or relaxed, they should be pressed or relaxed equally with respect to the saved and the damned. The consequence, as it seems to us, of this equal treatment would be, that Universalism could not be established upon Scriptural authority, although Scripture, when properly limited, might leave an opening for it, or for something still more reasonable. At any rate, we welcome a work which, though it leaves untouched many essential points of the Evangelical creed, discusses the extent of the Scripture authority on an important subject in a candid and liberal manner.

Appropriate here are some very sensible remarks by the author of a small pamphlet noted below :—<sup>5</sup>

"The habit prevalent with English divines of narrowing their sphere of inquiry, and of poring over the text of Scripture, instead of producing comprehensive views, or such as are reconcilable with historical or scientific investigation, engenders only a puerile verbal criticism, debasing what these divines would have to be a spiritual creed into a mere matter of grammar and dictionary, and leaving the true signification of what they uphold as the word of God always yet to be discovered."—(p. 48.)

And not only so, but where Scripture is silent, we are not forbidden to seek an oracle in the reason and the conscience.<sup>6</sup> Men of old were not anxious as they now are respecting the destinies of humanity in the worlds to come, nor did the problem concerning the justification of the ways of God to man come very close to their reflection. They did not feel a difficulty, a contradiction, when they were told that He

<sup>5</sup> "The Origin of Christian Tenets. The Jews of Alexandria." London: John Chapman. 1859.

<sup>6</sup> "A Sermon for the New Year. What Religion may do for a Man." By Rev. Theodore Parker, Minister of the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society. Boston. 1859.

who came to bring life and immortality to light—to preach deliverance to captives and sight to the blind—to light every man by coming into the world—to save all men—could yet speak of spiritual and eternal death. The following noble passage gives expression to yearnings which cannot be repressed merely because they may lack Biblical authority:—

“There is no spiritual death—only partial numbness, never a stop to that higher life. The soul’s power of recovery from wickedness is infinite: its time of healing is time without bounds. There is no limit to the *vis medicatrix* of the inner, the immortal man. To the body death is a finality; but the worst complication of personal wickedness is only one incident in the development of a man whose life is continuous, an infinite series of incidents all planned and watched over by absolute love. . . . I think there is not in the Old Testament or the New a single word which tells this blessed truth, that penitence hereafter shall do any good, or that the agony which men shall suffer never so many years shall wipe out one single scar of wickedness. But the Universe is the revelation of God, and it tells you a grander truth—infinite power and infinite love, time without bounds, for the restoration of the fallen and the recovery of the wicked. In all the family of God there is never a son of perdition.”—(p. 17.)

A doctrine at least more intelligibly stated than some of those mentioned above, is put forth in Dr. Cromwell’s “Soul and Future Life.”<sup>7</sup> He maintains matter to be the only entity of which we know anything: it may be distinguished into living and lifeless, but for the metaphysical division of Being into Mind or Spirit and Matter we have no authority. Mind is, in fact, a quality of certain forms of matter, as lower manifestations of merely animal and vegetable life are qualities of some others. The author’s doctrine, as he argues, is non-materialistic, inasmuch as he does not admit the mind to be material; at the same time it is certainly not immaterialistic, for he acknowledges no proof of an immaterial substance. Nevertheless, he thinks that his philosophy confirms the Scriptural doctrine of a future life, or at least leaves the way quite open for it; for all which is necessary to a continuity of life is a continuity of the bodily, or of some bodily organization—all which is necessary to its resuscitation is the restoration of that continuity, if it shall have been interrupted by the dispersion of atoms, which in themselves are indestructible. There are some good observations upon personal identity, particularly on the point that precisely the same elements of thought are not requisite to identity of mind, any more than precisely the same elements of matter are necessary to the sameness of body. Both the thoughts and the organization are in a constant state of flux, by the passing off of old and the aggregation of new elements.

Within comparatively a very few years is to be dated the origin of what are called “Medical Missions.” They were intended to act merely in the way of *pioneering* for missions, in the usual acceptation of the word, as a means whereby the physician might conciliate attention to the preaching of the clergyman. But further attention

<sup>7</sup> “The Soul and the Future Life.” By Thomas Cromwell, Ph.D., F.S.A. The Philosophic Argument. London: E. T. Whitfield. 1859.

has led many to think that the application of the healing art<sup>8</sup> to the wants and sufferings of humanity ought to be provided for as an essential work of the Christian Society. The Founder himself was revealed as one that "went about doing good," and, in Oriental phrase, "healing all that were vexed of the devil," both in the inner and outer, the bodily and spiritual man; and in primitive and mediæval times the alleviating the bodily sufferings of men was an acknowledged duty of the Church. Various corruptions, no doubt, gathered about its exercise, such as the practice of exorcism, founded on a superstition of demoniacal possession; and the association of the medical profession in the charitable work of the Church degenerated into the application of a dogmatic test to all who desired to exercise the profession of medicine as a secular employment. Many circumstances have recently contributed to direct attention to the important subject which is treated in the work here cited, in a sensible and unsectarian spirit. The author truly observes:—

"Certain it is that without the Christian healer, the Evangelist, whether [in Christian or Pagan lands, is addressing only the one half of man's nature, and consequently can only partially meet his necessities; indeed, very many of the objects to which the Church is now directing her energies, and which require a thorough knowledge of human nature, and of the true condition of human society, in order rightly to deal with them, are altogether impracticable without the co-operation of the physician."—(p. 158.)

The exegesis of the New Testament has made great advances since the first publication of "Winer's Grammar," in 1822.<sup>9</sup> But it is not superseded, and has gone through six editions in the original. Very serviceable to biblical students in this country will be the translation, of which the first volume is now published. A rational treatment of the New Testament diction has been gradually gaining ground. Erasmus considered it to be even barbarous. Beza and H. Stephens defended it as Greek, and found beauty in its Hebraisms. Subsequently, and till the middle of the eighteenth century, extreme views of the (Greek) purists on the one side, and the Hebraists on the other, obtained an alternate ascendancy. The truth is now generally acknowledged, that it is a variety of Hellenic—as some will say, an Alexandrian variety—of the κοινή διάλεκτος, including Hebraist peculiarities. The translator is of opinion that it was formed rather upon the Greek as currently spoken in Syria, than upon the Greek of the LXX version, and that it is even capable of considerable illustration from the popularly spoken Greek of the present day.

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<sup>8</sup> "The Healing Art the Right Hand of the Church; or, Practical Medicine an essential element in the Christian System." By Therapeutes Edinburgh: Sutherland and Knox. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1859.

<sup>9</sup> "A Grammar of the New Testament Diction: intended as an Introduction to the Critical Study of the Greek New Testament." By Dr. George Benedict Winer. Translated from the sixth enlarged and improved edition of the original. By Edward Marson, M.A., formerly Professor in the University of Athens. Vol. I. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1859.



The monograph of Dr. Schwab upon John Gerson<sup>10</sup> extends to 800 pages, and yet we cannot say that the bulk of the book is excessive, considering the subject undertaken. Indeed, the author confines himself to what comes in his way. But if Gerson is to be discussed, and not assumed, he cannot be disposed of very briefly. Above all things, he cannot be sufficiently judged by the standard which Protestants are fond of applying to the men of the sixteenth century, and which they will apply, often on insufficient grounds, to those men of the fourteenth and fifteenth who were, as they think, or might have been, precursors of the Reformation. It is a great mistake to suppose that the men of the Middle Ages exhibited no intellectual or moral greatness because they did not anticipate the movement of a Luther, a Zuingli, or a Calvin. During no period was the human mind more active than between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries; but the combatants were fighting within narrow lists; their strength and dexterity were not the less taxed to the utmost. At length some of them broke through—"Follow us outside into the open field," said the Protestant; "Fight it out within," said the Catholic Church—and these parties have never since that time agreed upon the *ground* on which to continue their battle—have only brandished their weapons at each other from a distance. Gerson ought not certainly to be considered as a forerunner of the Reformation. The part which he took in the Council of Constance was suggested by the circumstances of the Church. Out of the scandal of the Papal schism, which was both a Catholic and a European *difficulty*, arose the necessity of some theory of the Church, upon which it might be put an end to. Such a theory was found in the doctrine of the supremacy of a General Council. And Gerson must have been an able man of business, in addition to his other high qualifications, to effect that of the three anti-popes then claiming the Chair of St Peter, one should resign voluntarily, and two should be effectually deposed by the authority of the Council. It is no doubt very serviceable to Protestants at some turns of their controversy with Rome to remember these transactions. Yet by no means must they on that account claim Gerson as of a kindred spirit with themselves; for whether he actually voted or not for the condemnation to death of John Huss, he acted against him when he was summoned before the same Council, and by no means admitted an appeal from the Council to private judgment or to Scripture, though he maintained an appeal from popes to the Council. It is very sad, indeed, to see such men as Gerson and Huss, who had many things in common, arrayed against one another; we can only console ourselves with thinking, that if they have met in the Elysian fields, where the scales have fallen from their eyes, they no longer regard each other as opponents. But while they were on earth, Huss was a Realist, Gerson was a Nominalist; and Huss, when he had it his own way in Prague, had not been conciliatory to his opponents—had been the

<sup>10</sup> "Johannes Gerson, Professor der Theologie und Kanzler der Universität Paris." Eine Monographie, von Dr. Johann Baptist Schwab. London: D. Nutt. 1850.

means of rousing the popular Bohemian spirit so as to expel 5000 Germans from the university. The Germans had the preponderating influence at Constance; and Gerson's own theory was to some extent at stake, for Huss would not submit himself unconditionally to the decision of the Council.

Dr. Schwab deals, on the whole, gently with Gerson, but he discriminates well the peculiarities of his position and of his convictions. Thus the acknowledged *piety* of Gerson had a mystical side; he did not deny the possibility of a mental union with the Divine Being, apart from the conditions of time and place (*hic et nunc*), but acknowledged such an attainment was given to few; he rather resembled the union of the moral soul with the Creator to the love which a child would have towards an unknown father or unseen benefactor, whose presence he could not enjoy, but whom he knew by the effects of his providence. And he warns against the visionary mystics and the sentimental mystics, and those who mistake natural emotions for the movements of a divine love. Perhaps the most important portion of Dr. Schwab's work is that in which he concludes upon internal evidence, that the treatise "*De Modis Uniendi et Reformandi Ecclesiam*" is not properly attributed to Gerson. It enunciates principles at variance with others of his writings—as, for instance, that the end sanctifies the means—which is entirely inconsistent with the doctrine he lays down elsewhere against the lawfulness of slaying a tyrant. The mere consideration of consistency is not sufficient to decide such a question; but if the particular treatise be not his, his character as a man will gain, although something of an authority may be lost to those who are anxious to see in Gerson a forerunner of the Reformation.

Among the opponents of Moravianism in the middle of the last century was Bengel,<sup>11</sup> the author of the "*Gnomon*," still a standard exegetical work. He opposed the doctrines and practices of the Herrnhuters from the point of view of Lutheran orthodoxy, but it is impossible to throw suspicion upon his motives or upon his representations. James Hutton, whose life we noticed recently, threatened Henry Rimius, whose "*Candid Narrative*" went through two English editions, with legal proceedings for his misrepresentations of the Brethren. The book of Rimius was more popular and of a less guarded tone than the work of Bengel, and entered into an examination of the pecuniary transactions of Count Zinzendorf and his followers, which would have been foreign to the purpose of the theologian. But allowing for the differences of their positions, the two authors coincide in the view they give of Moravianism in one of its phases. Bengel points out as heterodox the exaltation of the second over the other persons of the Trinity; the "*maternal*" character ascribed to the third—so that, with the Church, the heavenly family forms a quater-

<sup>11</sup> "*Abriss der so genannten Brüdergemeine, in welchem die Lehre und die ganze Sache geprüft, das Gute und Böse dabey unterschieden, und insonderheit die Spangenbergische Declaration erläutert wird.*" Durch Johann Albrecht Bengel. Stuttgart, 1751. Neuer unveränderter Abdruck. London: D. Nutt. 1859.

nity, as in the hymn, "Papa, Mama, und Mann, und Kirch;" the extravagant devotion paid to the "wounds" of the Saviour; the misapplication of the Scriptural figure of "Bride and Bridegroom," to signify the union between the Redeemer and the *individual* soul; the effeminateness of the mysticism which represented all souls as female—all *animæ* not *animi*, believers consequently as a *sisterhood*, not a brotherhood, and the male character merely as an outward clothing of a female soul for a typical purpose. Some of the inferences from these views were not only extravagant, but demoralizing. And Moravianism seems to have been one of those religious forms, which in course of time run themselves clear of original impurities, but find it difficult to rid themselves of a suspected reputation. So the Baptists of the present day, though lineally descended from the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century, are perfectly clear from the social excesses of their predecessors, but are still regarded in Germany with a traditional dislike by reason of them; something of the same kind is the case with our own Methodism, which has become much more sober than it was at its commencement; although John Wesley himself discouraged all extravagances, and broke with Zinzendorf on account of the eccentricities which have been mentioned. A like thing will probably happen with Mormonism, if it should endure; in another generation or two it will throw off its immoral and anti-social practices, and become a sect as respectable as the rest.

The design of Dr. Stevens, in his history of Methodism,<sup>12</sup> is to present a general view of its rise, progress, and effects, acknowledging its severance into distinct branches, the Arminian and the Calvinistic, but considering them as parts of a great religious revival, and treating it as properly speaking a history, and not as a series of biographies. The work will be comprised in four volumes, of which the first terminates at the death of Whitefield, the second will complete the account of British Methodism, and the two others will give the general history of the Wesleyan Church in the United States and elsewhere down to the centenary period of 1839. The book has every mark of careful preparation, is written in a pleasing style and liberal spirit, and the publishers recommend it externally by a very handsome form and execution. A very characteristic portrait of John Wesley is prefixed to the first volume.

Mr. Kaye<sup>13</sup> truly observes, that the Indian question has become very largely a religious question. It has been so in different senses ever since the outbreak of the mutiny, and it must continue to be so more and more. Mr. Kaye's volume therefore supplies a want of the day in giving an account of what has hitherto been done for Chris-

<sup>12</sup> "The History of the Religious Movement of the Eighteenth Century, called Methodism, considered in its different denominational forms, and its relation to British and American Protestantism." By Abel Stevens, LL.D. Vol. I. From the Origin of Methodism to the Death of Whitefield. New York. Carlton and Porter. London: Alexander Haylin. 1858.

<sup>13</sup> "Christianity in India: an Historical Narrative." By John William Kaye, author of "The Life of Lord Metcalfe," "The Life of Sir John Malcolm," "The History of the War in Afghanistan," &c. London: Smith, Elder, and Co, 1859.

tianity in the Indian peninsula. He is himself deeply interested in Christian missions, but he is able to take a dispassionate view of the whole question of the progress hitherto, and prospects for the future, of the cause which he has so much at heart. At the breaking out of the disturbances, parties naturally formed themselves, and naturally ran into extremes respecting the proximate origin of those lamentable events. Some regarded them as a necessary consequence of unjustifiable interferences with the native beliefs; others beheld in them a divine visitation for the neglect, on the part of the British nation, of its duty as supreme governor of India to bestow the Gospel on its peoples. Consequently, each party was prone to exaggerate either what had been done or what had been left undone relative to Christianity. Coupled with this extravagance, there was really much ignorance of the extent to which Christianity had been brought before the native population, and the manner in which in earlier and more recent times that had been done. Mr. Kaye undertakes to supply this defect, in part at least, for he disclaims for his work any greater pretension than that of being a contribution to the Christian literature of India.

Nothing could well be worse for a long period after the connexion of the English with India than the irreligious and immoral spectacle which they presented to the natives. Speaking of the age of Warren Hastings, Mr. Kaye says—

“In truth it must be acknowledged that the Christianity of the English in India was at this time in a sadly depressed state. Men drank hard and gamed high. Concubinage with the women of the country was the rule rather than the exception. It was no uncommon thing for English gentlemen to keep populous zenanas. There was no dearth of exciting amusement in those days. Balls, masquerades, races, and theatrical entertainments enlivened the settlements, especially in the cold weather; and the mild excitement of duelling varied the pleasures of the season. Men lived, for the most part, short lives, and were resolute that they should be merry ones.”—(p. 95.)

The first newspaper, it may be noticed, was established in 1780 by one Hicky; it reflected the morals of the society for whose amusement it was intended, being full of infamous scandal and coarse personalities. With the administration, however, of Lord Cornwallis, a better state of things commenced; and a striking alteration in the tone of manners, extremely remarkable as effected in so short a space of time, is shown by the comparison of an account of a ball taken from *Hicky's Gazette* in 1780-1 with one of a like entertainment from the *India Gazette* (1788), two years after the landing of Lord Cornwallis. In the former case, the ladies took their departure “accompanied by the *danglers* at about half-past twelve,” the “jolly bucks” remaining, “like true sons of Bacchus and Comus,” to keep it up till four; then comes a quarrel, a pugilistic encounter, and a *dénouement* too gross for Mr. Kaye to reprint. On the latter occasion, dancing is resumed after supper, and the attractions of female society have become superior to those of the bottle. From the time of the administration of Sir John Shore (afterwards Lord Teignmouth), or rather from the time of his return to England, Mr. Kaye begins to find himself in the pith of his narrative. We are introduced at home to Simeon, Charles Grant,

William Wilberforce, and the "Clapham Sect;" in India, to the Bengal chaplains, Brown, Buchanan, Henry Martyn, Corrie, and Thomason, who, before the age of missions properly so-called, not only did much to recall their countrymen to the outward decencies of morality and religion, but contributed to awaken an interest in the great undertaking of Christianizing the native population. It was opened as a question—the possibility, the duty, the policy of it began to be debated. Meanwhile the foundation of the Baptist mission at Serampore was accomplished by William Carey "the Northamptonshire cobbler," Ward, and Marshman, under the protection of the Danish Governor, when as yet no one was allowed to land as a missionary in the British territory itself. But we enter upon a new era with the India Bill of 1813, containing provision for the foundation of an Episcopate, together with general missionary clauses. Sketches of the English prelates follow, of whom Middleton is evidently no favourite of the author's. The Episcopate of Bishop Wilson brings us to our own day. His three immediate predecessors had died within five years. He was past the middle age when he was appointed to the office, and had serious misgivings as to the prospect which lay before him.

"But at the Cape of Good Hope, where his vessel touched, he met Simon Nicholson, who had professionally attended three of the last bishops, and who well knew not only the proximate but the predisposing causes of their several mortal diseases; and that eminent physician, after much examination, assured him that there was no reason why he should not live and work a quarter of a century in India, and enjoy as good health as at home."—(p. 108.)

Nearly contemporaneously with the arrival of the last bishop at Calcutta was communicated to the Governor-General in Council the celebrated despatch of 1833, the purpose of which was to sever the connexion of the Government with idolatry. "It was dated on the 20th February, 1833; but for five long years it remained all but a dead letter." The Court of Directors became alarmed at what they had done, and intimated to the local authorities that it was not to be considered as supplying a rule to be immediately acted on. At length, under pressure from opinion without, both in India and England, a further despatch was signed on the 8th of August, 1838, resuscitating that of 1833, and enjoining its immediate execution—temples and their endowments to be surrendered into the hands of the natives; collection of pilgrim-tax to cease; and all public servants to be released from attendance at religious ceremonies. From that time until the insurrection, there is no doubt that Christianity was rapidly strengthening itself and improving its machinery, if it was not obtaining any great numerical accession. And it would be impossible for great religions brought face to face, as Hinduism has recently been with Christianity, to meet without a shock to the weakest, without some perhaps even to both. It is the duty of the supreme power to provide, as far as enactment and fair administration can provide, that this shock shall only be one of reason and opinion. In many things, indeed, the Government, while strictly keeping itself within its own province, must of necessity, though indirectly, aid the extension of Christianity. Even during the twenty years preceding the disturb-

ances, more had been done by breaking in upon some of the social institutions of the Hindus towards the ultimate abolition of their superstitions, than could have been accomplished otherwise by a century of purely missionary exertion. Such especially was the effect of the abrogation (finally accomplished in 1850) of that provision of Hindu law whereby apostasy involved disinheritance. This procedure was clearly in the interest of the rising religion, and as clearly founded on principles of public policy and of public justice. The supreme power in every State has the inherent right of regulating the succession to property, and on the principle of equal toleration it should not suffer change of religion to operate with a disinheriting effect.

“The principle of universal toleration cannot be too emphatically declared; but if we desire to reconcile the natives of the country to the abolition of all forfeitures and disabilities, on account of religious persuasion, we must first show them that Hindooism and Mahomedanism are no disqualifications in the eyes of the Christian ruler. Let us demonstrate the sincerity of our toleration by first reducing it to practice to our own detriment.”—(p. 466.)

This is perfectly just, but it will be difficult to persuade the natives that our principle of toleration will really be carried out fairly, by reason of the feeble, the milk-and-water phraseology in which our later proclamations have been drawn up—phraseology intended to be conciliating, but which would not conciliate a political opponent even in England—totally unintelligible and ineffective, as against the deep-rooted prejudices and deep-seated suspicions of the Hindu. He will judge by what he observes, and he will square his conduct in the end by his own interests; but he will believe no words, least of all honeyed ones.<sup>14</sup> Natives should be eligible to employments for which they are fit, without distinction between Christians and Hindus, and without distinction of caste among Hindus; above all, the Indian army should not be turned into a high caste institution. The principle should be, to recognise all the natives as equally subjects, and having equal rights; to ignore altogether, as far as public employment is concerned, all distinctions of caste, not on the ground of its having its root in a heathen tradition, but as socially mischievous and contrary to public policy. Only on one point more can we touch, that of education. Government are about to make an educational effort for India. The Government schools and the mission schools must be kept perfectly distinct, and both for the sake of good faith as to non-interference, and for the sake of the ultimate prospects of Christianity itself, the Bible not be taught in the Government schools. It is not a good school-book even in England. And if the natives learn English, they are sure to apply it soon enough in reading the Bible. We agree with Mr. Kaye in thinking that some other objections to a thorough education are too far-fetched; as for instance, it may be said, astronomy ought not to be taught in a Government school, because it would be at variance with the Hindu cosmogonies. Certainly the objection

<sup>14</sup> See also “On the Christian Duty of the British Government in India. Addressed to the Right Hon. \* \* \*.” By Abd-al Wahid. London: Williams and Norgate. 1859.

would prove too much, for astronomy and geology are taught without scruple in our schools at home, although they are at variance with the Mosaic cosmogony. Teach facts fearlessly, and let the religious instructors, of whatever creed, weld them into their several systems as best they may.

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#### POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

A QUARTER of a century has elapsed since the first great battle of Parliamentary Reform was won. Political knowledge has ripened and social acerbities have softened down in this interval. The real lovers of improvement in the two great parties of order and progress begin to recognise and value each other; and if they still remain in opposite camps, they fight as honourable foemen, each of whom knows that the other has convictions as honest, patriotic, and philanthropic as his own. This position is exemplified in the reform pamphlets of Mr. Austin and Mr. Mill. The former, once a disciple of Mr. Bentham, and a thoughtful and intelligent advocate of a progress not democratic, has, in his "Plea for the Constitution,"<sup>1</sup> reviewed the present system of Parliamentary government and its reform. In presuming the inexpediency of any modification of the existing system, we think him unsupported by fact or theory. According to his own showing, the actual government is a result of past states. Why, then, should not the last series of determining changes have produced that new social situation which demands fresh adaptations of this self-evolving system? To affirm that the constitution has stopped growing is a gratuitous assumption. Mr. Mill argues, on the contrary, that the unanimous concurrence of all parties in favour of some measure of constitutional reform is a significant exemplification of the new character impressed on politics, indicating not only its reasonableness, but its *seasonableness*. In Mr. Austin's strictures on universal suffrage, as usually understood, there is great force; and we perceive a general agreement here between his views and those of Mr. Mill. Again, we quite admit that discriminating inquiry ought to precede the removal of so-called anomalies; that a decidedly democratic extension of the suffrage might bring with it an extension of corruption, unless accompanied with appropriate securities. There is some valuable philosophic comment in Mr. Austin's pamphlet on the democratic misuse of political power, and the necessity of a national ideal of stability and order, of a recognised and honoured rule, evoking the complex feeling of constitutional loyalty. Mr. Austin's pamphlet is divided into two parts: the first containing a review of the actual system of Parliamentary government in its relation to the three branches into which it separates, and to those of the Legislature and Executive, and exhibiting its self-adjusting and democratic character, with the benefits

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<sup>1</sup> "A Plea for the Constitution." By John Austin, Esq. London: Murray, 1869.

which it produces; the second, discussing the question of its reform, under the several aspects already intimated.

Unlike Mr. Austin, the distinguished author of "Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform"<sup>2</sup> regards all government as extremely imperfect—till every one who obeys the laws has a voice, or the prospect of a voice, in their enactment. The claims of men to control the Government are not, however, equal. If the peasant ought to have one vote, the professional, literary, or scientific man ought to have five or six. While Mr. Austin rejects the educational suffrage, considering the possession of property the best test of the possession of sober, good sense and care for the public interest, Mr. Mill pronounces this presumption of superior instruction inadmissible, often fallacious, always invidious, and thinks education can be tested by stronger presumptive evidence than is afforded by income, taxation, or residence. A reconstruction of the representative system on definite principles being impracticable, Mr. Mill recommends a considerable extension of the suffrage subordinate to an educational qualification. Without disfranchising electors already registered, he advises that all householders, without distinction of sex, shall be adopted into the constituency, on condition of proving to the registrar's officer that they can read, write, and calculate. Another principle which might at once be admitted into the constitution, is, Mr. Mill affirms, the representation of minorities. A numerical majority, as one composed of mere manual labourers, might return members representing only the opinions and feelings of manual labourers. To give a representation to minorities and faithful expression to the wishes of the elector, Mr. Mill advocates the permission of cumulative votes—*i.e.*, one, two, or three to a single candidate. Equally with Mr. Austin he dissents from the institution of electoral districts; equally does he object to Mr. Locke King's proposal, which would give the ten-pound householder in the unrepresented towns a vote for the county; thus politically extinguishing the rural districts; and as decidedly as the most inflexible Conservative does he repudiate the introduction of the ballot, and the vote-collecting expedient, which would save the elector the trouble of going to the poll. The ballot, he reminds us, was never defended but as a necessary evil. The circumstances that would have justified its employment no longer exist. In ceasing to be a slave, a man ceases to require the slave's weapon. A universal moral sentiment condemns concealment; and the sense of social duty demands publicity. Moreover, the ballot would *not* put an end to canvassing; and impertinent interrogation would directly encourage falsehood. Such are the leading propositions of this important pamphlet. Written five years ago, in anticipation of Lord Aberdeen's Reform Bill, "subsequent reflection has only strengthened the opinions then expressed" in it.

Translated and introduced by Mr. Cobden, a treatise on gold, by the eminent French economist, M. Chevalier, which originally appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, is now presented to the British

<sup>2</sup> "Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform." By John Stuart Mill. London: John W. Parker and Son. 1859.



public in an enlarged form.<sup>3</sup> Clear in exposition, felicitous in expression, rich in illustration, and gracefully robust in style, M. Chevalier's treatise will receive the attention it merits. After some preliminary observations on the rise of prices which has marked the few last years, and an exposition of the nature and characteristics of money, extending over two sections, the author devotes a third section to the present production of gold. In a fourth he inquires what new outlet may be expected for the surplus of the new mines, and whether it will be in proportion to the extent of this production, concluding from the collected premises that it will not be sufficient to absorb the superfluous metal. The fall of gold he pronounces probable, if not inevitable. An annual increase in its production of nearly thirty millions has suddenly taken place, of which more than one half finds its way to our shores. Five times as much gold is produced now as was produced in the year 1847. The mass of gold thrown by Julius Cæsar into the circulation of the Roman world reduced the value of gold in general from seventeen to nine times its weight in silver. The amount of decline in worth is difficult to fix. M. Chevalier's proposal for a periodical Governmental ascertainment and regulation in France, where silver is the standard, seems open to grave objection. In England, gold being the acknowledged standard, payments in gold must, says our author, be maintained. This topic, with the consequences of the fall, and the measures taken to avert its evil effects, is examined in the concluding sections of the treatise. "Unless," observes the translator, "the cardinal rule of commerce, that quantity governs price, fail," a fall in the value of gold must necessarily ensue. Hence a universal derangement in the value of labour and property, a reduction in the purchase-power of fixed incomes, a saving in the payment of the dividends in the public debt, and ruinous crises in the commercial world. To obviate some of the apprehended evils, Mr. Cobden recommends some such precaution as the establishment of life assurance companies on the basis of a silver standard, suggested by an able writer on the currency, Mr. James Maclaren.

The present generation, says Mr. W. L. Sargant,<sup>4</sup> is distinguished by an honourable desire to promote the well-being of the most numerous and least fortunate classes of society; but this feeling of kind consideration for our fellows is in some danger of leading men into errors. Among these errors he numbers the socialistic aversion to capitalists; the rejection of the existing arrangement of employer and employed; the conviction that, while the rich are becoming richer, the poor are becoming poorer, and the notion that the conjugal relation can be improved by the withdrawal of the usual civil restrictions. To state the theories of his antagonists, Mr. Sargant assumes, is to refute them. Anticipating a certain amount of social amelioration, he predicts the rise of a somewhat fairer future for mankind, but he trusts for its

<sup>3</sup> "On the Probable Fall in the Value of Gold." By Michel Chevalier. Manchester: Ireland and Co. London: Smith and Son. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black.

<sup>4</sup> "Social Innovators and their Schemes." By W. L. Sargant, author of "The Science of Social Opulence," &c. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1858.

inauguration, not to a new industrial mechanism, but to the progress of education, to sanitary measures, to improvements in the administration of justice. He admits, however, that a partial application of the co-operative principle may hereafter be found to be available; he allows the mischief inherent in excessive competition, but refers its elimination to the gradual action of intelligence and morality, not to the introduction of external political agencies. The prefatory remarks with which his book commences are sensible, but not profound. His sketch of ancient sociological projects is singularly imperfect. He deals, for the most part, with the systems most vulnerable to criticism; he notices Plato, but omits Aristotle. It is rather against bastard innovation than legitimate organization that his arguments are directed. His types of modern French socialism, however, are not ill selected. They are Saint Simon, Fourier, Louis Blanc, Proudhon, and Emile de Girardin. The views, social, political, and religious, of these popular leaders are discussed at some length; and if the more glaringly absurd propositions which they put forth are carefully exhibited, their distinguishing tenets are also faithfully reported. The quick tone and impartial character of Mr. Sargent's criticism deserve to be commended; and his kindly feeling and sobriety of judgment will engage the sympathy of those who are dissatisfied with his general conclusions. There are, we think, two serious defects in his speculations. The first arises from his conservative prepossessions in morals and theology. He assumes that the ethics and doctrines of Judæo-Christianity are of absolute perfection and eternal obligation. The other defect consists in an economical oversight. Mr. Sargent shows that there has been an excess in the rise of wages over the excess in the rise of food during the last century; an important averment, and, we believe, a true one. But surely the real question is whether the proportion between the increase of national wealth and the increase of that part of it which is distributed in wages, has been maintained. Moreover, if instead of comparing the nineteenth with the eighteenth century, we compare it with an earlier period of English history, we shall find that we have little cause for self-congratulation on this head. It must be remembered also that the vast numerical accession to the proletary class in this country is for ever augmenting the dangerous horde of the camp followers of civilization, the vagrants, criminals, and paupers, who have been computed, within the last ten or fifteen years, to form a floating population of no less than 2,250,000.

The remedy for this social disease suggested by the author of "*La Question de la Charité*"<sup>5</sup> is a sort of free trade in benevolence. He advocates, in opposition to legal or official belief, a system of private relief to the indigent and helpless. He shows that no scheme of public taxation has yet been devised that has tended to the extinction of pauperism; he objects to State benefaction on the ground that it creates the false but plausible notion that the destitute applicants have a positive right to this national impost, that it gives rise to exaggerated impressions

<sup>5</sup> "*La Question de la Charité et des Associations Religieuses en Belgique*." Par. Ed. Dupetiaux. Bruxelles, Gand, et Leipzig. 1858.

of the available resources of a country, destroys habits of forethought and self-help, encourages imposture, interdicts marriage, and disturbs the action of the law of supply and demand; and he proposes to conduct the struggle against pauperism on the basis of liberty and conscience, of moral duty, not on that of compulsion, official administration, legal justice. The opening chapter of his treatise is occupied with a general explanatory statement; the economical considerations which the proposed scheme involves are examined in the second; its relation to national, constitutional and civil law, to religion, pious associations and Christian tradition, is discussed at length in the eight succeeding chapters; the eleventh treats of the social necessity of "liberty in charity;" the twelfth exhibits the eleemosynary legislation of nineteen different States in Europe and America; and the thirteenth enumerates the conditions to which the system of free private benefactions should be subjected. The project so earnestly recommended by M. Ducpetiaux is an extension of the voluntary principle, and its emancipation from all legislative impediments. He would appeal, not to the sense of right, but the instinct of love; not to law, but religion. No social reform can be effected, he thinks, without evoking the higher and more generous emotions. The poor have no *title* to official relief, but the rich can accept the noble *duty* of contributing to their support. This duty must be discharged in an enlightened and methodical manner. It must not be identified with a sentimental or indiscriminate almsgiving. It is a spontaneous and disciplined benevolence, conforming to the prescriptions of political economy, as well as inspired by the sense of religious obligation. Liberty of charity, the equivalent in political life of liberty of conscience in moral life, implies the right of creating associations and permanent establishments, as hospitals, houses of refuge, agricultural homes, educational foundations, under such conditions as will secure utility and preclude abuse. All legislative intervention is prohibited, but the State is to exercise a certain privilege of supervision, to promote and protect the institutions originating in private or collective beneficence, to confer civil rights, to see that the intentions of the founders are respected, that the claims of family are not forgotten in excessive provision for the unrelated indigent, nor the interests of society sacrificed to an imaginary obligation of maintaining an establishment which has survived the object for which it was instituted. M. Ducpetiaux, in addition to a forcible and simple statement of his cardinal idea, accumulates much valuable detail and illustrative remark, as well in the body of the work as in the appendix, on his favourite doctrine of liberty in benevolence.

An essay *On Liberty*,<sup>6</sup> in its more extended application, by the author of "Parliamentary Reform," is a masterly attempt towards the solution of a difficult and momentous problem—the due adjustment of social claims and individual rights. Originality of thought and action is necessary to the well-being and progressive movements of society itself, no less than to the satisfaction of the personal desire for

<sup>6</sup> "On Liberty." By John Stuart Mill. London: John W. Parker and Son. 1859.

development. While every member of the community is responsible for his actions as they affect it, the community has no title to regulate conduct which affects only himself. From social responsibility springs the moral principle—from individual interest that of freedom. To determine the limitations of liberty or individuality, and those of society or morality, is the proposed object of Mr. J. S. Mill's thoughtful and fearless treatise. In the introductory section, the struggle between liberty and authority, issuing in the recognition of certain immunities, and matured into some form of constitutional government, is historically treated. The tyranny of the majority, a natural consequence of this political development, is deprecated; but a more formidable tyranny is denounced—that of society itself; and the necessity of protection against the despotism of prevailing thought, feeling, and practice is indicated. For its own security, and for that alone, is society entitled to interfere with the liberty of individual action. In all that concerns himself, every member of society is absolutely independent: hence liberty of conscience, opinion, taste, and pursuit. The topic of the second chapter is the freedom of thought and discussion. To forbid the propagation of error is an assumption of infallibility. To permit contradiction and refutation is the only method of testing truth and creating assurance. Even such opinion as is thought to be immoral or impious, as that of Socrates and Jesus once was—as that which impugns the belief in God and a future state now is—must be allowed a hearing. Discussion, too, is needed to give vitality to belief. Christianity itself is not realized by its professors. Teachers and learners go to sleep when there is no enemy in the field. Half-truths are supplemented by antagonist half-truths. Though Christ has been a benefactor to the world, Christian morality itself is one-sided. It is abstinence from evil, rather than energetic pursuit of good. The sense of honour, the idea of public obligation, the sentiment of personal dignity, are of purely human origin. From the necessity of open discussion, so nobly and eloquently vindicated, Mr. Mill passes on to the consideration of individuality as one of the elements of well-being. Spontaneity was once in excess, but civilization now threatens us with a deficiency of personal impulse and preference. The imitation of all wise and noble things must come from individuals. Without great and original men, Europe will tend to become another China. Political change, education, locomotive improvement are assimilating situation, class, and character. But there is a limit, says Mr. Mill in his fourth chapter, to the authority of society over the individual. To it belongs the part of life only which chiefly interests society, not that in which the individual is chiefly interested. Persuasion, not legal penalty, is the right expedient for correcting or elevating men whose misconduct or low animalism injure only themselves. Society, too, has the individual's childhood and nonage in its power, and may try to make him rational during this term, not when adult. Besides, it usually interferes in the wrong place. The Maine Liquor Law and Sabbatarian legislation are cited as instances of its illegitimate intervention; and the persecuting language of the Press in its structures on Mormonism, retrograde religion though it be, is pronounced highly reprehensible.

In his application of the doctrine of individuality, Mr. Mill specifies as cases of objectionable interference the prohibition of the importation of opium; the restriction of the sale of poisons; innocuous drunkenness; limitation of beer and spirit houses; undue stringency in the marriage contract, in which we understand him to say the obligation of permanence should be rather moral than legal. Government interposition, however, if duly limited, may be sometimes permissible, as in forbidding marriage till the parties can show their ability to support a family; in compelling, yet not monopolising, education; aiding private enterprise; and, in general, acting as a central depository and vigorous circulator of well-attested experiences. "But no perfection of State machinery," the author concludes, with grave and majestic emphasis, "will in the end avail, if the vital power be banished in order that the machine may work more smoothly."

The Academy of Political and Moral Science, in 1857, proposed as the subject of a prize essay the determination of the mode in which morality and political economy are related. On this occasion M. Rondelet's work, "*Du Spiritualisme*,"<sup>7</sup> obtained the second medal. The Essay commences with an elaborate exhibition of the splendid virtues of Christianity, and the sad contrast between the magnificent promise of religion and the humble performance of civilization. Then follows some eloquent declamation on the imperfect and even immoral character of political economy, which is accused of an exclusive pre-occupation with the utilities of life, and a blind devotion to the production of wealth. To us it seems that the science of geometry might with equal justice be accused of exclusive pre-occupation with the phenomena of extension, or that of arithmetic of a blind devotion to the combinations of number. After the preliminary exposition we have a discussion on production, agricultural, industrial, and moral. It contains three sections on women and children, and the mutual protection of masters against workmen, and workmen against masters. A fourth section deals with the question of wages. The second division of the work examines the conditions of trade, modes of communication, and the nature and meaning of currency and credit. The third division treats of consumption, under the several heads of necessaries, utilities, and superfluities.

"There are," says M. Rondelet, "two kinds of luxury, one legitimate, the other artificial and false. Not only must the instinct for the useful be satisfied, but the sentiment of the beautiful, declarative of man's spiritual nature, must also receive its appropriate gratification. No luxury is forbidden which adorns civilization, inspires genius, predisposes the soul to the love of beauty, develops a taste for the pure and calm enjoyment of art, and tends to divert the mind from gross instincts and brutal desires. Its production, however, must always be subordinated to the laws of morality, and is justified only where there is an excess of capital, and where it can be enjoyed without enervation of character. The luxury which accumulates ornament neither to provide comfort nor educate taste, which measures intrinsic value by the cost of production, which stimulates pride and creates *ennui*, which conceals

<sup>7</sup> "*Du Spiritualisme en Economie Politique.*" Par M. Antonin Rondelet. Paris, 1856.

privation under a lying splendour, and insinuates an affluence which has ceased to exist, is stigmatized as a false, selfish, and corrupting luxury."

The Essay contains a chapter on a species of consumption which the author calls dangerous, and to extinguish which he would directly appeal to legislative intervention. It is not clear what area his denunciation would cover. His invectives are directed against those who exercise ignoble employments, the governments that retain an interest in the card-trade, and those who, in the brilliant streets of our great cities, suggest to the inquisitive infant mind problems of which the paternal intelligence finds it difficult to furnish a complete solution. The author would inflict punishment for intoxication, even of the most harmless kind, if the intoxicated person presented himself in public; and would prohibit the sale of those articles which, without making a wholesale attack on the vital principle, undermine it insensibly by a kind of retail process. This excessive and parliamentary virtue inclines one to apply to our enthusiast for private and national morality the well-known popular sentiment: "He is so dreadfully good, it makes one quite wicked to think of it." We pass on to a brief enumeration of the subjects discussed in the fourth division of this book. The general topic which it illustrates is taxation. It is distributed under the categories of administrative intervention in economical relations, and the methods of exercising it; and financial intervention and the expedients of Government for raising a national revenue. The various kinds of imports are considered under their historical, moral, and economical aspects; the different modes of intervention, under the heads of tyranny, indifference, protection, encouragement and organization.

The organization of an army is a more practicable achievement than the organization of society. Military literature in Great Britain is efficiently represented only by books of detail, exhausting the theory of strategy, tactics, fortification, and gunnery. While France, Austria, Prussia, Belgium, and even Spain and Sardinia, have contributed one or more volumes towards the formation of a library on the science of military administration, England has remained silent and indifferent on the subject. Not a single philosophical work, exhibiting the interconnexion of these distinct but related branches of military knowledge, is to be found on the bookshelves of the soldier-student. This reproachful gap in the literature of our army was first indicated to Lord Panmure by Lieutenant-Colonel Lefroy, on whose recommendation M. de Fonblanque was selected to supply the want. The work now submitted to public examination<sup>8</sup> contains criticism, censure, and discussion, which the War Department refused to endorse. The author declined to eliminate the obnoxious passages, and accepted the alternative of publishing his opinions on his own personal responsibility. Assisted by Sir Charles Trevelyan and Lieutenant-Colonel Lefroy in the execution of his enterprise, he ascribes to these gentle-

<sup>8</sup> "Treatise on the Administration and Organization of the British Army, with special reference to Finance and Supply." By Edward Barrington de Fonblanque, Assistant Commissary-General. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Co. 1858.

men the larger share of whatever merit his volume may be found to possess. Commencing with a historical review of army administration, and tracing its growth and development, from the remote period of the Persian armament, through its mediæval phase down to modern and even recent times, he describes the constitution and composition of the army, the various agencies for the exercise and enforcement of military command, regimental organization, promotion, and honorary distinction. These topics form the subject-matter of the two first books. The educational, scientific, and manufacturing departments of the army, with the administration of justice, are examined in the following book. Military finance, comprising the special ramifications of recruiting-bounty, regimental staff or garrison pay, money-allowances, pensions and half-pay, is treated in a fourth main division. Supply duties in field and garrison form the subject of the fifth book; transport, clothing, and quarters, including encampments, are considered in the sixth and an illustrative appendix, with an alphabetical list of references, completes the work. A bold, independent, and patriotic spirit distinguishes the criticism of M. de Fonblanque; clearness and copiousness of exposition, and comprehensiveness and general accuracy of information, characterize a work which promises to be generally serviceable, if not officially authoritative.

The rise and progress of the fourth estate of the realm is a subject not less important than the organization of the British army. The history of British journalism<sup>9</sup> has accordingly furnished Mr. Andrews with a succession of topics connected with the newspaper press. The *English Mercury* is still currently believed to have been the first national journal. It has long since, however, been pronounced and proved to be a forgery, for which neither occasion nor motive can be assigned, attributed by Mr. Watts to the second Lord Hardwicke, and considered by the elder Disraeli as a *jeu d'esprit* of historical antiquarianism concocted by Birch, who preserved it among his papers, and his friends the Yorkes. Excluding the *English Mercurie* as an imposture from the ranks of journalistic precedence, Mr. Andrews maintains that the real forerunners of our newspapers were "certain bookes printed of newes, of the prosperous successes of the King's Majestie's arms in Scotland" (Henry VIII. 1544). Several papers relating to foreign affairs are by the "Harleian manuscrite" declared to have been issued in the days of Queen Elizabeth, but none of these are preserved in the British Museum. News-sheets and pamphlets were abundant in the reign of James I. The first of any regular series of newspapers is entitled *The Weekly Newses from Italy, Germania*, and bears date 28rd May, 1622. A host of *Mercuries*, the favourite appellation of the papers of the time, appeared in or about 1645. Their principal writers were Marchmont, Hedham, John Birkenhead, and Peter Heylin. The first advertising organ was the *Impartial Intelligencer*,

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<sup>9</sup> "The History of British Journalism, from the Foundation of the Newspaper Press to the Repeal of the Stamp Act in 1855, with Sketches of Press Celebrities." By Alexander Andrews. In two vols. London: Bentley. 1859.

1648; the first illustrated paper was *London's Intelligencer*, 1643; the first licenser of the press was Gilbert Mabbot, 1647; the first court organ was the *Oxford Gazette*, 1665; the first commercial paper was published by Roger L'Estrange, 1675; the first literary paper was entitled *Mercurius Librarius*, 1680; the first sporting paper, the *Jockey's Intelligencer*, was issued in 1683, and the first medical paper in 1686. In 1702 appeared the *Daily Courant*, the first daily paper; and the first newspaper-tax was levied 1st August, 1712. Fourteen years after was published the first number of a political paper possessing undoubted historic significance, *The Craftsman*, under the editorship of Nicholas Amherst, assisted by Lord Bolingbroke and Pulteney. Such is a rapid sketch of the history of the press in its origin and early development. Its subsequent expansions and transformations, with an enumeration and description of its principal organs, their form, date, and size, are recorded with proximate accuracy. Sketches of the founders of the principal papers, and of many of the notable men who have gained a name by journalism, or conferred honour on it by the splendour of their own previous or subsequent reputation, add to the interest of these two informing and amusing volumes. Mr. Andrews' work, however, can only be regarded as a contribution to a history of British journalism. He has neither a historical nor philosophical mind; he does not treat journal literature as a reflex of national life and thought; he does not give you the characteristic exposition of the period, the paper, the journalist, which would make his book final and exclusive. Far from being perfect, it is not even free from easily avoidable errors and unaccountable omissions; but it is a pleasant, gossiping, instructive, and generally creditable production.

The practicability and advantage of railway communication in European and Asiatic Turkey are indicated in a brochure<sup>10</sup> by Sir Macdonald Stephenson. The line which the chairman of the Smyrna branch recommends is designed to traverse European Turkey either by the direct road across the Balkan or by way of the pass near Aidos, connecting the western network of railways with the port or ports nearest the east. In Asiatic Turkey the trunk line would be continued from Constantinople towards Sivas, and thence either south-east by Diarbekir, or south-west by Iscanderoon, into the doab of the Tigris and Euphrates. The distance from the Channel port to the port on the Persian Gulf is computed to be 2800 miles; thence to the Indus is 1100 miles. A third step would connect the East India trunk line, through the Nepalese range of the Himalayahs with the river Sampoo, and open up the entire trade with China, by means of the rivers Yeangtsekiang and Maykiang. The expense of constructing the Smyrna and Aidin Railway is estimated by the author of this pamphlet at 75 per cent. less than the cost of English railroads a few years since. The appendix attached to the "Remarks" contains ex-

<sup>10</sup> "Railways in Turkey." By Sir Macdonald Stephenson. With Maps. London: John Weale, 1859.



planatory letters and reports. A large and elaborate map of Turkey, in addition to those which the pamphlet contains, has been prepared by Sir J. Macdonald Stephenson to illustrate his propositions, and is published separately.

Mr. J. D. Gardner has travelled much in European Turkey, and has resided a whole spring in Greece, and part of a summer in the Ionian Isles.<sup>11</sup> The mass of the Ionians are Greek; but a large portion of the landowning aristocracy are of Italian origin. Mr. Gardner regards them as cowardly, insolent, and quite unfitted for unrestricted self-government. The protectorate of England he pronounces to have issued in admirable results—the guarantee and safety of the Ionian Sea, an accession of freedom to the commonalty of the Islands, improved laws and excellent roads, security for life and property, light taxation, and a free Parliament. Mr. Gardner condemns the philanthropic and sentimental legislation and diplomacy of Lord Grey, Lord Seaton, Sir E. B. Lytton, and Mr. Gladstone. Philhellenism he denounces as absolutely mischievous. In moral qualities he places the Greeks far below the Slavonians and Turks. More than half the so-called Greek population is made up of Vlacks and Albanians. The poverty of Greece is greater than that of Turkey. Four-fifths of her soil are waste. Treachery, prate, audacity, and tricky cleverness are the characteristics of the modern Greek. On the other hand, the Turks are rapidly improving. The policy of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe is the policy of common sense. The elevation of the Rajahs is in quiet progress, and they will ultimately become masters of the country. The remedy for existing evil in the Ionian Islands, according to the pamphleteer, is the abolition of Lord Seaton's impracticable constitution, the adoption of a straightforward system worked by such a man as Sir Thomas Maitland, and the extinction of the free press. The machinations of Russia and the commercial wisdom and enterprise of Austria are largely commented on towards the close of the pamphlet; and Government and capitalists are invited to revive the ruined traffic of Durazzö, and to make the Ionian Islands the hinge of British commerce in all the seas of the Levant.

In Mr. Blakesley's "Four Months in Algeria"<sup>12</sup> we have a scholarly and valuable production. Topographical description and historical research, political remark and antiquarian speculation, give interest and variety to its pages. Flying from the inclemency of an English winter and spring, Mr. Blakesley embarked at Marseilles in a steamer belonging to a private French company, on 31st December, 1857, dropping anchor in the harbour of Algiers, after a prosperous voyage of forty-four hours. During the months of November, December, January, and February, there is usually a great deal of rain at Algiers. The drizzling weather of England is unknown; but the downpour is lavish and vehement when the wet season arrives. There are, however, clear, bright

<sup>11</sup> "The Ionian Islands in relation to Greece," &c. By John Dunn Gardner, Esq. London: James Ridgway, Piccadilly. 1859.

<sup>12</sup> "Four Months in Algeria, with a Visit to Carthage." By Rev. J. W. Blakesley, &c. Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 1859.

intervals even during this period. At the end of February, the temperature of the atmosphere is that of an English May or June. The greatest peril which an invalid has to encounter during an Algerian winter, arises from the passage of the southern blast over the snow. For its sheltered position, Oran, during this season of the year, is preferred by Mr. Blakesley, as a domicile. The town of Algiers, with its ancient remains, its Moorish streets, its faubourg Bab-azoun, mosques, gardens, and monuments, is well described in the second chapter of this book. The Spanish settlers, the clergy, the Sisters of Charity, the orphan schools of agriculture, Pagan and Jewish customs, and juggling exorcisms, are the subjects of the third chapter. In the three or four following chapters Mr. Blakesley describes the ascent of the Sahel, the French invasion, Arab communism, agricultural colonies, and clerical establishments; the people and government of Kabyle; Oran and its geologically interesting neighbourhood; the career of Abd-el-Kader, and the heroic conduct of Cavaignac. Communistic experiments, Arab morals and manners, geographical description and zoological anecdote, a visit to Constantine, a journey to Batna, Milah, Guelma, a voyage to Tunis, with an account of the defence of Carthage, its antiquities and chief localities, are the topics distributed through the remaining chapters, with the exception of the last, which is political, social, and statistical. Our author describes the native population as cowed for at least a generation; but he adds that the French have as yet done but little to reconcile them to the yoke, and less to inspire a love for European civilization. He computes that Algeria has already cost the French 60,000,000*l.*; in return for which they have the fortifications and harbour of Algiers, three diverging lines of road from that city to Oran, Bona, and Philipville, the electric telegraph lines, and various works of drainage and irrigation. Denying to the French in Algeria the organizing genius which the English have displayed in India, and admitting the amount of suffering inflicted in the conquest of North Africa, Mr. Blakesley yet declares that the present state of things is a gain to the native population, and a benefit to civilized Europe. He distrusts the working of the new constitution, but predicts a fair future for the new colony under the influence of increased wealth and long-continued peace. The fertility of Algeria, and the beauty of its scenery, are highly commended. The tobacco, however, cannot compete with that of the West Indies, and the cultivation of cereals receives no encouragement. Olive and mulberry trees might be profitably reared; but the process of grafting or sorting the fruit is regarded by the Arabs as a contempt of the gifts of God. There are two curious ethnological identifications in Mr. Blakesley's pages. The snake-eating guild of Aissa (Jesus) he considers to be the genuine descendants of the Psylli, a tribe of serpent-charmers, reputed in the time of Herodotus to have perished in an expedition into the Sahara, but which existed in the Cyrenaica 500 years afterwards, and in the time of the Antonines were in repute all over Greece for their skill in curing snake-bites. The second case of identification is that of the Kabyle tribe Zouaoua (from which the Zouaves are derived) with the Zaukeas of Herodotus. It has been remarked, however, that

the people mentioned by the historian are placed on the east or south-east of the Zyngates, whereas the Zonaoua of our day are located on lesser Atlas, between the longitudes of Bougie and Algiers. Mr. Blakesley's volume has a map prefixed to it not undeserving of commendation.

We are invited still further eastward by Mr. Osborn,<sup>13</sup> an American clergyman and professor, of cultivated taste and no common accomplishments. Crossing from New York to Liverpool, reaching Paris by Southampton and Havre, then passing through Belgium, visiting Aix-la-Chapelle, Strasbourg, Basle, Geneva, Milan, and finally embarking at Malta, Mr. Osborn landed at Beirût, in Syria, the best starting-point, as he thinks, in the natural order of travel, for seeing the Holy Land. The early influences of Phœnicia are considered in Chapter II. Sidon and Tyre, Tased and the Lake of Tiberias, with the notable localities on the way to the sacred city, are the subjects of the next ten chapters. At Jerusalem he remained for some time, studying its antiquities, and making excursions to the Dead Sea, Jericho, Jordan, and other districts, and eventually returning to Joppa, to take ship for Malta. Mr. Osborn's erudition is considerable, his artistic skill praiseworthy, and his powers of observation large. He has sufficient command of language to write always correctly, often strikingly. His maps and appendix prove that he is a good geographer, and the illustrations intimate his skill as a draughtsman. His volume abounds in biblical, literary, and scientific notices. Present proofs of the fertility of Palestine are adduced in one of the concluding chapters, and Gibbon's verdict, founded on Strabo's description of the country round Jerusalem only, is set aside by evidence collected from Tacitus, Ammianus, Marcellinus, Josephus, and Procopius. Even at the present day, the grape vines of the industrial settlement near the pools of Solomon, south-west of Bethlehem, "are reported to yield to one vine one hundred bunches of grapes, each three feet long, and each grape three and a half inches in circumference. So Indian corn grows eleven feet high, water-melons weigh fifty pounds, bean-pods are thirteen inches in length, quince-trees yield six hundred quinces each, and a single citron-tree five hundred and ten pounds of fruit." Mr. Osborn's volume is sumptuously "got up." It boasts of fifty-nine woodcuts, two steel engravings—that of Tyre really beautiful—and six chromographic illustrations, among which the "Birds of Palestine" is the most successful.

From the Holy Land we are summoned to the Celestial Empire.<sup>14</sup> A second instalment of the valuable labours of the Imperial Russian Embassy at Pekin, a portion of whose literary enterprise was noticed in the April No. of our *Review* for 1858, requires but a brief recital of the selected topics in addition to the general appreciation which the work then received. The present volume opens with a paper on the origin and first achievements of the Mant-chou dynasty, succeeded

<sup>13</sup> "Palestine, Past and Present," &c. By Rev. Henry S. Osborn, A.M. London: Trübner. 1859.

<sup>14</sup> "Arbeiten der Kaiserlich Russischen Gesandtschaft zu Peking über China," &c. &c. Von Dr. Carl Abel und F. A. Mecklenburg. Zweiter Band. Berlin. 1858.

by a historical survey of the Chinese population, amounting in 1842 to more than 41½ millions. An interesting life of Buddha, and a sketch of ancient Buddhism by Palladius, with an account of Buddhist vows, and the accompanying ceremonies, by Curius, follow. Papers on the Chinese medical art, anæsthetic agents, and hydropathy in China, on the imperial or sweet-smelling rice, the preparation of Indian ink and cosmetic paint, on salt production, the culture of the potato, and finally, an essay on silk, the silkworm and its food, translated from the Chinese, complete the catalogue of contents.

Two works of an educational kind lie before us,—M. Biot's tract on the parochial schools of Scotland,<sup>15</sup> and Miss Martineau's pamphlet on the endowed schools of Ireland.<sup>16</sup> M. Biot's tract bears strong testimony to the merits of the Scotch system of parish schools, and may be consulted with advantage by our own countrymen who are desirous of ascertaining clearly and promptly the characteristics of the vaunted Scotch system of education. In the first grade of didactic establishments are the self-governed universities of Scotland. Inferior to the universities are the academies and grammar schools, under the patronage of the magistracy, partly supported by the town, partly by pupil payments, destined for the middle class, and attended by day scholars alone. Primary instruction is given in—1, private schools, requiring payment from the pupils; 2, charity schools, on the Bell and Lancaster principle, partly gratuitous; and, 3, parish schools established all over the land by Act of Parliament. The National Church has at all periods encouraged education, but it was not till 1616 that an Act of Council was passed ordering a school to be established in each parish at the expense of the landowners. Ratified by Parliament in 1633, modified by the Commonwealth in 1646, repealed in its altered form on the Restoration, and finally re-enacted not long after, it is now the foundation of the parochial system. The landowners of every parish are bound to provide a school-house, a dwelling-house for the master, and a garden of not less than a quarter of an acre. The master's salary, varying from about seventeen to twenty-two pounds, is paid by the landowners, who contribute in proportion to the rent of their land. In addition to this salary, the pupils make fixed, but inconsiderable payments. The minister and landowners appoint the master, subject to the approval of the Presbytery, which examines him previous to induction, and suspends and removes him from his office if it see fit. Questions of litigation are decided by the magistrates of the county in their quarter sessions. M. Biot eulogises the efficacy of these schools, the general attainments of the pupils, and pronounces the system eminently successful in the promotion of a high moral character, and the preparation and expansion of the intellect. Scotch workmen in foreign employ are most favourably contrasted with the uninstructed workmen of England. A preference is uni-

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<sup>15</sup> "M. Biot on the Parochial Schools of Scotland." Translated by the Right Hon. Lord Brougham, &c. London: Ridgway. 1859.

<sup>16</sup> "Endowed Schools of Ireland." By Harriet Martineau. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1859.

versally given to the former above all other countrymen, while the latter are regarded as the least respectable and trustworthy. Lord Brougham's explanatory notes, and his letter to the Burns meeting, which accompanies them, render his translation of M. Biot's tract still more acceptable.—The chapters which form Miss Martineau's patriotic little work on endowed schools have already appeared in the *Daily News*. They are now reprinted in the hope of awakening the attention of the friends of education in general, and of our legislators in particular, to the danger of the misapplication of Irish endowments. In them Miss Martineau discusses the question of intermediate education in Ireland and the report in which it is illustrated. A brief account of the institution and object of the Commission of Inquiry is succeeded by an historical sketch of the state of the Irish people, in which Miss Martineau refers us to the school legislation of Henry VIII., and the diocesan establishments of Queen Elizabeth; describes their failures, enumerates the earliest commissions and reports; exposes the present unsatisfactory state of endowments; indicates lapses, neglects, and abuses; calls attention to the deficiency of middle-class education; adduces sundry claims and recommendations of the Commissioners; and concludes with a free criticism and exposure of the antagonist recommendations of the Church and State exclusionists, represented by Mr. Stephens. These topics are treated with the fearlessness and intelligence which distinguish the acute and indefatigable authoress.

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#### SCIENCE.

IT is well known that among the first-fruits of the important improvement which the microscope received about thirty years ago, by the application of the principle of achromatism, were those researches of Professor Ehrenberg on Infusory Animalcules, which will indissolubly connect his name with that portion of the "world of small," so long as human eyes shall be occupied in scrutinizing its phenomena, and human minds shall interest themselves in the interpretation of them. With most wonderful industry, untiring perseverance, and great manipulative skill, he brought together so vast an amount of information in regard to the multiform types of animalcular life—he so elaborately systematized and so fully expounded the results of his observations, that the publication of the "Infusions-thierchen" is felt by all who have come after him—however widely they may feel themselves compelled to dissent from his doctrines—as having inaugurated a new era in the history of the subject; and even the authors of the treatise now before us,<sup>1</sup> who strenuously oppose his views as to the organization and classification of Infusoria, are so sensible of what science owes to him, that they frankly avow the inutility of attempting

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<sup>1</sup> "Études sur les Infusoires et les Rhizopodes." Par Édouard Claparède et Johannes Lachmann. Première Livraison. 4to, pp. 260, avec 13 Planches lithographiques. Genève. 1858.

to trace back their synonymy through pre-Ehrenbergian writers. His most important novelty—the separation of animalcules into two great groups, of which one (consisting of the Wheel-animalcules and their allies) takes a comparatively high rank in the zoological scale, whilst the other remains at or near its zero—has been universally accepted. No one any longer doubts that the *Rotifera* are truly articulated animals; and although Ehrenberg's account of their structure has been corrected in many points of detail, yet the validity of its general features has received nothing but confirmation from subsequent research. The case is far otherwise, however, with regard to the lower group, which received from Ehrenberg the name of *Polygastrica*, on account of the multiplicity of stomachs which he affirmed to be the peculiar feature of its organization. This idea seems to have been early conceived by him, as the readiest explanation of the well-known appearances which are seen within the bodies of these animalcules when they have been feeding on particles of colouring matter; and he thought that he could discern in certain species of animalcules not merely multiple stomachs, but a connecting intestinal tube. The observations on which the polygastric doctrine was founded, however, were made with instruments which would now be regarded as of little value; and although the authority of the Berlin professor at first obtained general credence for his assertions, yet many years did not pass by without the expression at first of hesitating doubts, then of open distrust, on the part of various competent observers. Men with far better instruments than he had originally possessed, affirmed that instead of being able to see more plainly by their means the organization which he had described, they found accumulating evidence of its non-existence; and he was repeatedly called upon to explain according to his scheme, phenomena which were adduced as indubitable disproofs of it. He showed, it must be admitted, a vast amount of ingenuity in support of his favourite hypothesis; admitting whatever he could not deny, but managing to turn it to his own account; and denying everything which he could not thus dispose of.

A sort of skirmishing contest having been thus maintained for some years, M. Dujardin set himself more formally to contest the question with Professor Ehrenberg in a pitched battle; but, unfortunately for science, the basis of his system had no more validity than that of his opponent. Judging of Infusoria generally by observations he had made upon members of a group ranked among them by Professor Ehrenberg, but now separated by common consent as of inferior rank—the *Rhizopoda*,—he affirmed that Infusory animalcules are in reality only to be looked upon as little particles of animated jelly, named *sarcodæ*, neither possessed of any distinct integument, nor having any proper cavity in their interior, but introducing their food into the midst of a soft homogeneous substance, in which extemporaneous *vacuoles* are formed for its reception. This notion of their extreme simplicity has been accepted by few without modification; for it has been obvious to most unprejudiced inquirers, that if Ehrenberg erred in attributing to Infusoria too high an organization, Dujardin was scarcely less in error in denying that they had any.—Another view

of their nature which has found favour among many of the most distinguished physiologists of the day, both Continental and British, seems to have originated in the perception of the strong analogies which unquestionably exist between Infusory animalcules and some of those simple Plants which were long confounded with them; the idea being that each animalcule is in fact a single cell, differing chiefly from the unicellular forms of vegetable life in being able to introduce solid particles into its interior through an aperture in its cell-wall, and in extracting their nutritive material by a process of digestion. To this view, however, there are many objections; and we hold it, with the able authors of the work before us, to be much safer to study the organization of Infusoria without any such preconceived idea of their nature, and to regard them as constituting a group altogether *sui generis*, having a strong general similarity amongst themselves, but cut off from most other forms of animal life by very definite boundaries.

Among those who have most systematically devoted themselves of late years to the study of *Infusoria* (the term which is now generally employed as the equivalent of Ehrenberg's *Polygastrica*, excluding on the one side the *Rotifera*, on the other the *Rhizopoda* and those lower forms of Vegetable life which were long ranked among animalcules on account of their motility), MM. Lachmann, Claparède, and Lieberkühn—all of them distinguished pupils of the late Professor Müller—have been the most conspicuous; and it has been with great satisfaction, therefore, that we have received the first part of a work which will contain the results of the independent but harmonious researches of the two former, our only regret being that the third does not participate in it. We are satisfied, however, with the assurance of M. Claparède, that there is a very general accordance between their views; so that if M. Lieberkühn should embody the materials he has collected in a systematic treatise on Infusoria, it would to a great extent be almost identical with that now brought out by himself and M. Lachmann. This accordance cannot but inspire a very strong confidence in the correctness of their statements; and we have little doubt that the "*Études sur les Infusoires et les Rhizopodes*," will take rank, when complete, as the standard monograph upon the subject. The part already published contains a general account of the structure and physiology of the Infusoria, excluding their reproduction which is to be treated separately; also a sketch of their classification, and a detailed account of the families of *Vorticellina*, *Urocentrina*, *Oxytrichina*, *Tintinnoidea*, and *Bursarina*. The illustrative figures are very artistically executed, and at the same time are more faithful similitudes of the animals they represent than are any we have elsewhere seen. We trust that the appearance of the succeeding parts will not be long delayed.

It may appear somewhat remarkable that of the numerous treatises on the Microscope, which have made their appearance since the complete revolution in the use and value of the instrument effected by the introduction of the principle of achromatism, by far the most elaborate and complete should be the work, not of either British,

French, or German *savans*, but of a Dutch professor. The truth is, however, that although the linguistic isolation of the Dutch nation causes the outside world to know comparatively little of what is going on in its interior, yet its men of science are remarkably well informed as to what is going on outside; the great majority of them being familiar alike with the German, English, and French languages, and making a point of keeping themselves *au courant* with the progress of their respective departments of science in those countries. Not even German erudition could have produced a more complete encyclopediacal treatise than that of Dr. Harting when first published in the Dutch language about ten years ago. But unfortunately there have been few in this country who had the double qualification of capacity to read its language and to appreciate its scientific details; and to by far the larger number of those who would be glad to profit by it, it has been hitherto almost a sealed book. We are glad that the reception of the work on the Continent has been such as to induce the author to bring out a new edition of the work in German;<sup>2</sup> and in the preparation of this he has had the advantage of the services of Dr. Theile, who has not only executed the translation, but has also aided in making the additions and modifications which the advance alike in the theory, in the construction, and in the practical working of the microscope have rendered necessary. Notwithstanding the bulk of this volume, which is made up of above 900 closely-printed pages, it contains nothing whatever respecting the objects of microscopic research,—being exclusively devoted, in the first place, to an elaborate exposition of those optical principles to which its action is to be referred; then to an account of almost every form of microscope which has ever been invented; thirdly, to a minute description of those various pieces of accessory apparatus, for the illumination, measurement, and exhibition of objects, which the ingenuity of opticians and microscopists has devised; and fourthly, to a detailed account of the methods of preparing and mounting objects, of the use of re-agents, dissecting instruments, &c., and of the principal fallacies to which microscopic observation is liable, with the means of avoiding these. Although there is no country where the microscope is more systematically and extensively used for scientific research than it is in Germany, there is none which surpasses our own in the number and ingenuity of the accessory contrivances in which amateurs especially delight, and for which they are willing to pay; and there are very few of these of which a description does not find a place in this work, those even being faithfully recorded which have long since been buried in oblivion, being superseded by arrangements superior both in simplicity and in efficiency. It is not amiss, however, to have these all brought together, so that microscopists may see what to avoid, as well as what is likely to be serviceable to

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<sup>2</sup> "Das Mikroskop. Theorie, Gebrauch, Geschichte und gegenwärtiger Zustand desselben." Von P. Harting, Professor in Utrecht. Deutsche Originalausgabe, vom Verfasser revidirt und vervollständigt, aus dem Holländischen übertragen, von Dr. Fr. Wilh. Theile. Mit 410 in den Text eingedruckten Holzschnitten, und einer Tafel in Farbendruck. 8vo, pp. 950. Braunschweig. 1858.



them; and the work would have lost in completeness as a history what it might have gained in compactness by the abridgment of this portion of it. It will be obvious from what we have said, that Professor Harting's treatise is a mine of information which very few will thoroughly explore, but to which many will have recourse for the rich stores it will yield to them.

The completion of the *Cyclopædia of Anatomy and Physiology*, by the publication of its last supplementary part,<sup>3</sup> is an event of too much interest in the annals of medical science to be passed by without special notice. The work was commenced not less than twenty-four years ago, and it was then calculated that it would be completed in twenty parts, the publication of which was to have been concluded within a few years, as had been that of the *Cyclopædia of Practical Medicine*, the success of which had suggested this kindred undertaking. The necessity for an extension of the plan, which became apparent as the work proceeded, we believe with the editor to have been due, not so much to any insufficiency of the original scheme to represent the then state of anatomical and physiological knowledge, as to the very rapid strides which our acquaintance with many departments of these sciences has undergone during the last twenty-five years. As Dr. Todd justly remarks—

“Perhaps there never was greater activity of research in any branch of science during a given period, than that under which the sciences of anatomy and physiology advanced during the last quarter of a century. Minute anatomy, which thirty years ago was crude and undigested, now takes a very high rank among the various branches of natural knowledge. During these years every tissue has been scrutinized; many obscure points have been cleared up; much that was wholly unknown has been brought to light. The additions to our knowledge of anatomy, although there is yet ample room for fresh discoveries, have given a totally new phase to physiology. From being little more than a series of vague and ill-founded hypotheses, scarcely deserving even that name, it has become a well-arranged science, embracing a vast amount of clearly-defined facts, which at once form a solid basis for a superstructure of sound theory, and throw much light upon the various processes of animal and vegetable life.”

To the same cause may be fairly attributed much of the delay which has attended the prosecution of the work; for it was the editor's aim to obtain, so far as possible, the assistance of contributors who should furnish to the work, not mere compilations from the writings of their predecessors, but the results of their own original researches; and for these the work had often to be kept back, either in consequence of the pressure of other duties on the part of those who were to have supplied them, or through their scrupulous desire to do ample justice to their subjects, and to avoid recording facts which they had not verified by actual observation. The case was very

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<sup>3</sup> “*The Cyclopædia of Anatomy and Physiology.*” Edited by Robert B. Todd, M.D., F.R.S., F.R.C.P., &c., and formerly Professor of Physiology and of General and Morbid Anatomy in King's College, London. Vol. V. (supplementary volume). Royal 8vo, pp. 898, with 487 wood-engravings. London. 1859.

different from that of the "Cyclopædia of Practical Medicine;" for if one contributor failed to fulfil his engagements, there were scores or hundreds ready at a short notice to supply his place with a very respectable article; but the class of contributions which Dr. Todd aimed to obtain was of a much higher order; and there were many subjects on which not more than one or two individuals in the kingdom were really qualified to write. Any blame that we might have been disposed to throw upon the editor for his own slackness, he has so fully anticipated by his own very candid confessions, that we shall make only one remark upon his explanations, namely this,—that when a man undertakes a responsible duty, and finds that his other engagements interfere with its performance, it seems to us that he ought either to relinquish the former, or to contract the latter. If, instead of editing a Cyclopædia, the production of whose consecutive parts could be postponed from two months to six, from six to twelve, and from twelve to twenty, so that the whole has been made to occupy twenty-five years instead of three or four, Dr. Todd had been the editor of a periodical whose non-appearance at stated intervals would have been ruin to its success, we apprehend that he would have long since been forced to resign his charge into other hands by the demands of his hospital duties and private practice. Now, we hold that his engagement with the public to do all that he possibly could to secure the regular publication of the Cyclopædia, was not less binding upon him, because the unpunctuality of his contributors occasionally retarded the fulfilment of his pledge to bring out its successive parts at regular intervals; and that in so far as he allowed other calls upon his time and attention to take precedence of that engagement, the public has a right to complain.

However much we may be disposed to admit excuses for the delay, its consequences are but too plainly apparent in the want of accordance between the earlier and later portions of the work, alike in regard to the scale and to the method according to which the subjects are treated. Of the articles in the first volume, a large proportion must be regarded as already antiquated; whilst of those in the supplementary volume just completed, there are some that are decidedly in advance of the general state of science, being original contributions of very remarkable value. Taking the work as a whole, however, we should be most ungrateful if we were not to say that there are very few articles in it which were not, at the time they were written, highly creditable to the ability and industry of their authors; and which are not still of great value as being more elaborate and comprehensive accounts of their respective subjects than any which are to be elsewhere met with, save in the admirable "Handwörterbuch der Physiologie" edited by Professor Wagner; whilst there are many which still retain, and will probably long preserve, the reputation of being among those monographs which are admitted by common consent as forming the secure foundations whereon the fabric of science is erected. Among the authors of these, it is sad to see how many of the most distinguished have not lived to see the completion of the work to which their labours gave much of its value and solidity. Dutrochet, W. F. Edwards, Harrison,

Marshall Hall, Newport, and John Reid, not to mention others of less note, were men whom science could ill afford to spare; yet we can reflect with satisfaction on the circumstance that each has contributed that to the Cyclopædia which he was specially qualified to furnish, and has thus left a more enduring monument of his labours than would have been presented by detached memoirs which might have ere long been forgotten save by the historian of science.

In striking contrast with the six ponderous tomes of which the Cyclopædia consists (one of its five volumes being so bulky that a division of it is indispensable for use), is a compendious treatise that has recently issued from the American press, by a rising young physiologist, who had previously gained considerable distinction by his original investigations.<sup>4</sup> His ideas of the science are based less upon the systems which have been commonly accredited, than upon the investigations which have marked its progress during a recent epoch; so that instead of interweaving the latter with the former, after the fashion of most systematic writers and teachers, modifying the older doctrines in so far as may be necessary to make them accordant with later researches, he has taken, as it were, an altogether new point of departure, and has set himself to consider on what plan and with what materials the fabric might be best built up, if it were now to be erected *de novo*. There is, we think, considerable advantage to science in the occasional advent of fresh minds which do not allow themselves to be fettered by its traditions, but determine to prove and examine everything for themselves. Unfortunately, some of these seem to differ from their predecessors for the mere sake of establishing a claim to originality, or of gratifying their own love of antagonism and fault-finding. This, however, is not a fault which can be laid to Dr. Dalton's charge. His object has been, not to invalidate the researches of others, but to establish and corroborate them by original investigation, so as to present to the world a compact and reliable summary of the principal verities of physiological science that shall be in accordance with the most advanced knowledge of the time; and we are happy in being able to recommend his treatise as admirably fulfilling this intention. We may differ from him in his estimate of the value of particular facts, and in the conclusions he deduces from them; but the work is highly creditable to his judgment and industry, and is not surpassed by any with which we are acquainted as a concise summary of human physiology, giving due prominence to those points which have the most intimate bearing on medical practice. We must not omit to mention that the illustrations are nearly all original, and are of high merit; and that the whole getting-up of the book does great credit to the American press.

In passing from the condensed treatment of a very comprehensive subject, which characterized Dr. Dalton's Human Physiology, to the exhaustive method of discoursing on a comparatively narrow topic,

<sup>4</sup> "A Treatise on Human Physiology, designed for the use of Students and Practitioners in Medicine." By John C. Dalton, jun., M.D., Professor of Physiology and Microscopic Anatomy in the College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York, &c. &c. With 254 wood-engravings. Royal 8vo, pp. 591. Philadelphia, 1859.

which has been followed by Mr. Humphry, in his work on the human skeleton,<sup>5</sup> we find almost as great contrast as that to which we just now pointed. For in fact it seems to us that Mr. Humphry's volume would have made a most excellent series of articles for such a work as the "Cyclopædia of Anatomy," whilst it is far too ponderous for ordinary use as a text-book. We doubt not that his method is a most excellent one for oral exposition.

"In lecturing on the skeleton," he tells us, "my practice has been, instead of giving a detailed account of the several parts, to request the members of the class, each day, to get up the descriptive anatomy of certain bones, with the aid of some work on osteology. On the subsequent day I tested their acquirements by *visû vocæ* examination, and endeavoured to supply deficiencies and to correct errors. I also added such information,—physical, physiological, pathological, and practical,—as I had been able to gather from my own observation and researches, and which was likely to be useful and to excite an interest in the subject. The additional information, thus collected, forms, in great part, the material of the present volume; which does not profess to give a regular description of the bones, and is not, therefore, intended as a substitute for any of the existing manuals of anatomy, but is rather supplementary to them."

The method of treatment most suitable for lectures, is not always that which is best adapted for the reader of a written exposition; and whilst we give Mr. Humphry the highest credit for the industry he has shown in the collection of his materials, and for the judgment with which he has disposed them, we can scarcely anticipate that there are many students possessed of sufficient patience to wade through a volume of six hundred pages upon the skeleton alone. The part relating to the joints seems to us to be the one most worthy of attention, this subject not being ordinarily dwelt upon in anatomical works with a fulness at all proportionate to its practical importance.

The Philosophy of Voice and Speech,<sup>6</sup> according to Mr. Hunt's idea of it, consists of an aggregation of shreds of anatomy, physiology, and acoustics, with patches of philology and rhetoric, pieced together with very little unity of design. We have first a series of chapters headed—Respiration, The Nervous System, Sound, The Organ of Hearing, The Vocal Apparatus, The Organs of Articulation, Production of the Voice, On Language in General, Ventriloquism and Speaking Machines, General Survey of the Elements of Speech; and then we go on to another series on the Origin of Language, Primitive and Cognate Languages, Origin and Development of the English Language, Origin and Progress of Writing, Analysis of the English Alphabet, English Orthography and Orthoepy, Pasiology and Pasigraphy, Disorders of the Voice and Defective Articulation, Deaf-Dumbness and Muteism, Cultivation and Management of the Voice, Oratory and Public Speaking. Now, of the greater part of these subjects it is obvious that Mr. Hunt's

<sup>5</sup> "A Treatise on the Human Skeleton, including the Joints." By George Murray Humphry, Esq., M.B. (Cantab.), F.R.C.S., Lecturer on Surgery and Anatomy in the Cambridge University Medical School. Royal 8vo, pp. 620, with 60 Lithographic Plates. Cambridge and London. 1859.

<sup>6</sup> "A Manual of the Philosophy of the Voice and Speech, especially in relation to the English Language and the Art of Public Speaking." By James Hunt, Ph.D., F.S.A., M.R.S.L., &c. &c. Post 8vo, pp. 422. London. 1859.

knowledge is very shallow, and that it has been picked up at second-hand, without anything that can be called study of his own. The outline of the nervous system, for example, is a mere anatomical description, including much that has little to do with the subject, and not touching upon the points that are of the greatest importance to the right understanding of the mode in which the organs of speech are brought, through the instrumentality of the nervous system, under the control of the mind. Thus, for example, although a knowledge of the dependence of all voluntary muscular action upon guiding sensations is of fundamental importance to the right understanding of the state of deaf-dumbness, and of the employment of the best means for teaching deaf-mutes to speak, we do not find a word upon the subject in any part of the book. In discussing philological questions, Mr. Hunt is obviously venturing completely out of his depth; and the confidence with which he pronounces upon questions as to which the learned are at issue, would be very amusing, if it did not excite a feeling of regret at the erroneous impressions which the author will communicate to the readers who will doubtless be attracted by the title of his book, and by his reputation (which we believe to be well deserved) in the treatment of stammering and defective articulation. His chapters on these last subjects are so slight and superficial, that they would seem intended rather to conceal than to make known what Mr. Hunt is capable of telling the world in reference to them. He has, of course, a right to keep his system to himself so long as he thinks proper to do so; but to publish a work on the philosophy of the voice and speech, in which no clue is given to what he maintains to be the most successful method of remedying these imperfections, strikes us as something very like a sham.

Dr. Robinson<sup>7</sup> is impressed, by the experience which he has had in the management of a private lunatic asylum near Gateshead, with the belief that much more may be effected for the prevention and cure of insanity than is at present in operation; and he dwells upon the following points as specially worthy of attention:—

“1. The further investigation of the causes of mental disorders, and the general diffusion of information respecting them. 2. Greater attention to the physical and moral education of all classes of society, and the prevalence of a more simple and natural mode of living. 3. The treatment of insanity in its earlier stages, and during the period when its approach is heralded by premonitory symptoms, such as unusual eccentricities, causeless dislikes, &c. 4. The prosecution of further investigations into the physiology and pathology of the nervous system, so as to increase our knowledge of the conditions affecting its higher functions in health and disease. 5. The institution of inquiries into the special properties and peculiarities of action of narcotic and sedative substances, whether of vegetable origin, or called into existence by recent experimental researches in organic chemistry.”

These subjects are discussed by Dr. Robinson in a sensible and judicious manner; though we think that he lays too much stress on the physical and too little on the psychical conditions which tend to de-

<sup>7</sup> “On the Prevention and Treatment of Mental Disorders.” By George Robinson, M.D., F.R.C.P., &c. &c. Post 8vo, pp. 228. London. 1859.

velope insanity. To us it is evident that, in proportion as the functional activity of the brain is called into play, there must be a tendency to irregularity, if its operation be not carefully controlled; and that the most important aims of every intelligent educator should be, on the one hand, the cultivation and discipline of the will, so as to give to it an autocratic domination over the current of thought and feeling; and on the other, the direction of the feelings and tastes towards healthful and ennobling pursuits, so as to give the highest action to the motive powers, and at the same time to secure a sufficient variety of occupation.

There can be no question of the wisdom of the legislature of Philadelphia in determining, as it did in the year 1836, on a Geological and Mineralogical survey of that State; nor could it have been placed in better hands than those of Professor H. Rogers and his able assistants. But what was so well begun should have been as well carried through. Notwithstanding that the legislature was made aware at the commencement of the work that it would occupy at least ten years, it ceased to make any grants for the purpose after the expiration of the sixth; and for three years Professor Rogers, with a rare devotion to his great object, continued to prosecute his survey not only without remuneration, but at a great expense to himself. Having collected and systematized his materials, he deposited them with the State Government in 1847, for the purpose of publication. No step was taken with this view, however, until 1851, when funds were granted for the revision of such portions of the field-work as, from the rapid development of the mining districts of the State, required re-survey, and for the publication of the Report itself. Again, however, through official mismanagement (probably resulting from that system of political jobbery which seems to prevail in the United States from the highest to the lowest members of the governing body), a large portion of the funds set apart for the purpose was lost, and Professor Rogers had again to proceed upon his own resources. At last, however, a vote was passed, placing the whole material in his own hands, with a grant for its publication, which has proved far from sufficient to meet its cost, the deficiency having again to be supplied from the author's own pocket, until he shall be reimbursed by the sale of the work. We feel, then, that we owe but little to the State of Pennsylvania for this truly admirable production;<sup>8</sup> whilst, on the contrary, we find ourselves indebted to its author, not only for the labour and scientific ability he has prodigally bestowed upon it, but also for the noble sacrifices he has made in order to do full justice to his subject. The greater part of the work consists of details which are chiefly interesting and valuable to Pennsylvanians; the various parts of their State being systematically described, their geological and mineralogical

<sup>8</sup> "The Geology of Pennsylvania; a Government Survey. With a General View of the Geology of the United States, Essays on the Coal-formation and its Fossils, and a Description of the Coal-fields of North America and Great Britain." By Henry Darwin Rogers, State Geologist, Professor of Natural History in the University of Glasgow. Two volumes, 4to, with numerous Plates and Maps. Edinburgh, London, and Philadelphia. 1858.

structure detailed, and the most important peculiarities of their physical conformation indicated.

The scientific geologist of every country, however, will find abundant material for profitable study in the extraordinary development of the palæozoic series of rocks over this large area, which presents nothing more recent than mesozoic red sandstone; and especially in the varied phenomena presented by the numerous coal-basins, with the results of the igneous disturbances to which they have been subjected. But he will be especially interested in the general sketch of the geology of the United States, in the essay on the conditions of the physical geography attending the production of the palæozoic strata of the United States, in the description of the organic remains of those strata, and in the essay on the laws of structure of the more disturbed zones of the earth's crust—this last being the vehicle for the systematic development of the view some years ago put forth by Professor Rogers as a deduction from his researches upon the Appalachian and other mountain-chains, that elevations which extend along continuous lines of the earth's crust are the results of successive earthquake-waves, whose form, when it has undergone no subsequent alteration from the surface-action of water, or from additional subterranean disturbance, remains stereotyped (as it were) in the contours of the successive mountains and valleys. Besides these supplemental essays, the second half of the second volume (each part of which is really a volume in itself) contains a valuable summary of the extent and productiveness of the various coal-fields of North America, and of the deposits of coal and iron in Great Britain. The illustrated maps, views, and sections, as well as the figures of fossils, are most admirably executed, and do great credit to the establishment of the Messrs. Johnston of Edinburgh; to obtain whose co-operation we understand it to have been, that Professor Rogers determined upon bringing out the work in this country instead of in the United States. It was during a residence in Scotland which was only intended to be temporary, that he was led to become a candidate for the Professorship of Natural History in the University of Glasgow; his appointment to which, we trust, has fixed him amongst us.

We have left ourselves too little space to speak of a valuable treatise on Physical Geography, which has just appeared at Berlin, as the first of a series which is to embrace the whole "Erdkunde," or Descriptive Geography.<sup>9</sup> It is based, as it should be, on geology; and its treatment of the subject is so philosophical and comprehensive, that we can strongly recommend it to such as wish to make a systematic study of this department of science.

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<sup>9</sup> "Handbuch der Physischen Geographie." Von Gustav Adolph von Klöden, Dr. Phil., Professor an der städtischen Gewerbeschule zu Berlin. Mit 274 Holzschnitten. 8vo, pp. 995. Berlin. 1859.

## HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

THE first and second volumes of Rawlinson's "Herodotus" were reviewed in our October number. The third volume now solicits attention.<sup>1</sup> It contains a translation of the fourth, fifth, and sixth books of the "History of Herodotus," faithfully and pleasantly executed, with their corresponding appendices. The first appendix comprises three essays. 1. On the Cimmerians of Herodotus, and the migrations of the Cymric race; 2. On the Ethnography of the Europeans, Scyths; and 3. On the Geography of Scythia. Rejecting the view of Niebuhr, that the Scythians of Herodotus were a Tartar or Mongolian race, on the grounds that the physical resemblances are slight, and those of manners and customs by no means close, the writer of the essay comes to the conclusion, for philological reasons, that they were an Indo-European race. "Language," as Mr. Grote correctly observes, "is the only sure test," and language pronounces unmistakably in favour of the Indo-European, and against the Mongol theory, the Scythic words which remain to us presenting thirty to forty roots capable of identification with well-known Indo-European terms. It would further appear that they were a distinct race, being neither Slaves, Celts, nor Teutons, and that they are now no longer existent; while the Cimmerii of the Black Sea region of Armenia and Central Persia continue to exist as Cymri in the mountains of Wales. The Scyths, like the Mexican Aztecs, have been swept away by the current of immigration. The second appendix has two essays—1. On the early history of Sparta; and 2. On that of the Athenians. In general correspondence with the conclusions of Mr. Grote, the writer differs from that historian on minor points of political interest and scholarly accuracy or completeness. Thus he maintains, in opposition to Mr. Grote as well as to Müller and Thirlwall, the reality of the barbarous practice of the *Krypteia*, by which the bravest and most aspiring of the Helot class were secretly made away with at the will of the Government. Referring to Mr. Grote's description of the Lyncurgen discipline as at once the most copious and exact which exists in our language, he endorses Mr. Grote's reversal of the received view of the equalization of property ascribed to Lycurgus. The early history of Athens is considered to end with Solon. A rapid survey is taken of primitive Athenian history, and the principal arrangements of the Solonian legislation are described, the reader being again referred to Mr. Grote's history for "the most accurate digest of the ancient authorities, and the most philosophical comment upon them to be found in the whole range of modern literature." The third appendix examines the circumstances of the battle of Marathon, and the value of the traditions respecting the Pelasgians. The ori-

<sup>1</sup> "The History of Herodotus," &c. By George Rawlinson, M.A., &c., Assisted by Colonel Sir Henry Rawlinson, K.C.B., and Sir J. G. Wilkinson, F.R.S. In 4 vols. Vol. III. With Maps and Illustrations. London: Murray, 1859.



ginal population of Greece and Italy was homogeneous. The Pelasgi were a branch of this ethnic family. Attica was originally Pelasgic; and the Hellenes themselves, who in later times offered so remarkable a contrast to the Pelasgians, appear from the statement of Herodotus to have been originally one of their tribes. In Greece Proper this daughter race afterwards swallowed them up. In Asia Minor they became mingled with the Carians, Lydians, and Phrygians; in Italy they were reduced to the condition of serfs. The etymology of the name Pelasgian is uncertain. Dr. Donaldson in his "Varronianus" regards Πελ, as equivalent to μελ, black, and Butmann showed long ago that "Asgi" might be considered as equivalent to Asci or Asici, people of Asia. Thus their name of swarthy Asiatics would mark at once their proper country, and their most striking physical characteristic. The series of maps and illustrations which enriches this version of the historian of Halicarnassus is very creditable.

A history of France by the Rev. J. W. White,<sup>2</sup> from the earliest times to the year of the last French Revolution, furnishes a readable account of the neighbour country, aiming at something higher than a mere epitome, and giving results rather than abstracts. Thus, while reporting the occurrences which have a general bearing on the progress of the nation, it does not profess to be minute in its record, or philosophic in its investigation. Yet there is sufficient detail to be interesting, and sufficient breadth of view to be attractive. The narrative is lively; the style spirited and familiar, not disdaining homely illustration; and the tone popular, tolerant, and generous. While reprobating the atrocities of the first Revolution, Mr. White remarks that if all the violences and iniquities distributed over the period which elapsed from the wars of the barons to the expulsion of the Stuarts in England were compressed into four or five years, we should have little cause to look down scornfully on the events of that terrible epoch in France. As a succinct, yet satisfactory and animated summary of French history, Mr. White's volume is entitled to recommendation.

The tenth volume of Louis Blanc's "History of the French Revolution"<sup>3</sup> traverses ground often trodden, and always with shuddering. The Reign of Terror, our author tells us, was not a system, but the armed and fatal offspring of the general situation conceived by the injustice of the past, and engendered by the struggles and perils of the present. In twelve chapters M. L. Blanc describes the men and events of this régime, the cruelty of Fouquier Tinville, the atrocious character of Vilate, the war of La Vendée, and the annihilation of the Catholic army at Savenay; the abandonment of Toulon by the English; the campaign on the Rhine; the heroic ardour of Hoche; the military events in the eastern Pyrenees; the barbarities under Tallien and Carrier; the development of the Reign of Terror; the reaction

<sup>2</sup> "History of France, from the Earliest Times to MDCCOXLVIII." By Rev. James White. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood and Sons. 1859.

<sup>3</sup> "Histoire de la Revolution Française." Par M. Louis Blanc. Tome deuxième. Paris. 1858.

against the Hébertists; the overthrow of their system; the prosecution and death of Danton, whose party had become, from the fatal character of the crisis, the *avant-garde* of the royalist faction; the Festival of the Supreme Being; and the adoption of the law of the twenty-second Prairiel. Louis Blanc's energetic and graphic narrative, and his careful research make his historical elaboration acceptable, even after the perusal of the cognate productions of so many men of genius and industry.

The distinctive part of the present volume is the author's view of the Reign of Terror, and the efforts made to resist it. There were, he says, three factions—that of Hébert, with a policy of Terror; that of Robespierre, with a policy of Justice; that of Danton, with a policy of Mercy. The two last, with Camille Desmoulins, were at first accordant. Robespierre afterwards proposed to disarm the Hébertists by substituting a commission of inquiry in the case of persons unjustly arrested. Two men, Philippeaux and Desmoulins, deranged the wise provisions of Robespierre—the former by erroneous assertions and unjust attacks; the latter by his policy of moderation, which took the appearance of a counter resolution. Camille demanded a "Committee of Clemency."

"My dear Robespierre, old college friend," he exclaims, "remember the lessons of history and philosophy! *Love is stronger, more durable than fear; admiration and religion are the offspring of kind deeds; acts of clemency are the ladder of falsehood, as Tertullian tells us, by which the members of the Committee of Public Safety ascend to heaven; men never climb thither on steps of blood.*"

The Hébertists, disconcerted by the *justice* of Robespierre, triumphed over the *mercy* of Desmoulins. There seemed, then, but two alternatives—a criminal indulgence to the enemies of the Revolution, or a deplorable acceptance of an excessive severity. The consequences of this dilemma were rapidly developed. M. L. Blanc, in his vindication of Robespierre, regrets that the position of sole arbiter should have been forced on him, and acknowledges that he forged the weapon which his enemies wielded. In adopting the maxim that the end justifies the means, he committed a profound error—an error for which death itself brings no expiation.

"Louis XVI. and his Court,"<sup>4</sup> by M. Renée, has attained to a second edition, and is revised and enriched with new documents. The period of which it treats ends with the commencement of the Revolution. With the accession of Louis XVI. the sentiment of a new political life was felt in France. Activity augmented, thought worked directly for the social weal; authority sided with reason. These characteristic phenomena of the age are represented sharply and clearly in the opening chapter of the work before us. Glancing at the state of Europe, M. Renée describes Frederick the Great as playing the host to the French Philosophy (which was not, however, allowed to cross the threshold of Potsdam), and the Empress Catharine of Russia as coquetting with the free-thinkers of France. He relates the antecedents, and sketches the character of Maurepas, Vergennes, du Muy,

<sup>4</sup> "Louis XVI. et sa Cour." Par Amédée Renée. Paris. 1858.

Turgot, Malesherbes, and the Count de Saint Germain. The first chapter concludes with the Reforms of Turgot, his disgrace and dismissal. "The fall of this great man," said Voltaire, "has affected my heart and brain like a thunder-stroke. I see only death before me." In the second chapter we find an account of the financial administration of Neckar, and the formidable opposition to his measures, which ended in his downfall. Renée then passed over to England. George III. was seated on the throne, but Lord North really governed. He did not understand the American crisis; but thought that with ten thousand men he should reduce to obedience a nation of inflexible Puritans. The revolt of Boston, the battles of Lexington and Bunker's Hill, the Declaration of Independence, Franklin's mission, and the French alliance with America, are the remaining subjects of the second chapter. The progress of the American war, the participation of France in that war under General Rocambeau and the Count de Grasse, the blockade of Gibraltar, the Peace of Teschen, and the death of the Count de Maurepas are narrated in the third chapter; while the fourth treats of the education, position, and social intimacies of the Queen, the life and character of the King and princes of the blood, the superstitions which marked the epoch, and the projects of Calonne. The convocation of the notables, the dismissal of Calonne, the administration of Brienne, the opposition of the provincial parliament, the reunion of the States-General and the recall of Neckar, his new financial expedient and political projects, and some reflections on the new epoch inaugurated at Versailles, 5th May, 1789, close the volume. There is some interesting collateral incident and description relating to Franklin, Mesmer, Mirabeau, and the Queen. Marie Antoinette is represented as a charming but most imprudent woman, with an imperfect education, and without any sense of responsibility. Feminine and beautiful, she forgot that the crown was something more than ornament. Her public levities invited suspicion; her mocking humour created enemies. She was renowned for her invention of soubriquets. Neckar she nicknamed *le petit commis marchand*; Turgot, *le ministre negatif*; the Countess of Noailles, *Madame l'Etiquette*; and the French in general, *mes marchands, vilains sujets*. This talent for raillery, with the equivocal friendship to which she was naturally pre-disposed, was a serious prejudice to the Queen. Her really noble disposition and fascinating accomplishment Renée fully recognises, quoting Madame Campan, who testifies to the tenderness of her heart, her heroism in danger, her prompt eloquence, and her charming social qualities.

The Queens of France, says M. A. Noel, who have done most for the consolidation of that power which was so necessary to the prosperity of the French nation, are all of Spanish birth. In "*Les Reines de France nées Espagnoles*,"<sup>5</sup> he includes twelve illustrious ladies, of whom the first is Brunehilde, and the last the present Empress Eugénie-Maria de Guzman. Brunehilde, second daughter of Athanaghild,

<sup>5</sup> "*Les Reines de France nées Espagnoles.*" Par A. Noel. Paris: Firmin Didot, Freres, Fils, et C<sup>ie</sup>. 1858.

King of the Wisigoths, was married to Sighebert, 566. A brave and wise woman, she restored royalty in Austrasia, bearing down all opposition, and securing her son on the throne. In 598 her brilliant career was obscured by crime and cruelty. Till then respected by Popes and Emperors, the protectress of religion and the fine arts, she allowed her love of order to degenerate into ambition, her constancy into ferocity, her sensibility into disgraceful voluptuousness. The horrible death awarded her by Chlothar, King of all the Franks, is well known. Her sister Galeswintho became the wife of Hilporic in 567. Four years after she was strangled by the king's order. Her chief merit was her real or imputed goodness. Ceasing to be regarded as a woman, she was worshipped as a saint. Constance of Castile, the wife of Louis VII., died six years after her marriage (1160). A nimbus of glory surrounds the name of Blanche, the mother of Louis IX., a woman of rare genius and masculine virtue, yet possessing all the tact and charm of her sex. She was worthy to protect the heritage of Philip Augustus, which she preserved in its integrity for her son the Saint-King. Isabella of Arragon, Jane of Navarre, Eleanor, Anne, and Maria Theresa of Austria, are by Mr. Noel associated with her in fame. It was their privilege to defend the principle of royal authority and monarchical unity against insurrectionary feudalism, or the troubles and dangers of the Fronde.

The third volume of Mr. Prescott's "Life of Philip the Second,"<sup>6</sup> abounds in interest. It contains thirteen chapters. They present three leading topics—the Rebellion of the Moriscoes, the War with the Turks, and the Domestic Affairs of Spain. Beginning with the Conquest of Spain by the Arabs, and the struggle between the two races, Mr. Prescott comments on the religious intolerance of the Spaniard, the suppression of the Mahometan worship and outward conformity to Christianity. Abandoning their natural habits, the Moorish population occupied the mountain range of the Alpujarras; and there, with patient labour, constructed terraces from the rocky soil, or clothed the bald sides of the sierra with the delicious verdure of vines. Secluded among his native hills, the Moor cherished those sentiments of independence which ill-suited a conquered race. The backslidings of the "New Christians," and adhesion to some hereditary usages, sharpened the feelings of jealousy and hatred with which the Spaniards regarded the Moriscoes. Stringent measures were called for by the clergy, prepared by the Government, and proclaimed at Grenada. The edict was enforced, and the Moors resisted. Aben Humeya was crowned, the Christian population attacked, and a horrible massacre perpetrated. Aben Farax called on all true believers to arm, and tragical deeds were wrought. The night encampment at Lanfaron, with a hundred watchfires on the hill-tops lighting up the sky, and the wild notes of the musical instruments, and shrill war-cries of the Moors; the bravery of the Andalusian knights; the capture of Bubion, Jubiles; the flight to the Sierra Nevada; the evacuation of Las Guajaras; the

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<sup>6</sup> "History of the Reign of Philip the Second, King of Spain." By William Prescott. Vol. III. London: Routledge. 1859.

massacre ordered by Mondejar; the heroism of Aben Aboo, and escape of Aben Humeya, are described in the third and fourth chapters. The early life of Don John of Austria; his command in Grenada; the expulsion of the Moors from that city, with its ruinous effects; the assassination of Aben Humeya; the repulse at Orgiba; the investment and demolition of Galera; the achievements of guerilla warfare; the murder of Aben Aboo; the suppression of the rebellion, and the final expulsion of the Moriscoes from Spain, are the subjects which complete the first main section of this history. The war with the Turks, related in three chapters, follows. In it the fall of Famagosta, the battle of Lepanto, the annihilation of the Turkish fleet, the exploits of Farnese, and Don John's mission to Genoa, are the more noticeable topics. The third principal division of this volume, on the domestic affairs of Spain, exhibits Philip as a sedulous and frugal prince, fond of solitude, but fatally given to procrastination. It exposes the degeneracy of the great nobles, their loss of political power, and the depressed condition of the commons. The Cortes, though they had lost the lever that operates on the royal will—control of the supplies—still retained some portion of the old Castilian spirit, remonstrating with the king, and watching over the interests of the nation. Philip appears as the champion of the faith, an administrator and supervisor of artistic operations. The last chapter contains a detailed account of the erection of the Escorial, and ends with Philip's marriage with Anne of Austria, his fourth and last wife, and her death in the eleventh year of her reign. Mr. Prescott's new volume displays the old charm of style, his vivid narrative power, and his customary philosophic speculation. The work remains unfinished. The eloquent historian never again will handle pen.

Thierry's "Formation and Progress of the Tiers Etat, or Third Estate in France,"<sup>7</sup> translated, a few years since, by the Rev. Francis B. Wells, with apparent fidelity, is a fresh addition to Mr. Bohn's Standard Library. Augustin Thierry is best known in England by his "Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre," a book of sterling merit, notwithstanding his theoretical and historic exaggeration of the influence of race. The work, which forms the principal part of the volume under review, is, he tells us, the summary of all his labours relative to France. It was composed as an introduction to the collection of unpublished records of the "History of the Tiers Etat." Carrying his observations back to the distance of seven centuries, and thence bringing them down to the state of things around him, the author remarked a regular succession of civil and political progress. At each stage he recognised the same nation and the same monarchy, concurrently modified by the same circumstances, and finally consecrated by a new compact of union. So considered, the history of France presented a beautiful unity and simplicity. This appearance, however, of order was entirely dissipated by the catastrophe of February, 1848,

<sup>7</sup> "The Formation and Progress of the Tiers Etat, or Third Estate in France." By Augustin Thierry. Translated from the French by the Rev. Francis B. Wells. 2 vols in one. London: Bohn. 1859.

and the France of the philosophic historian seemed to be thrown into as much confusion as the France of the existing generation. A feeling of despondency induced M. Thierry to suspend his work, and the History of the Third Estate terminates with the reign of Louis XIV. A first edition, annexed to the initial volume of the "Recueil des Monuments inédits de l'Histoire du Tiers Etat," was published in 1850; the present edition, with some revisions, in 1853. To appreciate the purpose of the historian, it is necessary to fix the true sense of the words *Tiers Etat*. The popular notion is, that this third order then answered to what is now called the *bourgeoisie*; that among the classes, out of the pale of the nobility and clergy, it held a superior rank. An invention of yesterday, this opinion is contradicted by ancient documents, authentic acts of monarchy, and the spirit of the reform movement in 1789. The order of Louis XIV. for the convocation of the last States-General, designated as members of the Tiers Etat all the inhabitants of the cities, boroughs, and rural districts, French by birth or naturalization, of the age of twenty-five years, having a fixed residence or entered on the list of taxes. Thus the Third Estate is, in reality, the whole nation, with the exception of the nobility and clergy. This definition marks the extent and limits of the subject. The starting-point of M. Thierry's history is the confusion produced in Gaul by the subversion of the Roman Empire, and the German conquest. To this epoch must we look for the representatives of that mass of persons of all conditions which, in the language of the feudal regime, was known by the common name of *la roture*. From the sixth to the twelfth century it follows the destiny of the mass; it finds a wider field in the grand period of the revival of the free municipalities, and the reconstitution of the royal power; its course becomes simple and regular through the period of the monarchy of the State, and that of the absolute monarchy up to the States-General of 1789, when the division which separated the majority of the nobility and the minority of the clergy ceased, and the national family, to use the emphatic expression of the President of the first congress of the popular sovereignty, became complete. M. Thierry holds that the history of the *Tiers Etat* and that of the royal power are indissolubly bound together, one being the counterpart of the other. From the accession of Louis le Gros to the death of Louis XIV., each decisive epoch in the progress of the *roture* corresponds in the series of reigns to the name of some great king or minister, the eighteenth century alone showing an exception to this law of our national development. For these and other reasons M. Thierry decided on closing his labours with the reign of Louis Quatorze, instead of bringing them down to 1830, as he had at first intended, in the belief that the alliance of the national tradition and of the principles of liberty was resumed under the fresh forms of constitutional government of 1814 and 1830. The extinction of ancient slavery; fusion of races and rise of the mediæval bourgeoisie; the parliament of the thirteenth century; the third estate under Charles V. VI., VII., Louis XI., and succeeding kings; with the States-General of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries; the ministry of Richelieu, the Fronde, Louis XIV., and Colbert, are the topics of the

first nine chapters; while the social character of the reign of the *Grand Monarque*, and its influence on the progress of the *Tiers Etat*, are described in a concluding chapter. Two important fragments accompany this historical essay—the first is a picture of the ancient municipal constitutions of the cities of France, valuable for the insight it affords into the law and government of the middle ages, and as an inventory of our old experiences in the matter of political liberty: the second fragment is a study on the establishment of the communal constitution of Amiens—a written charter of the twelfth century, which, though not the work of deep reasoning, lasted five hundred years. To our mediæval ancestors M. Thierry ascribes the possession of a practical sagacity in which their descendants are deficient—that quality of the politician and citizen which consists in perceiving distinctly what is required, and in cherishing patient and persevering aspirations. For its soundness and breadth of view, its clear and enlightening exposition, textual research, and historic comment, this work deserves our grateful commendation.

Descending to the present period we find a contemporary history by Dr. Adolf Schmidt,<sup>8</sup> written in his native language with something of French clearness and English strength, without violent partialities, but also without distinctly determined views. The conciliation of political and ecclesiastical claims is the only method, says our author, of approximating Austria and Germany; and the indispensable condition of a reconciling policy is the destruction of the old Austrian court-party. Dr. Schmidt's history is composed of two principal constituents. 1. A sketch of events in France from 1815 to 1830; and 2, a narrative of social and political occurrences in Austria from 1830 to 1848. The materials which have contributed to its formation are the ambassadors' despatches of the Swiss employés in Paris and Vienna, the archives in Berne and Paris, the "Histoire de la Restauration," by Lubis, and an analogous work by Boullé. In the French portion of his book Dr. Schmidt somewhat dramatically introduces Napoleon's cradle, and Napoleon gravely pronounces the reign of Louis XVIII. professedly constitutional in character. A reaction in favour of royalty, however, of which Artois was the rallying point, set in before the king's death. Charles X. is designated "a Frenchman too much." The mask at length falls; the charter is violated; the explosion of the three glorious days occur; the sailor king of England exclaims—"The fellows are all mad," and Francis I. of Austria supplies the moral "This comes of not keeping one's word." From this resumé of fifteen years of French history our historian proceeds to the consideration of Austrian affairs. Francis I. and Metternich are allotted a chapter. The impressions and consequences of the July Revolution; the Poles and Italians; the Duke of Reichstadt, and "how he lived, hoped, and suffered;" the variations in Austrian policy as regarded Switzerland and Germany; Prussia and Frederic William III.; Ferdinand I.; Athens; Cracow; Berlin; Rome; the Church and the Jesuits; constitutional

<sup>8</sup> "Zeitgenössische Geschichten." Von Dr. Adolf Schmidt. Berlin. 1859.

convulsion and revolutionary dissolution, are the subjects treated in the second portion of this history of our own time.

"Chateaubriand et son Temps,"<sup>9</sup> by the Comte de Marcellus, disappoints the expectation which the title awakens. It is not a life of the poet-statesman nor a record of his times. The author, regarding Chateaubriand's works as worthy of his youthful adoration, resumes his idolatry at an advanced period of life. His book is critical, but the criticism can have no interest save to fellow-worshippers. One single work of the master whom he reveres, the "*Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe*," is the subject of minute, and we must think tedious consideration throughout the five hundred pages of which the volume consists. It comprises eleven sections, called studies, containing verbal revisions, comments, and conversational reminiscences. Neither entitled nor desirous to publish a new edition of these Memoirs, the Count de Marcellus has substituted for it a thick volume of succinct extracts, critical remarks, additions, and emendations.

The "*Life of Mrs. Dalrymple Elliott*"<sup>10</sup> is a bit of genuine autobiography. It was composed, we are told, at the express desire of George III., and conveyed by Mr. Dundas, the king's physician, to Windsor, sheet by sheet, as it was written by her during her residence at Twickenham, about the year of the Peace of Amiens, 1801. Mrs. Elliott's career is remarkable. She was the youngest daughter of Henry Dalrymple, and was born in Scotland nearly ninety years ago. Her father was the distinguished barrister who gained for the plaintiff the celebrated Douglas and Hamilton cause. Deserting his wife, he went his own way, and she returned to the house of her father, an officer in the army, where she gave birth to her youngest daughter, Grace Dalrymple. Educated in France, Grace, at the age of fifteen, returned to her father. Sir John Elliott, fascinated by her beauty, proposed and was accepted. The ill-assorted marriage ended with intrigue and divorce: and Lady Elliott was removed by her brother to a convent in France. Brought over to England by Lord Cholmondeley, she was introduced to the Prince of Wales. An intimacy succeeded, and the result was the birth of a female child, named Georgiana Augusta Frederica Seymour. In or about 1786 Mrs. Elliott again left England to reside in Paris, her little daughter being left in charge of Lord and Lady Cholmondeley. In Paris she appears to have formed another intimacy with the Duc d'Orleans, to have moved in the first circles, and have lived in great splendour. Her undisguised loyalty subjected her to the suspicions of the Terrorists. She was imprisoned, with Josephine and Madame du Barri for her companions in captivity. Subsequently she was released, and lived to renew her acquaintance with the former lady during the Consulate. On the signature of the Treaty of Amiens she assumed the name of St. Maur, and travelled under the escort of Lord Malmesbury to London. Summoned by the Prince of Wales, she went to Carlton

<sup>9</sup> "Chateaubriand et son Temps." Par le Comte de Marcellus. Paris. 1859.

<sup>10</sup> "Journal of my Life during the French Revolution." By Grace Dalrymple Elliott. London: Bentley. 1859.



House, and resumed her intimacy with his Royal Highness. Finally she returned to Paris in 1814. She is said to have died at Ville d'Avray, but the year of her death is not recorded. The historical value of her narrative is slight, but it is the work of a clever woman, lively, graphic, and abounding in interesting detail. She relates facts connected with the fortunes of the Royal family, and the progress of the terrible Revolution. The Princess Lamballes' murder, Mrs. Dalrymple Elliott's imprisonment and flight, the interviews with the Duke of Orleans, and especially the extraordinary escape of the Marquis de Chansenets, aided by the courage and presence of mind of the self-forgetting narrator, are among the more conspicuous incidents of the book before us. The rapid, forcible flow of the story, without effort or literary pretension, gives a Defoe-like reality to its presentments—a reality that is like that of the highest fiction. Yet there seems no reason for questioning its authenticity or impeaching its genuineness. The work is illustrated with three portraits, one of Mrs. Elliott, after Cosway, one of the Duke of Orleans from an original miniature, and one of Mrs. Elliott's daughter, Lady Charlotte Bentinck, after Sir Joshua Reynolds.

A nobler biography now awaits our notice.<sup>11</sup> Mr. David Masson, so favourably known to us by his thoughtful and felicitous volume of essays, has published the first volume of the *Life of John Milton*, narrated in connexion with the political, ecclesiastical, and literary history of this time. The diffuse title has been purposely chosen to intimate the character of the work; to exhibit Milton's life in its relations with the more notable phenomena of the period of British history in which it was cast. Commencing in 1608, the *Life of Milton* proceeds through the last sixteen years of the reign of James I., includes the whole of the reign of Charles I., and the subsequent years of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate; and then passing the Restoration, extends itself to 1674, or through fourteen years of the new state of things under Charles II. Regarding Milton as a typical man of letters, Mr. Masson narrates the general history of the literature of the age in connexion with the life of its truest representative. But as the great poet did not stand aloof from the actual interests of his political party, and yet was the thinker and idealist of that party, the expositor and champion of their views, there are incidents and tendencies of the Puritan Revolution which illustrate his life especially, and seek illustration from it. This life, says Mr. Masson, obligingly divides itself, with almost mechanical exactness, into three periods, answering to those of the contemporary social movement. 1. The period of education and the minor poems from 1608—1640. 2. From the commencement of the Civil wars to the Restoration, the period of his polemical activity as a prose writer. 3. The period of his later poetry and the publication of "*Paradise Lost*." Mr. Masson designs to devote a volume to each of these periods. While consulting the three

<sup>11</sup> "*The Life of John Milton*," &c. By David Masson, Professor of English Literature, University College, London. Vol. I. Cambridge: Macmillan, 23, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London. 1859.

earliest memoirs of the poet by Aubrey, Wood, and Philips, referring to Toland, and availing himself of the later labours of Mitford, Keightly, Edmonds, and others, Mr. Masson derives from Milton's own writings his most authentic and important information. His prose works, his familiar epistles, his rarely read academical essays and exercises, have all been laid under contribution, made to reveal the man and represent his life, by his present admiring biographer. The first chapter in Mr. Masson's book is on the poet's ancestors and kindred. The name of Milton is identified with Mitton. There are still families of Miltons in Shropshire and in Staffordshire, using in their arms the double-headed spread-eagle "the recognised arms, there is scarcely room to doubt," of the family of John Milton. The second chapter recalls the old local associations of Milton's paternal home, the Spread Eagle, Bread-street, Old London. Early education, and St. Paul's school, where the boy was placed from the completion of his eleventh to that of his sixteenth year, under the care of Colett and Gill, are the subjects of the next chapter. Then follows a section on Milton's Cambridge career, containing an account of the conditions of university life, of the poet's studies, character, and literary productions. The passage in Aubrey's MS., from which Dr. Johnson drew the hasty conclusion that Milton was one of the last students in either university that suffered the public indignity of corporal correction, is adduced by Mr. Masson. As originally written it reports: Milton "receiving some unkindness from his first tutor, Mr. Chappell, was transferred to the tuition of one Mr. Tovell" (Tovey). An interlineation explains the unkindness (whipped him). Mr. Masson regards it as an interpolation, "the kind of fact that gossip delights to invent." But Milton is not only said to have been whipped, but to have been rusticated. And this charge Mr. Masson softens down into "Milton withdrew, or was sent from college in circumstances equivalent to rustication," depending in part for his conclusion on the received interpretation of Milton's own elegy:—

"Me tenet urbs refluâ quam Thamcsis alluit unda  
 Meque nec invitum patria dulcis habet,  
 Jam nec arundiferum mihi cura revisere Camum,  
 Nec dudum vetiti me laris angit amor," &c.

Now, in addition to Milton's positive contradiction of the "commodious lie," we think Mr. Ritchie's explanation of this and the associated passage the true one, and if it be, the opprobrium is for ever removed from Milton. The poem in which the extract occurs is addressed to Deodati, his schoolfellow and friend, during a vacation, apparently in answer to an epistle in which the light-hearted Italian spoke of a temporary separation as an exile. Milton replies—"If it be exile to visit my father's household gods I refuse not the name of a banished man; I have no wish to return to the reedy Cam, nor does the love I bear for my home, of late forbidden me, distress me." *Lar* has a peculiar significance, implying the most sacred domesticity, and it is extremely unlikely that so good a Latinist as Milton ever employed the word in the strained and figurative sense usually accorded

to it here. The fifth chapter in Mr. Masson's volume is on Church and Government. His portraits of Laud and Strafford we think admirable. The former he describes as a little low red-faced man, with a raspy voice, earnest, tenacious, idiosyncratic, and commanding men by his power over their sensations. Strafford he describes as a man of resolute energy and splendid administrative talents, but actuated by no deeper or grander purpose than that of doing the King's service, "with brow growing daily more dark and bent, eye more fierce, jaw more firmly set, brain stronger, rhetoric more impetuous and picturesque." A survey of British literature, implying some research and of considerable extent, follows, succeeded by Milton's residence at Horton in Buckinghamshire, where he wrote "Comus," and sang of Lycidas. His continental journey, later poems, epistles and Italian sonnets, are illustrated in the concluding chapter. Mr. Masson's conception of the poet's life allows him to range over a broad area of thought. There is a vast amount of collateral and elucidatory matter in this biography, and in noticing the parallelisms and outlying circumstances of the poet's own story, Mr. Masson is but following the example of previous biographers of commanding reputation. Still we think that all this extraneous incident and criticism, however the author's title may justify his treatment, make his narrative less interesting. As it gains in length, it loses in breadth. Nearly all biographies would be improved by condensation. Mr. Masson has, however, fairly earned a favourable verdict for his research, his sagacity, his philosophic insight, and his exhaustive elaboration. The volume is enriched with two portraits of Milton; one in the tenth year of his age, after a photograph from the original picture in the possession of Edgar Disney, Esq.; the other when the poet had attained his majority, after Virtue's engraving, in 1731, from the original picture then the property of the Right Hon. Speaker Onslow. The fac-similes from the Milton MS. at Cambridge are inserted by the permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity.

The amiable and accomplished Evelyn was contemporary with Milton. His Diary, his general correspondence, as well as that with Charles I., Sir Edward Nicholas, Lord Clarendon, and Sir Richard Browne, as originally edited (1818) by William Bray, furnished with explanatory notes, and illustrated with plates and portraits, are again reprinted from the edition of 1850.<sup>13</sup> In that year the spelling was modernized, and more than a hundred new letters possessing historical value were incorporated with the text. The modern spelling is retained in the present instance; no fresh additions have been made to the work, but the volumes containing the Diary have since undergone a still more careful revision, and the text, as now printed, is throughout in a most complete state. Evelyn was a Royalist, but his strong predilection for monarchy, fortified by a personal attachment to Charles II. and James II., never prepossessed his judgment in favour of the arbitrary

<sup>13</sup> "Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn." Edited, from the original MSS. at Wotton, by William Bray, Esq., F.R.S. A new edition, in four volumes, corrected, revised, and enlarged. London: Bohn. 1859.

measures of these Kings. He loved the arts, he cultivated the sciences, wrote political treatises and philosophical inquiries. He was one of the first promoters of the Royal Society, for which he obtained the Arundelian Library, while the University of Oxford is indebted to him for the Arundelian Marbles. Evelyn was distinguished by a beneficent activity. In 1662 he was appointed commissioner for reforming the buildings, improving the streets, and supervising hackney coaches in London. In the same year we find him taking part in an inquiry concerning Sir Thomas Gresham's charities. Two years after he was employed in the regulation of the Mint. He was one of the commissioners for the care of the sick and wounded in the Dutch war, for the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral, and for the conduct of Plantations. He was also a commissioner of the Privy Seal and of Greenwich Hospital, of which he was treasurer as well, with a salary of 200*l.* a-year. His sanitary duties were very laborious, and very unpleasant. All the ports between the river Thames and Portsmouth lay in his department, and he was unremitting in the discharge of his visitatorial duties. In the time of Cromwell he had selected Deptford for his residence. Sayes Court was situated near the King's dockyard, and when the Czar of Muscovy came to England in 1698 to instruct himself, Ulysses-like, in shipbuilding, Evelyn acceded to his request that he might be allowed to occupy it. A favourite recreation of Czar Peter was the demolition of the hedges by riding through them in a wheelbarrow. For the damage occasioned by this imperial levelling, Evelyn received pecuniary compensation; but he sighs over the mischief done to his "famous holly-hedge" by the vehicular invasions of his eccentric tenant. The two volumes of the new edition of his journal and letters now published contain the Diary, from its commencement, till within a month of his death in 1705-6. There are few books as delightful, in their kind, as this journal of Evelyn. He reports the deeds and words of men as he saw and heard them; describes the introduction or decline of various social usages; records his impressions of the worthies of his age in his own simple, natural style. Vividly reproducing the world of his manhood and declining years with a fine power of scenical and personal delineation, and in the spirit of a scholar, a gentleman, and philanthropist.

The courtly and witty Horace Walpole, with the vantage ground of opportunity which connexion with the royal family afforded, commenced his notices of the reign of George III. with the year 1760. The first instalment of his "Historical Memoirs" was published in 1844; the second, continuing the narrative till 1771, appeared in the following year; and after the lapse of about fourteen years a third portion is now given to the world.<sup>15</sup> With the advantages which Walpole commanded, he could not fail to produce an attractive record of public event and social incident. The two first sections of his chronicle are accordingly acknowledged to contain important and characteristic

<sup>15</sup> "Journal of the Reign of King George III., from the year 1771 to 1783." By Horace Walpole. Now first published, from the original MSS. Edited, with Notes, by Dr. Doran. In two vols. London: Richard Bentley. 1859.

matters. On the other hand, this third contribution is disappointing. Strong in vivid portraiture, where striking scenes were to be presented, Walpole is feeble in his delineations when the intrigue is closed, the collision terminated, and he has to report the results of the subsidence. In these volumes we find him careless, censorious, credulous. He accepts hearsays. He believes a rumour where prepossession biases belief. He trifles, exaggerates, and ignores that reasonable historical scepticism which every annalist is bound to cultivate. Yet as a spectator he could not well avoid giving touches and sketches of "what he saw, and part of which he was," that have considerable value. His account of the Parliamentary debates is lively, impressive, and shows a master's hand. The present work is properly called a journal. The author, it is true, omits to record or comment on every day; but political or domestic occurrences are jotted down in orderly though interrupted succession. Walpole, says his editor, Dr. Doran, who supplies various annotations to the narrative, has detailed the daily intrigues, the defeats and triumphs, the alternate exaltation and depression, the glory and the shame, of a critical and eventful epoch. Among the topics of this journal we may enumerate the imprisonment of the Queen of Denmark in the castle of Cronenberg; the controversy on the Thirtynine Articles; the Royal Marriage Bill; the marriage of Walpole's illegitimate niece, Lady Waldegrave, with the King's brother, the Duke of Gloucester; affairs of the East Indian Company, and trial and acquittal of Lord Clive; the Middlesex election; the war with America; French politics; conduct of the Prince of Wales; career of Lord Rockingham; character of Lord Shelburne; Gordon riots; state of the nation; and the obstinacy, negligence, and despotic tendencies of the King. There is abundance of gossip, fashionable and political, in these volumes; witticisms and anecdotes also are not wanting.

In rejoining Lord Byron at La Mira, on the banks of the Brenta, in the summer of 1817, the author of "Italy" found him employed upon the fourth canto of "Childe Harold." Lord Broughton noticed that it did not remark on several objects which appeared to him worthy of celebration, furnished the author with a list of those objects, and gave him reasons for the selection. Byron then engaged him to write notes for the whole canto. The commentary supplied was too bulky for an appendix to the poem. Hence a division of the notes into two parts; one of which was attached to the canto, while the other appeared in a separate volume of "Historical Illustrations." The two parts, with revisions and explanatory comments, are recombined in the present volume, which has a threefold interest, being at once historical, biographical, and archaeological.<sup>14</sup> The work opens with brief notices of Byron, Shelley, Madame de Staël, Schlegel, Bonstetten, and General Duffa. "Bonstetten," says Lord Broughton, "denied positively the truth of the story which originated with one of Voltaire's medical attendants, namely, that he died a death of terror and despair: and

<sup>14</sup> "Italy. Remarks made in several Visits, from the year 1816 to 1854." By the Right Honourable Lord Broughton, G.C.B. In two volumes, Vol. I. London: John Murray. 1856.

he added, that the physician himself confessed the pious imposture, and what is more strange, excused it." A short notice of the French kingdom of Lombardy is followed by an account of the secret society. Previous to the downfall of Napoleon a widely-extended conspiracy had been formed in his Italian provinces, having for its object the long-desired unattainable independence of the whole peninsula. This secret was in the possession of four thousand persons, calling themselves freemasons, and communicating by the masonic signs employed in England. They were governed by rules, and conducted by chiefs known only to themselves. Thus Prince Eugene was grand-master of Lombardy, but the private grand-master was the real head of the brotherhood. In passing through Lombardy, Murat confided to a merchant, of whom he borrowed money, his scheme of raising an army of 80,000 men, and declaring the independence of Italy. The consequence was that the secret transpired, and discord arose between Murat and Eugene and their respective partisans, which put an end to all chance of co-operation between the Neapolitans and Lombards, and was probably the real cause of the unfortunate policy adopted by the viceroy at Mantua. While Murat proclaimed the independence of Italy, Eugene preferred constancy to his great benefactor, and in his declaration of 4th February, 1814, pronounced "Fidelity," not "Liberty," the watchword of all true Italians. This division terminated in the Revolution of 20th April, the murder of Prina, a provisional government, and the recovery by the Austrians of Milan and all Lombardy. "Beaubarnais," says Lord Broughton, "like his great step-father, was fond of the chase, that is of shooting, coursing, and hunting, in a very unsportsmanlike style." According to Madame de Staël, not an incontestable authority, he used "frequently to balance himself on one leg while overlooking the card parties at his court circles—a notorious trick of the two last legitimate sovereigns of France." Historical notices on the Paduans, Greeks in Venice, the Armenians of St. Lazzaro, of Austrian administration, and sections on various Italian celebrities—Canova, Tasso, Boccaccio, Dante, Petrarch and Laura—mostly reprinted from "Childe Harold," with additions, will repay perusal. The archæological and descriptive portion of Lord Broughton's "Italy" occupies about 400 pages, discussing the remains of Republican Rome, the causes of dilapidation, the Capitol, the temples, churches, prisons, castles, tombs, and pyramids. Lord Broughton abstains from an intended narration of the events that have occurred in Italy since 1848, in apprehension of the unhappy results that might follow from a truthful recital; and while he regards the Sardinian Government as the main obstacle to the democratic confederation of the Italian States, he declares that the only chance of constitutional freedom being established throughout the Italian Peninsula depends on the permanence of the present Sardinian system. An essay on the present literature of Italy, first published in 1818, exhibits the intellectual characteristics, and reviews the literary productions of Cesarotti, Mazza, Parini, Alfieri, Pindemonte, Monti, and Foscolo.

At the period of Lord Broughton's visit to Byron in Italy, the Earl of Dundonald, having no professional employment, in consequence of

his expulsion from the British naval service by the powerful political party whom he had offended, accepted service under the Chilian Government.<sup>15</sup> A certain amount of hostile prepossession invariably attends individual action when it contradicts established rules, and if opinion on the subject of unprofessional conduct was less severe in 1817 than it is now, the sentence of acquittal depended on the political sympathy of the self-appointed judge. Lord Cochrane's mission to Chili had scarcely become known, when Spanish influence induced the British ministry to pass a "Foreign Enlistment Act," the penal clauses of which were suggested by his assumption of service without permission under a strange and unacknowledged government. Exposed to obloquy, and encountering enmity at home for the part he had taken in the liberation of South America, Lord Cochrane was equally unfortunate in the treatment which he received abroad. His disinterested devotion to the cause which he elected to serve, his pecuniary sacrifices, his brilliant and valuable exploits, his political sagacity, were met with selfish opposition and shameless ingratitude on the part of the government he succoured. Praise indeed was not wanting. Warm expressions of gratitude to the naval service collectively, and to himself personally, abounded, but neither the admiral nor the squadron received any more substantial reward. During the greater part of the war of independence, the subsistence of the crews, and the repairs and equipments of the Chilian armament, were solely provided for by Lord Cochrane's own exertions. Spanish ships of war and merchant vessels captured by the squadron, money, provisions, and stores, which fell into their hands, were voluntarily devoted to State exigencies. After the expiration of thirty years, Chili granted its liberator the inadequate sum of 6000*l.* *in full of all demands*; and this with the knowledge that litigations, arising out of the orders of her former government, had subjected him to a loss of *more than three times the amount*. Thus the liberation of both countries was achieved at a *heavy pecuniary* sacrifice to himself. These are the principal points brought out in the first volume of the narrative. In the second Lord Dundonald records the circumstances under which he was induced to accept the command, or rather organization of the first Brazilian navy. It details the complete expulsion of all Portuguese armaments, naval and military, from the eastern shores of the South American continent by the squadron alone. In spite of previous stipulations, the ships, money, and valuables of every kind captured under Imperial orders were declared to be *not enemy's* property. Compensation, however, for the ships taken was awarded by his Imperial Majesty, but never paid by the ministers to whom the order was given. Lord Cochrane was summarily dismissed the service without compensation for his claims, which, after a repudiation of thirty years, were fully recognised as having been due from the beginning. Even then the Brazilian Government satisfied its own

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<sup>15</sup> "Narrative of Services in the Liberation of Chili, Peru, and Brasil, from Spanish and Portuguese domination." By Thomas, Earl of Dundonald, G.C.B., &c. London: Ridgway. 1859.

sense of justice, by an award of less than one-half of the simple interest of the stipulated amount, retaining the whole of the principal admitted to be due. Compulsory discretion has for many years imposed silence on the sufferer, but in the eighty-third year of his chequered life a sense of duty to himself and his family has impelled the wronged and gallant scaman to meet by anticipation the aspersions of men devoid of generous impulses, and incapable of appreciating high motives. In addition to the narrative of his struggles with selfish factions and corrupt governments, Lord Dundonald supplies a clear and intelligible recital of the events and fortunes of war. The splendid daring, the rapid combination and nautical skill of the brave commander, are exhibited less effectively than they might have been had he spared us the controversial detail that overlays the story, and weakens the impression. We may refer to the capture of Valdivia for a proof of audacious dexterity seldom paralleled; to that of the *Esmeralda* under the batteries of Callao, and in circumstances of complicated difficulty, for a testimony of skill and courage perhaps never surpassed; and to the incessant pursuit of the enemy's ships, till the Spanish navy was eliminated from the waters of the Pacific, for an example of a patient and indomitable persistency. The talent, perseverance, and energy displayed in the formation and command of the Chilian navy entitle Lord Dundonald to high praise, both on moral and professional grounds; and his tale of wrong, adventure, and exculpation, will be read with a large measure of responsive emotion. Should his life be spared, the author intends to follow these Memoirs with a narrative of his former experiences in the British navy, an exposition of the services he was not permitted to render, and remarks on his connexion with the liberation of Greece.

Among the heroes of our Indian war must be numbered the commander of Hodson's Horse, and the captor of the King of Delhi and his sons. A record of his early life, and his gallant career as a soldier, written by his brother, the Rev. G. H. Hodson, does justice to a man of high personal courage and great soldierly accomplishment.<sup>16</sup> In reviewing the progress of this gallant officer we can scarcely refuse to ratify the estimate formed of his merits by his enthusiastic and admiring biographer. For his acts of individual prowess he assimilates, him now to a northern chieftain "riding on Border foray," now to a captain of free lances, now to a Paladin of old, and now to a Christian soldier of our own time. William Hodson, third son of the Archdeacon of Stafford and Canon of Lichfield, was born at Maisemore Court, near Gloucester, on 19th March, 1821. His boyhood was distinguished by an affectionate disposition, joyous character, and quickness of observation. Till his fifteenth year he was educated almost entirely at home. He was then sent to Rugby, where his feats of activity still live in the traditions of the school. From Rugby young Hodson went, in October, 1840, to Trinity College, Cambridge. Though fairly

<sup>16</sup> "Twelve Years of a Soldier's Life in India, being Extracts from the Letters of the late Major W. S. R. Hodson, B.A., &c." Edited by his brother, the Hon. George H. Hodson, M.A. London: John W. Parker and Son. 1856.



acquainted with classical literature, he was prevented by constitutional ailment from close pursuit of scholarly studies, and, after taking his degree in 1844, decided on an active life. After a brief apprenticeship to arms in the Guernsey Militia, he entered the East India Company's service. After a short stay at Agra, he was appointed to do duty with the 2nd Grenadiers, and a few weeks only had elapsed when he was called on to take his part in the great battles of the Sutlej. His conduct won the approbation of General Napier. Exchanging into the 1st Fusiliers, he went to Simla, on a visit to Sir H. Lawrence, who procured him employment in the Punjaub, as second in command to the corps of Guides recently organized by himself, and also as assistant to the Resident at Lahore. Busied with road-making and surveying, Lieutenant Hodson was again summoned to the field. At the affair of Buddee Pind his personal gallantry and energy, witnessed in his combat with a formidable akhalee (fanatic), received the strong expression of the Governor-General's satisfaction. On 26th March, 1849, the Punjaub became for ever a British province, and William Hodson's occupation was gone. During the two years in which he had presided over the destinies of a large tract of country, he had, with a small force of 120 men, cleared it of the enemy, collected revenues, and paid 15,000*l.* into the treasury from the proceeds of property taken from the rebels over and above the required amount. Transferred by Sir H. Lawrence's interposition to the civil department as Civil Commissioner, he proceeded with his indefatigable patron on a tour of inspection in Cashmere and Thibet. Returning to Simla, he was honourably received by Lord Dalhousie and Sir C. Napier, and soon after appointed personal assistant to the Commissioner of the Cis-Sutlej States. On the 5th January, 1852, Lieutenant Hodson married the widow of John Mitford, Esq., of Exbury, Hants. In the September of the same year he received the command of the Guides, which he had long coveted, and which Lumsden's departure for England now rendered vacant. This regiment consisted of 850 men, divided into three troops and six companies, no two being of the same race. Two years of frontier warfare followed, and his reputation grew with his deserts. Three years after, he experienced a reverse. His unprecedented position provoked jealousy and stimulated animosity, till he found himself overwhelmed by a mass of charges affecting his conduct, both in his military and civil capacity. The undeniable confusion in the regimental accounts, inherited from his predecessor, favoured these charges. A court of inquiry was convened, but official enmity procured a delay in the delivery of its report, and, as a result of this delay, Hodson was superseded. Subsequently an examiner was appointed, but his report, which was also favourable, was suppressed. At this juncture the rebellion broke out, and Hodson, with the first European-Bengal Fusiliers, marched to Delhi. With the intelligence department entirely his own, and second only to Beecher in the Quartermaster-General's department, he received a commission to raise a body of irregular horse. With this regiment he performed good and gallant service before Delhi, the particulars connected with the siege of which city are given in Lieutenant Hodson's own vivid narrative,

and in graphic letters from his brother-officers. The King of Delhi surrendered to this gallant officer. Hodson, now a captain, learned that he would not now be required to justify his previous conduct. After many a feat of daring enterprise, Major Hodson, for he had again received promotion, approached the walls of Lucknow. The assault was successful. He entered the breach with General Napier, and several others, and was mortally wounded, when advancing with the troops on the Begum's Kotee on foot. His rare excellence was then universally acknowledged. His romantic daring and knowledge of Asiatic character were publicly attested, and Lord Clyde pronounced him the most brilliant soldier under his command.

Among the few who, in the judgment of an eloquent historian of the United States, have gained abiding glory, is the friend of Locke, and the founder of a commonwealth on the basis of perfect religious freedom, William Penn. This judgment, coincident with the collective verdict of mankind, the unfavourable opinion of an English historian seeks to reverse. Some years since Mr. Hepworth Dixon challenged the statements of Lord Macaulay, and adduced evidence intended to clear the character of a man "whose name has become a synonym for probity and philanthropy." This evidence has failed to convince Lord Macaulay, who repeats his previous accusations. Mr. Paget, with a greater array of printed authorities, but following the same line of argument as Mr. Dixon, now assumes the office of Penn's vindicator.<sup>17</sup> His case is well put, and admirably argued. The counts in Lord Macaulay's indictment against Penn are nine. Each of these Mr. Paget examines separately, comparing the historian's paraphrase with original documents, and, as we think, clearly establishing Lord Macaulay's inability to tell "a plain unvarnished tale," one in which rhetorical predilections shall be strictly subordinated to moral preferences. In addition to making good this charge of unconscionable artistic exaggeration, Mr. Paget has shown Lord Macaulay's conclusions to be sometimes precipitate and sometimes unfounded. In the case of the maids of Taunton, for instance, all the existing evidence indicates that the agent employed in the reprehensible negotiation was not William Penn, but George Penné. Again, the construction put by the historian on the philanthropist's presence at the execution of Cornish and Gaunt is unnecessarily calumnious. The suspicion of Penn's participation in Preston's Jacobite plot rests on indifferent testimony, while the collateral imputations of Lord Macaulay are mainly disproved by the evidence of Penn's earlier biographers, Croese and Besse. Penn's intervention in the Magdalen College difficulty is undoubtedly attributable to the request of the Fellows themselves. Dr. Hough distinctly says that Penn made no suggestion of accommodation, and the utmost that can be alleged against the "courtly Quaker" is a desire to make "things pleasant" for the King. The position of an intermediary is in itself one which

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<sup>17</sup> "An Inquiry into the Evidence relating to the Charges brought by Lord Macaulay against William Penn." By John Paget, Esq., Barrister-at-law, William Blackwood and Son, 1858.

favours the charge of compromise and time-serving. Penn may have been willing to carry his "courtliness" to the verge of honourable concession, but are we therefore to pronounce him a broker in simony and a suborner of perjury? There is one point in which we are at issue with Mr. Paget. He refers to the address of the Quakers presented by Penn to the King as proving that the concurrence of Parliament with the royal declaration of liberty of conscience was an acknowledged condition of its validity. To us it appears merely to intimate a conviction that the commercial effects of the measure would be so advantageous that its arbitrariness would be readily condoned. The petitioners assume that the "King's word" will give them a continuance of religious freedom "*during his reign*;" and they go on to express a hope that its anticipated results may make it so acceptable to the Parliament as to secure it to their posterity in after times. The general impression left on our mind by a perusal of Mr. Paget's book is that in part his vindication of Penn is affirmatively successful, and in part negatively so. In some instances he establishes the innocence of the Quaker hero; and where he does not establish his innocence, he shows the inconclusive nature of the evidence that asserts his guilt.

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#### BELLES LETTRES AND ART.

THE already well-known translations of the minor poems and ballads of Goethe, by Professor Aytoun and Mr. Martin, are here republished in a collected form.<sup>1</sup> They are a selection merely of those elaborate yet numerous compositions which were so lavishly scattered by the great and prolific genius of Goethe. Strong and graceful, deep and playful, wise and tender, he has excelled in every kind of composition, and may claim the homage and admiration of every reader. It is emphatically to Mr. Carlyle that the appreciation of Goethe in England is due, for the translation of his earliest drama by Sir Walter Scott did scarcely more than make his name known to an English public, then little studious of German, and half-disposed to attribute to the translator the chief merit of the original. Numbers have been proud to follow in the direction indicated by Mr. Carlyle, and now we have versions of nearly all Goethe's writings, this last contribution being perhaps the ablest. It is evident, nevertheless, that the merit of these translations is by no means equal, and that some were undertaken at more felicitous and propitious moments than others; the author's meaning, however, is usually, though not always, accurately rendered; but a literal, idiomatic version was not to be expected, and would scarcely have been pleasing. The version by Mr. Martin of "Prometheus," an unfinished fragment, reads less like a translation

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<sup>1</sup> "Poems and Ballads of Goethe." By W. E. Aytoun and T. Martin. Blackwood and Sons. 1859.

than any piece in the volume, though the "Dance of Death," by the same gentleman, is a striking instance of facility in rendering Teutonic into English. Mr. Aytoun's "Exculpation" preserves much of Goethe's peculiar manner.

"Wilt thou dare to blame the woman for her seeming sudden changes,  
Swaying east and swaying westward, as the breezes shake the tree?  
Fool! thy selfish thought misguides thee—find the man that never ranges,  
Woman wavers but to seek him—Is not then the fault in thee?"

The translation of the "King in Thule" is altogether spiritless, and very inferior to one which has long been in print. It is in the matchless "Bride of Corinth" that the joint merits of the translators are most evident; that poem reads, especially in the original, though the English is excellent, as if in the night-watches the spirit of the past had descended upon Goethe, like a tongue of flame; and he writes as if inspired by the genius of ancient Poetry. It tells how

"When new faiths are born  
Love and truth are torn  
Rudely from the heart, how'er it bleed."

The literary executors of the late Sir Aubrey de Vere have thought his dramas worth republishing<sup>2</sup> (the first appeared in 1822-3); and as they are distinguished by refined taste, and possess considerable literary ability, though wanting in dramatic power, the public may possibly endorse their opinion. They have the fault of being too rhetorical, *Julian* especially; for the *Duke of Mercia*, at least during the early scenes, has more dramatic activity. Julian the Apostate, as he has been called by those Christian writers who have slandered a Pagan hero to flatter the cruel and treacherous Constantine, appears at the commencement of the play at the head of his victorious army in Gaul, which, on receipt of intelligence that it is to be sent from the scene of success to the succour of the discomfited Emperor Constantius in Thrace, mutinies, and compels the half-reluctant Julian, as yet only Cæsar, to accept the imperial dignity, and to march upon Byzantium. The Pagan priest, Maximus, the arch machinator of the piece, is the instrument by which Julian's previous change of creed is effected, and he appears throughout as unscrupulous as any of those more modern ecclesiastical advisers whose baneful counsels have assisted to topple thrones, when they had only meant to enslave the nations. The drama ends with the death of Julian, betrayed in a battle with King Sapor, by the treacherous Maximus, so that Sir Aubrey utterly disregards the "unities;" but there can be no doubt that action distributed over so long a period, is scarcely conducive to the interest and vigour of a dramatic form of writing. The expression historically attributed to the dying emperor is duly put into the mouth of the hero, though much weakened by translation. As hinted above, this drama is rather distinguished by rhetorical excellence than appropriate power, though

<sup>2</sup> "Julian the Apostate and the Duke of Mercia." *Historical Dramas*. By Sir Aubrey de Vere. London: Basil M. Pickering. 1858.

there are touches of a higher order of merit, as in the complaint of Julian, who finds an imperial pillow an uneasy resting-place.

"My eyes are ever open  
Upon the past and future—I am denied  
Oblivion. It *was* not so, Constantia,  
It *was* not so."

The traitor Maximus, meditating in the stillness of night, without the camp, on his schemes of treachery, which are approaching their crisis, says—

"I  
Would rather front the whirlwind of the desert  
Or voice of thunder, with its wild concomitants,  
Lightning, and swelling winds, and sheeted rain,  
Than this placidity of nature,—gazing  
Thus on yon steadfast stars, I could half fancy  
That supernatural eyes looked down on me  
From the calm depth of heaven; and this breathless  
Pausc in the world's life seems as if all earth  
Lay hushed, that not a sound might interrupt  
The car of the all-present Deity."

A curious inversion of the character which Lady Macbeth partly draws of her husband, is placed by Sir Aubrey in the mouth of the priest Maximus, who is criticising the very natural indecision of the Empreses Eusebia and Constantia—

"Weak, shallow women! fathomless and witless  
You see the way, but fear to tread it; long  
With full as deep desires as men, yet shrink  
From the accomplishment. You would be great  
But lack the daring."

The action of the *Duke of Mercia* turns upon the conflict between the Danes and Anglo-Saxons after the death of Ethelred, in whose reign, chiefly at the instigation of Edric, Duke of Mercia, occurred the ruthless massacre of St. Brice, in which even the women and children of Danish blood settled in England were destroyed. After much indecisive strife between the hosts of Canute and Edmund Ironside, son of Ethelred, the two kings agree to decide their right to the throne of England by duel. In this conflict, which gives life and action to the concluding scene, Edmund, who looks all over like a winner, is treacherously stabbed by Edric, whose hatred he had earned by the stern and contemptuous rebukes of his cruelty and faithlessness, which the brave and honest Edmund had at various times administered to the Duke of Mercia.

It is scarcely too much to say, that no one who has a full conception of the epic perfection of the *Iliad*<sup>3</sup> will ever publish another translation. The attempts that have been made have originated some good poetry, but have failed to transfuse into a foreign medium any considerable

<sup>3</sup> "The *Iliad* of Homer." Translated into blank verse by Ichabod Charles Wright, M.A., translator of *Dante*. Books I.—VI. Cambridge; Macmillan and Co.

portion of its peculiar merit, or of its idiomatic character. Fanaticism, shown even in the admiration of genius, is decisive of the absence of true appreciation and of good taste, like that, for example, which seeks to consecrate the quibbles or the nonsense which Shakspeare has allowed to deform the greatness of his dramas; but surely the Iliad must inspire all who are penetrated by its power and beauty, with a sense of unapproachable perfection; the actions and incidents of the poem are familiar to all, and that is nearly as much as can be expected from any past or future version. It has been idly written of late that Homer is not honoured as he deserves to be in this country; people wearied with business, or bored by ennui, are not likely to take to the perusal of Greek heroic verse for amusement, and the great bulk of readers are at all times satisfied with the newspaper or the novel. The genuine love of the highest order of poetry is not, and can never be, common; and all poets have an exoteric as well as an esoteric following—the former but reflecting the taste or fashion of the day, louder and more eager in the profession of a spurious idolatry for Klopstock, Ossian, or Mr. Robert Montgomery, than in doing honour to the greatest creations of Shakspeare or of Goethe; but Homer is the only poet who has received the impartial homage of all civilized nations. Shakspeare, worshipped in England and Germany, sometimes fanatically and unreasonably, is foolishness to Frenchmen, except a very few of the most highly informed. Milton is read by many in England, because they regard him as the champion genius of Christianity, not because of his sublimity, and they are blinded by his stately and noble diction, to the comparative meagreness of action and want of epic propriety in his great poem, in France he is, however, much more honoured than in Germany, and while Frenchmen point to Corneille and Racine as the equals of him of Avon, they acknowledge the epic superiority of Milton. Dryden has few readers now, even among the ever-decreasing number who have a relish for the greatest creations of the imagination; but Homer has never ceased from the esteem of men; the fable of the Iliad has been familiar to thousands for thousands of years, and will be read by thousands as remote from the men of the present day as they are from Adam. Mr. Wright's ambition has led him to essay the version which has given rise to the preceding remarks. Not content with the difficulties attending a metrical translation of Danté, he has devoted much time and pains, with sadly inadequate results, to a translation of Homer. It is an ungracious task to criticise severely, but the only praise that can be given is the cold praise of a tolerably faithful rendering; of spirit or fire there are scarcely any traces, and the magnificent Greek is turned into the tamest English. For example, it is scarcely possible to adjure the Supreme Being in language more worthy of the theme than in that verse with which Agamemnon begins his prayer to Zeus—

*Ζευ, κρυδιστε, μεγαρτε, κελαινεφες, αιθερι ναιων.—κ.τ.λ.*

which is translated into such spiritless English as—

“O, thou who hast thy dwelling in the sky,  
Most glorious, most supreme, veiled in dark clouds.”

'This is only not so bad as a French version of—

Πορὶ Ἀθηνῶν, εὐρυπτολι, διαθεῶν,

which we noticed in a French translation of the Iliad found lying in the window of an hotel at Nice one wet day, and very amusing it proved—"Respectable divinité, protectrice des cités, la plus puissante des déesses qui habitent Olympe"—in the very spirit of Hannah, More invoking the Goddess of Wisdom, at the head of a tea-table, surrounded by blue-stockings.

The best bit we have remarked in Mr. Wright is the description of Apollo hastening to revenge his insulted priest—

"Upon his shoulder hung  
Quiver and bow; and as he moved in wrath  
The arrows rattled. Dark he came like night,  
Then sat aloof and winged a deadly shaft.  
Forth as it flew, amid the ships beneath,  
With sound terrific twanged the silver bow."

Ὁ δ' ἦγε νυκτὶ εὐκωγ, may have suggested part of Milton's description of "Death," so that Mr. Wright's unintentional plagiarism is certainly excusable.

Discretion is as much the better part of authorship as of soldiership, though it would have marred the joke if Falstaff had enumerated all the advantages of that invaluable quality. Many men of fair abilities and considerable acquirements would, by its timely exercise, have at least been prevented from publishing in rhyme what they themselves would scarce think worth saying in prose. Blank verse and sonnets are especially liable to be thus abused, and are made the vehicles, most unwillingly we should imagine, of moral, religious, pathetic, plaintive, amorous, and romantic platitudes, to an unsympathizing public. Yet sometimes gold glitters in a heap of gravel, and we detected one such spangle in these Lays of Middle Age,<sup>4</sup> and are well pleased to separate it from its earthy fellowship; it occurs in the "Address to the Skylark," as the bird is supposed to be soaring skyward in the early morning sunshine.

"Haply thou'st gazed through the long gloom of night  
On some fair star,  
Yet dreaded to pursue a darling flight  
Untied—afar—  
And now ascend'st to track by morning's light  
Her silver car!

There is also an allusion to the fate of poor Hugh Miller, which is not without poetic feeling, and something even better.

"Alone with God he walked where the young past  
Leapt into being—with far prying look  
He burned for light to cast on Moses' book.  
Creation grew around him vague and vast;  
How days were ages, and great ages days,

<sup>4</sup> "Lays of Middle Age, and other Poems." By James Hedderwick. Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 1859.

He, Miller, sang in unrhymed mystic strain,  
Till, spying a beyond that mocked his gaze,  
He staggered onward with a wildered brain,  
And burst life's gates to learn the truth at last."

This might, however, have been expressed better in any other form of versification than the sonnet, which sounds exotic and inharmonious in English hands, Milton's only excepted."

Surely the exceeding triteness of "Unwritten Fancies" should have been a sufficient plea for their remaining unwritten; nor has Lord Macaulay cause to congratulate himself on his appearance in "Genius and Presumption." There is much flunkeyism in "Once and Again," and whatever virtues her Majesty may possess, we never heard that "high-bred pallor" was one of them.

We are glad to see Miss Johnstone again in print, in this volume of lively sketches,<sup>5</sup> professing to be from the life; but though much less didactic and pretentious than Miss Edgeworth, she has contrived to infuse a certain moral element, in virtue of which poetical justice is distributed more generally than we find it to be in nature. All her sketches possess merit, and testify to the sound condition of her head and heart, though she is a little hard upon particular classes. Capitalists, for instance, who, however, are remarkably well able to defend themselves, are generally unsentimental, it is true, hard-fisted, and occasionally hardhearted, it may be, but they find sustenance for thousands whom sentimentalists might leave to starve; nor is it altogether fair to taunt shopkeepers' assistants with their unwarlike propensities, or wonder at their preference for unmanly occupation over the refined associations connected with a barrack dormitory. All Anglo-Saxon youths like adventure; and if the army is ever properly constituted, men of a superior class will enter its ranks; but who that can do better, will associate with the brutal and ignorant, for the privilege of being commanded by imbeciles or martinets.

At last there is a critical biography of Lessing,<sup>6</sup> such as he deserves, containing not only a full account of the incidents of his chequered existence, but also a careful analysis of his prose and poetry. The latter, though not forgotten, is seldom read, even in Germany; it had its day, and deserved no more, as the robust and acute intellect of its author probably anticipated. His imagination was very subordinate to his other endowments; and he shone much more in criticism than independent authorship. Indeed, as a critic of literature, but especially of art, he has never been surpassed; and though in the first character he has been accused of even gross injustice to the tragic dramatists of France, there are many who share his opinions, even if it is a prejudice, that French tragedy savours much more of the stage and its appurtenances, than of the emotions and passions of mankind. Herr Stahr has devoted the last twenty years of his life to collecting

<sup>5</sup> "A Few out of Thousands, their Sayings and Doings." By Augusta Johnstone. London: Groombridge and Sons. 1859.

<sup>6</sup> "G. E. Lessing, Sein Leben, und Seine Werke," Von Adolf Stahr. Erst und Zweiter Theile. London: Williams and Norgate. 1859.



the materials of this biography, and in maturing the critical remarks on Lessing's writings. This labour, he declares, has been a special piece of good fortune granted by Fate, in that it has strengthened and elevated his own convictions, by leading him to an earnest study of this great critic of ancient art.

Herr Grimm has given us a volume of critical essays<sup>7</sup> upon a variety of interesting subjects; as Alfieri and Madame Ristori, the great actress who gave such effect to his character of *Myrrha*; the Venus of Milo; on Lord Byron and Leigh Hunt; the expectation of the Last Judgment, by the sculptor Cornelius; Dryden and Davenant's version of Shakespeare's *Tempest*; the German theatre in the sixteenth century, with numerous specimen translations; Raphael and Michael Angelo; Frederick the Great, and Lord Macaulay; and, lastly, Schiller and Goethe—a theme which seems to Germans well nigh inexhaustible. The essay on Alfieri, though giving some account of his life and writings, principally consists of an elaborate critique on the tragedy of *Myrrha*. It is narrated how that at five-and-twenty, having found nothing better than ennui and satiety from the wayward and headstrong proceedings of his youth, Alfieri experienced the first afflatus of authorship in the sick-room of a mistress, who, though ill-qualified to arrest his affection, or to deserve his respect, he watched during an illness with the fidelity of a dog; and as he sat all day in that sick chamber without opening his lips, perfect silence having been enjoined, he covered a few sheets which lay on the table with melodramatic sketches, to kill time merely, and without ulterior design of publication. But the power was roused, ennui in a manner disappeared, and the dear-bought knowledge furnished by the fiery passions which had burnt unrestrained in his earlier days, was put to good account, for he knew how to depict the emotions which experience had taught him. The lady recovered, and the manuscript remained for a year, neglected beneath the cushions of a couch. In the meantime he broke with her, though not without a variety of unpleasant proceedings on her part; and betook himself to somewhat desultory composition in a dramatic form. On the 16th June, 1776, his tragedy of *Cleopatra* was acted at Turin, and very well received. Proud and independent as he was, this novel success made a very strong impression upon him, for in his brief autobiography he declares that no love-fever had ever possessed him so strongly as the dramatic œstrus which now took possession of him. But in the acquisition of French he had neglected his own more harmonious and flexible language, and became painfully aware that he was unable to write classical Italian; to the acquisition of this necessary knowledge he now vehemently gave himself, *more suo*, and meanwhile his two next tragedies were written in French prose. In 1782 his *Antigone* was performed at Turin by a company of "distinguished amateurs," with considerable applause. It is, however, to the tragedy of *Myrrha* that his highest reputation as a dramatist is due. It was from Ovid that the suggestions for the leading character of the piece, the unhappy *Myrrha* herself, were de-

<sup>7</sup> "Essays." Von Herman Grimm. London: Williams and Norgate. 1859.

rived, but Alfieri has considerably modified it, as represented by the Latin poet, and the repellent nature of her madness is much softened, so as to interest rather than disgust. She is without doubt the greatest of Alfieri's creations, but has scarcely existed as a stage character, except in the acting of Madame Ristori, whose conception and representation of it approached nearly to perfection. It is, however, scarcely pleasant to witness on the stage, as it is difficult to avoid mingling with the mere tragic element something that instinctively shocks the least critical taste. Alfieri died in 1803, in his fifty-fourth year, and lies at Florence, buried in the same church which holds the ashes of Michael Angelo—"Eine würdige Nachbarschaft für den Dichter, und Keine unwürdige für den Bildhauer, der so einsam war, und so gewaltige Werke geschaffen hat."

We can but indicate the subjects of the remaining essays, which contain much honest and sound criticism, with an occasional propensity to over-ornateness in the style; that on Goethe and Schiller, the last and longest, suggests little that has not been said by others on this over-fertile theme of German discussion. In the remarks upon Lord Macaulay's unlucky Essay on "Frederick der Grosse," Grimm is singularly fair; he considers that the great English critic looked on the Prussian sovereign from an unfavourable stand-point, and as necessarily uninfluenced by those emotions of respect, and even of reverence, with which all Germans regard their most successful man of action. This should have produced impartiality, but Frederick combined a capricious and unreasonable vanity with a power of exercising the sternest and most pitiless severity; a union of qualities which should be incompatible, and which revolts us in the character of our own Elizabeth. It is his misfortune, too, that the weaknesses of his nature became conspicuous in his treatment of the eminent foreigners whom he was fond of attracting to Berlin by splendid promises, which were never fulfilled. We know what Voltaire thought and wrote after rashly accepting such an invitation, and there were others, such as Maupertuis, who had good reason to be dissatisfied; but we firmly believe that the mean physiognomy, half hidden in the eternal cocked hat, with which his portraits make us familiar, relieved only by those brilliant eyes which might have lighted the face of a Jew money-lender, had some influence on Lord Macaulay's eminently objective mind. Had Frederick possessed the heroic countenance of Cromwell or of Clive, however harsh and unlovely the lineaments might otherwise have been, we might have had a picture of the soldier and the statesman only from that unrivalled pen, and the meannesses of his character would have slept undisturbed in the grave.

If ever man was born a Christian preacher and exemplifier of human and social virtues, J. P. F. Richter<sup>s</sup> might claim to be such a man. From the fulness of his large, warm, and pious heart, he spoke and wrote much that men would be the better for heeding, and which he illustrated in

<sup>s</sup> "Extracts from the Works of Jean Paul F. Richter." Selected and translated by Georgiana, Lady Chatterton. London: John W. Parker and Son. 1859.

"Sketches of and from Jean Paul Richter." London: A. W. Bennett. 1859.

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his daily life: Like many others of his countrymen, he is rather difficult reading, but is readable, nevertheless, like one of Butler's sermons, because he worships in spirit and in truth, and recoils, with even more than the horror of the most honest unbeliever, from all cant and hypocrisy, even when he is chargeable with grotesqueness or puerility. Like most eminent contemporaries in his own country—the greatest of them, Goethe, almost alone excepted,—Richter was the son of poor parents, and, born amidst the grim solitudes and primitive manners of the Fichtel-gebirge, retained through life, unspotted from the world, a strong spiritual flavour of his early environment. In common with other great literary men of that period, he struggled out of almost desperate poverty, which must have overwhelmed him, as it had thousands in past ages, but for the printing-press, the friend of the poor; and the metal which came out of such a trial was genuine, well purged of the dross of self-indulgence and sloth, and willing and capable for the hardest intellectual labour. Though unable to buy books, yet by the time he was twenty (1783) he had accumulated a tolerable library, by copying what he could not purchase; but when he went to the University of Leipsic to qualify for the hereditary clerical profession, he must have endured every hardship there short of absolute starvation. French opinions in matters of politics and theology were finding their way to Germany at that time, and it is recorded, though it sounds incredible, that the great-hearted German inclined much to the writings of Voltaire and Rousseau. It is true these were the coryphæi of French literature, but what apostles were they for men who were honestly in earnest? They might usefully enough sneer down the bigotry of the Gallican priesthood; they might justly assail the cruelty and arrogance of the local parliaments, or fairly ridicule the long suffering of a nation which could make gods out of Bourbons, and which had apparently come to believe that the Creator had made men in classes, so patiently and so tamely had they worn the yoke of tyranny and bigotry; but what pretension had they to teach others, so much higher and better than themselves, as those German thinkers of whom Richter was only not the greatest?

He early attempted to relieve his necessities by authorship, and this took the shape of a satire on social follies and hypocrisies; the second attempt ("Greenland Lawsuits") found a purchaser, and reached a second edition: it was but a gleam of good fortune, for nothing else that he wrote at that time proved saleable, and, though living like an anchorite, he got into debt, and in 1784, when he was just of age, had to beat a retreat from Leipsic to the old domicile at Hof, where, his father having died before he went to the University, his mother and sisters were living in very straitened circumstances. Here he met his friend Otto, with whom he contracted one of those impassioned friendships peculiar to German students; he remained in or near Hof till 1790, getting his living partly by authorship and partly by private tutorship, a dreadful alternative at that time in Germany. In that year his "Unsichtbare Loge" (Invisible Lodge) was begun, and published in 1793; it is a *mélange* of biographical details, with romantic and didactic reflections, which struck the fancy of the

publisher, Moritz, who sent him fifteen pounds for the first part of the work, which was never completed. As a story it is without interest, and, like most German novels and romances, is a mere vehicle for the moral, and in much less degree the political, speculations of its author. Henceforth his path was plainer; he had gained a hearing, and became popular, particularly with readers of the better sex, who were charmed with the romantic purity of his character and writings. He got a capital wife in 1798, one Caroline Mayer, and he deserved her. The kindest of men by nature, like Sir Walter Scott, he loved children and dogs; but it had been fortunate for the German public had he resembled the great Scotchman in his power of narration and invention of incident. Towards the close of life his sight became seriously impaired, and he died at the age of 62, in November, 1825.

Lady Chatterton's little volume is a selection of "Pensées" extracted from Richter's writings, chosen rather in accordance with the tastes of a somewhat *spirituel* woman than with the judgment of a critic. The other little book is anonymous, contains more of detail, but is in no way remarkable for narrative power or critical ability. The compiler evinces a sincere admiration for Jean Paul, but omits to notice Mr. Carlyle's excellent sketch of Richter in his "Miscellanies." Few of the reflections recorded are sufficiently striking or epigrammatic to justify extraction; perhaps that on Herder and Schiller is as good as any. "Both in youth intended to become surgeons, but Destiny said, 'No, there are deeper wounds than those of the body; heal the deeper ones;' and they both wrote."

What a world of trouble would have been saved, and how much ingenuity would have been spared, if Shakspeare had employed a few of the leisure hours which must have hung a little on his hands after the retirement to Stratford, in writing an autobiography! It is clear that he was not unconscious of his greatness, however little he may have anticipated the supremacy subsequently accorded to him wherever the English and the German languages are spoken. We confess to have taken up this little volume of Lord Campbell's<sup>9</sup> with distrust, for we thought it might prove but another symptom of the desire to be perpetually before the public, which appears to us to characterise his judicial bearing. He has, however, brought great candour as well as acumen to the consideration of a subject which, after all that can be said about it, is of no real interest. Unreasonable popular prejudice, prone to the marvellous, has professed to think of Shakspeare as engaged after leaving school, during his early life at Stratford, in mere mechanical occupation. Lord Campbell maintains the respectability of Shakspeare's family, and his father's competency to place him reputationally in the world. The elder Shakspeare, it is likely, improved his position while the son was growing to boyhood; but he must have been poor at Shakspeare's nativity, judging from the meanness of the apartment to which tradition assigns this "greatest birth of Time." "Respectability" is surely a word of modern invention, for trades and pro-

<sup>9</sup> "Shakspeare's Legal Acquirements Considered." By John Lord Campbell, in a Letter to J. Payne Collier, Esq. London: Murray. 1859.

fessions were pretty much on a level in those days, at least in the country: it is certain that whatever his position was, Shakspeare did not like it, but left home and wife to try his doubtful fortune in London. Aubrey, without evidence, thinks he was a schoolmaster; Chalmers, Malone, and others, with Mr. Collier, that he was in an attorney's office—not articulated, however, for no printed or engrossed document remains which would have testified to this, and they could scarcely all have been lost. Yet there is unquestionable evidence, in the occasional phraseology of his dramas, of an acquaintance with the technicalities of legal practice, which may have been owing to professional familiarity with them. Every one must have been struck with this, especially in *Henry VIII.*, where the penalties attaching to *Præmunire* are so technically set forth; and in *As You Like It*, where the Duke speaks like an attorney when he commands an "extent to be made upon the house and lands" (Act III. scene 1) of Orlando's treacherous brother. The external evidence is worth little enough—as, for example, Nash's supposed libel on Shakspeare, wherein he is supposed to tax the successful actor and dramatist as having left the trade of "noverint" ("Be it known to all men, &c.) for authorship. *Hamlet*, which is thought to be alluded to in the libel, was one of the latest of Shakspeare's plays, and appeared long after 1589, when indeed he was only twenty-five, and had been but two or three years in London. There is some straining of evidence in a few of the quotations, and in the comments upon them, as was to be expected; for it proves the ingenuity of the commentator, if it does not advance the argument: the summing up is worthy a chief-justice—sagacious and impartial. He has said pretty well all that can be said on the subject; and people who care anything about the matter may form their own opinions, without the trouble of collating the dramas—one way or the other it is of little interest. Had we known accurately all the events of Shakspeare's life, his works—even if they had excited less interest, which is possible—would have lacked the ample exposition which has been contributed by those acute and laborious scholiasts, whose reputations have flourished like ornamental parasites on his stately trunk.

The Art literature of the year has been well begun by a familiar history of painting,<sup>10</sup> in which, we presume, the technical details are left to Mr. Gullick, while Mr. Timbs furnishes the research; and especially the anecdotes. The earliest method of painting, known as *Tempera*, was so called because the colours were tempered with some glutinous medium, such as white of egg suspended in water, employed by the oldest Italian painters; for oil pigments were a Flemish invention, attributed to the Van Eycks, and only imported into Italy towards the middle of the fifteenth century. There is a full history of wax painting, or, as it is more generally called, *Encaustic*, whether of Greek or Christian design; of *Mosaics*, comprehending the earlier or *Byzantine* form, and the more modern or *Romanesque*; of the

<sup>10</sup> "Painting Popularly Explained, with Historical Sketches of the Progress of the Art." By Thomas J. Gullick, Painter, and John Timbs, F.S.A. London: Kent and Co. 1859.

art of illuminating manuscripts and missals; of miniature, and particularly of fresco painting, from the earliest modern examples, beginning at the commencement of the fifteenth century with Masaccio and his pupils, to its highest development a century and more later under Michael Angelo and Raphael, Tintoretto and Paul Veronese, down to the modern German school, by which it has been again resuscitated, and of which Cornelius and Kaulbach are the greatest masters. "Painting in 'fresco,' in Italian 'al fresco,' takes its name from being executed upon the last coat which the plasterer puts on when finishing a room, while it is freshly laid and still wet." The remainder of the manual is devoted to a historical and technical account of oil and water-colour painting; it is essentially written for what the French call "gens du monde," though the professional artist may add something to the literary knowledge of his own art by its perusal. The book will be a great relief to many of those innocent amateurs who are ashamed to be ignorant of the technicalities of an art, which men who are ignorant of everything else are apt to affect. The following account of Pre-Raphaelitism, as given by its champion, Mr. Ruskin, will enlighten more than one reader:—"Pre-Raphaelitism is intended to combat the tendency of modern art to the pursuit of beauty at the expense of manliness and truth, and the servile imitation of the post-Raphaelite painters, to the neglect of the exact imitation of nature, thus resting in an imperfect reproduction of eclectic merit, which must result in conventional mannerism, and hinder, if not prevent, the artistic discovery and reproduction of new truth from the inexhaustible fountain of nature herself." Mr. Ruskin repudiates the idea of the Pre-Raphaelite artists imitating any pictures; he avers that they merely oppose themselves to the modern system of teaching, and paint nature as it is around them, with the help of modern science, and with the earnestness of the men of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This explanation will be satisfactory, we should think, to those bewildered groups which occasionally stare, with ill-concealed distaste and incredulity, at the Pre-Raphaelite tempera paintings imported of late years into the National Gallery.

Among the etymological works recently published, Mr. Charnock's<sup>11</sup> may prove useful as a supplement to such books as are intended to explain the origin and progress of particular languages, or of personal appellations. As a compilation it indicates a considerable amount of philological attainment, and less perhaps of that perplexing ingenuity so characteristic of etymologists, which amuses rather than instructs. In doubtful cases he freely leaves his readers to choose from several interpretations, without giving any decided opinion of his own. "Africa," for example, is variously derived from several etymologies, differing as widely as possible. The Hebrew  $\text{אֶפְרַיִם}$ , dust, seems as likely as any; while the Greek  $\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\upsilon\ \theta\rho\iota\kappa\eta\eta$ , or  $\alpha,\phi\rho\iota\kappa\eta\eta$ , without cold, however plausible, is surely inadmissible. "Pall-Mall," formerly spelt as it is now pronounced, pell-mell, and Pajlle Maille, is so called from

<sup>11</sup> "Local Etymology; a Derivative Dictionary of Geographical Names." By Richard Stephen Charnock, F.S.A. London: Houlston and Wright. 1859.

having been once the scene of a favourite variety of ball-play, in which a ball is driven (*q.d.* *pellere malleo*) through an iron ring or arch by means of a mallet. "Piccadilly" is so called from Piccadilla Hall, which once stood there, in which turnover collars, or piccadillas, were sold, and by which the inventor realized a fortune; the name of the collar was derived from the Spanish *Picca*, a spear-head, from the fanciful resemblance of its starched points to the point of a spear. Latin and Greek derivations of local names, in countries where those languages were not vernacular, are always suspicious; but, possibly, in the case of the Righi, its old Latin name (*mons regius*) may have originated the modern appellation.

The Taylorian professor at Oxford has contributed a book<sup>12</sup> which has been much wanted of late in all schools where German is taught; viz., two volumes of extracts from the best German authors, with short preliminary biographical and critical sketches, in which there is much condensed and accurate information. The first volume, beginning with Bishop Ulphilas, the only extant German writer of the fourth century, closes with an allegorical poem by the Emperor Maximilian I., at the end of the fifteenth century. The second commences the writers of the sixteenth century, with Luther's hymn—

"Ein feste burg ist unser Gott,  
ein gute wehr und waffen;  
er hilff uns frey aus aller not,  
die uns itzt hat betroffen," &c. &c.

and ends with copious extracts from Jean Paul F. Richter, whom Professor Müller criticises with more justice than we have before seen :—

"Auch artet sein Gefühl oft in Gefühlsamkeit aus, sein Ideenreichthum, verleitet ihn zu tändelnder Prahlerei, und sein Humor wird oft gesucht und kindisch. Dennoch lässt ein hingebendes Studium seiner Werke Niemand unbelohnt, und die deutsche Jugend, namentlich die weibliche, verdankt viele der edelsten Eindrücke den Werken Jean Paul's."

University reform, it is clear, will never be effected by Parliamentary Commissions; nor till enlightened self-interest is brought to bear on bigoted traditional selfishness will such reform be even attempted from within. The author of "*Almæ Matres*"<sup>13</sup> is probably sincere in his desire for a social change for the better in university life; but there is too strong a relish of scurrility and personal pique in his clever book to permit of full confidence being given to his statements, or the justice of his strictures. He has cast a live shell into the common room of Oxford University, and no man, we suppose, out of their own body would raise a hand to protect Dons from demolition; nor were fellowships founded to foster a narrow self-conceit, or to minister the means of mere animal indulgence; but these endowments exist, nor

<sup>12</sup> "*Early German Classics, and Modern German Classics.*" By Max Müller, M.A. 2 vols. London: Longman. 1858.

<sup>13</sup> "*Almæ Matres.*" (Dedicated, without permission, to the Freshmen and Dons of Oxford.) By "*Megathym Splene,*" B.A., Oxon. London: J. Hogg and Sons. 1858.

can Herschels or Bentleys be found to fill them to the exclusion of men with strong memories, moderate intellect, and a keen appreciation of the advantages likely to accrue from their possession. We can scarcely expect genial hearts, or even strong understandings, in those who are satisfied to renounce the strongest social ties imposed upon humanity, to consume some of the best years of life in cramming scholastic niceties for a mercenary end. Modern, or rather contemporary English scholarship, ranks low on the Continent (though Oxford University honour examinations are more searching and severe than similar competitions in the German or French universities), which may partly be accounted for by the general utilitarian tendencies of Englishmen, and the greater opportunities afforded to English youth by the liberal constitution and wide dominions of England. In mathematics we have certainly no superiors, nor is there any Continental test comparable to that of a Cambridge honour examination. The great faults of social existence at the universities, though there are men in both, especially at Cambridge, who would do honour to any society in the world, are owing to that irrepressible littleness of human nature which never fails to show itself in any community in which one class can confer advantages which another is ready to receive: nowhere does this relationship of classes exist more distinctly than at a university. Scholastic and spiritual pride are there uncontrolled, except by the good sense and good feeling of individuals among the governing bodies; while among the juniors, there is the snobbish extravagance which often threatens the modest comforts of near relations at home, that it may gratify the poor ambition of living in a particular "set."

There is but a slight sketch in this book of the routine life in the Universities of Paris and London, and a much more elaborate and interesting account of German university discipline. Cambridge is not mentioned, and the author, after this digression, returns with undiminished zest to his "*premières amours*," the University of Oxford, of which he has a very complete knowledge. He severely and cleverly satirizes the caste system, which inexorably divides dons and fellows from undergraduates, an exhibition of snobbishness peculiarly offensive in those whose "*literæ humaniores*" might suggest something better than mere Brahminism.

"Doodle and I were the greatest friends as undergraduates. The calumet of conciliation and the wine-glass of waggishness were for ever uniting us in festive orgies and fruitful friendships. Alas, my Doodle was taken from me. They gave him a fellowship, and left me like his twin brother to sigh in solitude. Yet he swore—and Doodle could swear a few—that he would never turn donnish,—that all should go on as before. One fortnight he was faithful, and then the warm friendly nod was exchanged for a more ceremonious greeting; the oak was sported, as it had never been closed before; if I caught him at times, there was Stiffkin, the junior mathematical tutor, with him, and the two would stare me away calmly, kindly, but decisively. Oh, my Doodle, how bitter was the estrangement! and now you are quite the don; *donner* than the *donnest*—*donnerwetter*! Once I asked him the reason boldly. 'It cannot be,' he answered, in a voice which had already assumed the suave oiliness of



the true Dominus; 'you know it will not do for the Fellows to associate with the undergraduates.'"

Somebody sat for this picture, we suppose, and perhaps the original may a little regret his ill-timed superciliousness to this modern Beaumarchais.

There is more of ingenuity than of depth, more evidence of reading than of acute critical discrimination, in Mr. Boyes' new volume, "Life and Books,"<sup>14</sup> while there is a *souçon*, indifferently well concealed it is true, of the sublime self-conceit which ushered Mr. Martin Tupper's platitudes to the public. Yet the book has merit, most evidently perhaps that of much acquired knowledge; but the best thing it contains is a quotation from Milton's "Eikonoclastes," denouncing the folly and profanity of people who profess to see Divine interposition or judgments in particular misfortunes.

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<sup>14</sup> "Life and Books; or, Records of Thought and Reasoning" By J. F. Boyes. London: Bell and Daldy. 1859.

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LONDON :  
SAVILL AND EDWARDS, PRINTERS, CHANDOS STREET,  
COVENT GARDEN.











