THE

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REVIEW.

JULY AND OCTOBER,

1874.

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

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

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ART. I.—THE GROWTH OF CHRISTIANITY.

1. *Tableau de l'Empire Romain depuis la Fondation de Rome, jusqu'à la Fin du Gouvernement Impérial en Occident.* Par M. AMÉDÉE THIERRY, Sénateur et Membre de l'Institut. Paris: 1862.
2. *Histoire des Trois premiers Siècles de l'Eglise Chrétienne.* Par E. DE PRESSENSÉ. 4 vols. Paris: 1862.

THE aphorism of Pascal, that the entire succession of men in every period of the world must be regarded as one man always living and incessantly learning, is repeated by a divine of our own age when he affirms that, "this power, whereby the present ever gathers into itself the results of the past, transforms the human race into a colossal man," whose days are measured in generations. A professor of history adopts a theory which is "in accordance with the doctrine of progress." The ecclesiastical historian, "looking back on a period of eighteen centuries, surveys a process of development in which we ourselves are included, or "announces that the new religion was no abrupt and isolated phenomenon, but was connected with the past, and was in some sense the *dénouement* of the whole religious history of humanity." Thus the idea of an historical sequence reappears even in theological speculation, and Christianity itself is included, however partially and
rently, in the general chain of causation. But what is
by Christianity? Christianity is a term which has been
y interpreted, and which indeed admits of various inter-
ns, according as we regard it from a popular or strictly
point of view; as we look at it in its earliest aspect or its
developments. Thus the Christianity of Jesus has been
scribed as consisting in the renunciation of the world, and in

the aspiration towards moral or spiritual perfection and ideal happiness, an aspiration which loses somewhat of its purity from the material messianic hope, with which, at least in an after phase of the career of the founder, it appears to have been closely interwoven. This primitive Christianity has been distinguished from that of the immediate followers of Jesus, whose belief in a crucified and resuscitated Messiah was accompanied by an extraordinary zeal for the Mosaic law (Acts xxi. 20). The Christianity of Paul, rejecting all local distinctions, repudiated this very law, the observance of which was considered by the genuine Jew-Christian as eternally obligatory. Asiatic Christianity appears to have been marked by certain metaphysical tendencies and a fanatical millenarianism; while Catholic Christianity, in its turn, is shown to have been elaborated by the "speculative ability" of Greece ar the administrative or organizing energy of Rome. While reco nising the different phases or types of Christianity, we shall pretend in this article either to trace their successive expansi with minute accuracy, or to discuss them with philosophical co pleteness, our purpose being rather to offer a proximately corr account of the growth of Christianity as this elastic word popularly understood. In short, it is Christianity, as interprete by the churches, preached in the pulpit, or conceived by th orthodox semi-educated theologian, that we propose to *account for*. There is, if we err not, a vague notion current that the dogmas which make up Christianity are, so to speak, exclusivel Christian; that the faith was once for all delivered to the sain in a kind of portable, pocket-bible fashion: and people sometimes talk and even write as if all belief in God, in the immortality of the soul, in a future state of rewards and punishments, in the distinctions between vice and virtue, in human progress or human brotherhood, were the peculiar appanage of an alleged revelation. Our object, then, is less to discover "the essence" of Christianity, than to show how what is usually *called* Christianity, whether dogma or sentiment, grew up, to indicate the natural preparation for its reception, the causes that favoured its extension, and its historical antecedents and accompaniments. To obviate or an cipate refined objection we will premise that, while maintainin that popular or orthodox Christianity had antecedents, and that certain conditions were necessary for its extension, we do not overlook the fact of a "Jewish initiation," or question the correctness of the opinion which represents original Christianity as consisting in "a reaction against the conventionalism produced by universal empire." Under the advance of Roman dominion and the spread of Greek culture, we see transformations in progress favourable to the after diffusion of Christianity, parallel growths and anticipations of Christian life and sentiment; in short, a general mental and social modification which harmonized with its spirit and facilitated its extension. Not that the moral phenomena attending the march of Roman Conquest are always direct effects of that Conquest. On the contrary, they may be more frequently ascribed as indirect consequences of imperial rule: while Christianity itself, in its earlier aspects, far from being "a form of slavery" is more truly defined as "a form of freedom, the freedom of idealism." Still the religion which had its origin in Judæa would never have conquered the world, had not Greece, with her language and speculative power, directly contributed to its evolution; and Rome, by her political action and social organization, immediately favoured its reception and promoted its progress.

The appearance of Christianity, it has been appositely remarked, was coincident with the attainment of imperial power by Rome. The formation of the universal monarchy was the condition of the diffusion of a universal religion. The cessation of Conquest implied an international approximation. In the fusion which that Conquest effected was involved not only a political, but an intellectual and moral unity. The Roman world grew out of a simple and seemingly insignificant aggregation. Alike by conquest and concession Rome aided to prepare that social homogeneity which was indispensable to the advent of Christianity. Through law, through literature, through language, through central administration, the extension of municipal right, the equalization of conditions, the overthrow of the aristocratical faction, the Roman Supremacy produced a social assimilation confessedly unprecedented. The reaction of the conquered nations on the conquering power rendered a great political change inevitable. We do not eulogize the Empire when we say that it was a fatal necessity. We do not exculpate all the Roman Emperors if we assert that the path which the first great Cæsar's ambition took was that of the general movement. The proposed re-organization which that illustrious statesman seems to have projected was not the conception of one solitary dreamer. In proof of this position we may cite Amédée Thierry's appeal to the reputed letters of the historian Sallust.* These letters, addressed to Cæsar about the time of the battle of Pharsalia, form a sort of programme of the democratic party. In furtherance of the views of that party, the real or pseudo-Sallust recommends the establishment of imperial unity, the extension of civil rights to the provinces, and the renovation and numerical increase of the senate. With the death of the great Dictator the hopes of the wise and the aspirations of the superstitious were alike defeated. The solution which political science was inadequate to supply, the people sought in religion.

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* See Tableau de l'Empire Romain, par Amédée Thierry, ch. v.

In his lucid tableau of the Roman Empire, M. A. Thierry points out the mingled anxiety and credulity of the masses in that age of revolutionary excitement. Every nation had its sacred literature. Prophecies in prose and verse circulated in thousands of volumes from the Orient to the Occident, and from the Occident to the Orient again. Latium and Greece, fancy-fed with a hundred lively fictions, once more renewed the dreams of the golden age, of the reign of the good Saturn, of perpetual peace, and the restored innocence of men.* The East busied itself with the calculations of cosmogony; the mystic and the poet looked for the dawn of a celestial year. But among the many varieties of popular expectation there was uniformly one traditional concordance of a very singular kind. Popular enthusiasm, conforming to the inspiration of ancient prophecy, everywhere anticipated the advent of a king whose happy fortune it should be to unite all nations under his sceptre, and close for ever the temple of war. In the East this universal monarch, it was thought, would arise in Judæa; in the West the birth of a Lord of the world was announced at Rome, and men awaited with a strange solicitude the accession of Cæsar to the throne of the earth.

The ubiquitous military triumph of Rome, equivalent to a political universality, brought with it that majestic tranquillity which the elder Pliny celebrates, and which the great Origen recognises as a necessary pre-requisite to the successful diffusion of the religion of peace. At the period when that triumph approached its completion, paganism, though still retaining a painful vitality, no longer powerfully dominated the intellect or the conscience of its professors. The faith of the educated classes in the old divinities had been undermined by philosophical culture. The populace of every conquered country must assuredly have been sometimes tempted to question the deity of those celestial patrons whose efforts to defend their country, in the contest with Rome, had been so demonstrably unavailing. The literary eclecticism which preceded and accompanied the imperial epoch, early began to assume the form of a popular philosophy and national theology. Cicero had detected in the beauty of the world and the order of the heavenly bodies an argument for the existence of a transcendant and eternal nature. At a later period Seneca offered eloquent homage to the "former of the universe, the mind and spirit of the world, who governs all, on whom all depends, to whom all belongs, in whom we all live." And if their conceptions were wavering, and their belief rather pantheistic than theistic, sentiments kindred to those since regarded as distinctively Christian are not the less to be found in the works of those and other conspicuous thinkers of the transition period. A recent writer on ecclesiastical history, while rightly calling attention to the errors and shortcomings of the pagan eclectics, frankly admits the existence of a preliminary Christianity, in a Seneca who regards obedience to God as true liberty, who pleads the cause of the slave, and sees in him that human nature which we ought always to honour, who speaks with eloquence of that great republic which is confined to no land, and which contains all men, who looks on the world as his country, and preaches the sacredness of humanity. Nor does he omit to point out that the love of the human race (*caritas generis humani*) was attested by Cicero; nor that Plutarch invoked that divinity who is neither Greek nor barbarian—the supreme intelligence, who, under many names, presides over the destinies of all nations; nor that the ideal of the Christian marriage, a union in which the wife should be adorned not with diamonds, but with virtue, and which should be attended with a harmony more perfect than that of music, hovered before the eyes not only of its panegyrist, Plutarch, but even of Pliny and of Seneca. Similarly he gives due prominence to the Christian character of the ethics of Epictetus, whose own pure and noble nature taught him that morality consists in promoting the welfare of others, in chastity, in the pardon of injuries, in the forgetfulness of vainglory, in the cultivation of humility. There was then a Christianity independent of Christ, or, to use M. de Pressensé's emphatic expression, Christianity "was then in the air."

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* Tableau de l'Empire Romain, pp. 77, 78, 79.

Pursuing an analogous train of reflection, the philosophical appreciator of the Roman incorporation* maintains that the great political revolution which traversed all countries, scattered in its passage the germs of a corresponding moral revolution; that the new social combinations threw a light till then unknown on the rights and duties of men. A universal sentiment of reciprocal benevolence, of equality, of fraternal charity, circulated from people to people, from country to country, from man to man, from the most exalted position to the lowest and most obscure rank. What philosophy did for the morality of the rich and cultivated, Christianity did for the poor and simple, embodying the same precepts in a pure and more practical form, and fortifying them by the reputed authority of revealed religion.

To this extended recognition of humanity,† which the Roman Conquest, whether directly or indirectly inaugurated, Greece as largely contributed by the diffusion of her philosophy, her literature, and her language. The monotheistic conceptions of which we have given some illustration, appear to have been derived immediately from the writings of her most distinguished thinkers.* The works of Plato in particular exhibit a teaching often parallel with that of the New Testament writings. Thus the "Theætetus," to select one instance among many, instructs us that to fly from evil we must resemble God, and to resemble God we must become just and holy. The moral consciousness of the period, again, is a phenomenon that might almost have been predicted as a necessary result of the cultivation of self-knowledge specially enjoined by "the cross-examining God of Athens," and of the marked ethical evolution which accompanied the progress of Hellenic speculation. Even the doctrine of a future life to which Christianity afterwards imparted so absorbing a personal interest, had become a subject of anxious discussion from the hour perhaps when the Platonic Socrates refortified the popular tradition that "the souls of the dead exist in Hades," and divined that "it will be far better there for the good than for the evil," till the morning when Cato, hearing the birds sing for the last time, closed the glorious dialogue that unfolds the mighty argument of the soul's immortality. To multiply examples is unnecessary: but we may refer to the opening dialogue of Cicero's "Tusculan Questions," where this magnificent topic is formally discussed, and where it is maintained that death is not extinction, but rather a migration and a change—heaven being the true home of the wise and good. We may glance also at the page in which Seneca teaches that death is the last home for the body but not for the soul; and that a new birth, a new and different existence, awaits us in heaven; or we may turn to the page in Tacitus which records the conversation of Thrasea Pætus with the cynic Demetrius on the separation of the spirit from the body, or that which seemingly represents the dying Petronius as exceptionally preferring the amenities of a graceful literature to philosophical reflections on the immortality of the soul.†

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* A. Thierry. Tableau de l'Empire Romain, p. 327.

† Numine Deûm electa (Italia) quæ sparsa congregaret imperia ritusque molliret, et tot populorum discordes ferasque linguas, sermonis commercio contraheret ad colloquia, et humanitatem homini daret, breviterque una cunctarum gentium in toto orbe patria fieret.—*Plin. Hist. Nat.* iii. 5.

The general tendency of Roman civilization towards social unity was powerfully aided not only by the diffusion of the Latin tongue, but by a characteristic predominance of the Greek language. Greek, we are told by the historian of Latin Christianity, was the commercial language throughout the empire.‡ By means of Greek he reminds us, the Jews, before the destruction of the Holy City, conducted their mercantile affairs in every part of the world. During great part of the first three centuries most of the churches of the West were Greek religious colonies; all the extant writings of the early Christians are or were originally Greek; the letters of St. Paul, the Gospels, at least in their present form, and the Apocalypse, were all composed in Greek; and at the very commencement of the Christian era the language had probably attained a considerable extension among Palestinian Jews.* Greek culture, in short, no less than the political action of Rome, has a conspicuous claim to be regarded as an operative principle of the common social movement. Plutarch, indeed, pronounces the amalgamation of races and the establishment of Hellenic unity throughout the world, to have been the immediate object of the divine mission imposed on the Macedonian conqueror: and Neander, following in the same track of thought, only so far corrects the judgment of the great captain's biographer, as to assert the subordination of this mission to a higher end—and this higher end he explains to be to make the united peoples of the East and West more accessible for the new creation that was to proceed from Christianity, and in the combination of the elements of Oriental and Hellenic culture to prepare for the new religion a material in which it might develop itself. The progress of the Greek city of Alexandria, which the son of Philip predestined for the "grand junction" between the East and the West, corresponded with the decline of the brilliant democracy of Athens. The new metropolis proved loyally responsive to the conception of its cosmopolitan founder. It became the centre of commerce, it accumulated the treasures of the universal thought of the ancients, and it represented all religions. It was at once the mart, the library, the temple, and the pantheon of the world. It sheltered alike the worshippers of Jupiter and Serapis. The synagogue of the Jew, the museum of the Greek, the didascalion of the Christian, the school of the Gnostic, were all one day to stand side by side in this geographical "centre of indifference."

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* See Lactantius. De Falsa Religione. Book I. 5.

† See Tusculanarum Quæstionum. Book I. ii. 12. Senecæ Epistolæ, 102, 24. Taciti Annalium, xvi. 19—34.

‡ Vol. I. Book I. ch. i. p. 27.

In the confluence and interfusion of opinion thus generated, Judaism, the essential and primary principle in Christianity, came into direct contact with its Hellenic element. The energies of the Jewish nation had revived under the liberal policy adopted by the Syrian and Egyptian successors of Alexander the Great. "The former planted Jews even in the strongholds of Egypt and Africa, and founded the Jewish colony at Cyrene."† Gradually the Jew became familiarized with the results of Greek erudition.

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* Jowett's "St. Paul's Epistles," vol. i. p. 454.

† "The Mutual Influence of the Christian Doctrine and the School of Alexandria." By John George Witt, p. 3.

Under Ptolemy Philometor (181-146) a combination of Greek philosophy with Hebrew dogma is said to have been attempted by Aristobulus, a learned Jew who appears to have imposed on himself the laborious task of reconciling the teaching of Aristotle with the legislation of Sinai or the effusions of Hebrew prophecy.* His enterprise, whatever it was, proved abortive. At a later period, however, a successful effort to blend Greek philosophy with Jewish lore was made by Philo, whose narrative of the legation to the Emperor Caius supplies us with the surest data for the ascertainment of the epoch of his birth, B.C. 20.

Happier than his predecessor in the selection of a master in philosophy, Philo derived from the imposing mysticism of Plato the different conceptions that served to combine Greek thought with Oriental speculation. In the time of Philo an expansion of the Jewish mind had already taken place. The exclusive national God of Hebrew consciousness now assumed the universal and abstract characteristics which the distinctions of Greek philosophy suggested; the composite system which Philo matured, had, as Professor Jowett says, acquired a technical language of its own, and a corresponding mode of interpreting the Old Testament had in his age already become traditional. The allegorical method of interpretation, which possibly originated with the Pharisees of Jerusalem, had been previously employed by Aristeas and Aristobulus: and the "Wisdom of Solomon," the earliest known example of Hebrew Platonism, still survives to show us how this singular eclecticism was effected. Placing himself at the head of the contemporary intellectual movement, "Philo exercised such an influence on the religious and philosophical thought of the first centuries of our era, that it is only by his works that one can grasp the history of speculation or of Christian dogmatism." In Philo, the God of the Jews, after his secret sojourn in Alexandria, reappears invested with the metaphysical attributes of his Platonic counterpart, as the one Being comprising all other beings, "the supreme idea of all existence." The God of Philo is at once incomprehensible and extra-mundane. Separated from the world, he requires a medium by which to act upon the world. This medium is supplied by the LOGOS, or Word, and the δυνάμεις, which surround the throne of Heaven and are subsidiary to, and abide in the *Logos*. The Philonic powers are described now as principles and now as persons. They are both the equivalent of the ideas of Plato and the representatives of the angels. They also recall the emanations of Oriental philosophy. Modes of Divine existence, they intervene between God and the world purposely to connect him with it. Far more important than these subordinate entities is the Logos, the intelligible, incorporeal, and divine pattern which served the Creator as a model in constructing the visible universe. The Logos was employed by God as his instrument when he made the world. The Logos is the shadow and image of God, and is at once the archetype of the universe and the ideal or intelligible world itself. But the Logos so characterized, it is contended, is not the personal Logos of St. John, but an abstract or impersonal Logos. Now this objection seems fairly met by the consideration that Philo, always incoherent in the development of his fundamental propositions, is nowhere more so than in his statement concerning the Logos; but that, however inconsistent his language, it is impossible to deny that even if he does not attribute distinct consciousness to this mysterious entity, he at least suggests a quasi-personal existence.* If the powers subordinate to the Logos are individual agents—if, in short, they are *angels*—it is difficult to regard the archangelic Word as divested of all personality.† The attributes and epithets, moreover, accumulated in Philo's almost exhaustive vocabulary, forcibly recall the notion of *conscious* being. Thus the Logos is "a second God," the "Man of God," "the first-begotten son of God," "the angel who changed the name of Jacob, the Mediator, the Intercessor, the Paraclete." The question, however, is not so much "what was the exact teaching of Philo?" as, "was the teaching of Philo calculated to influence the theology of the Church?" The Logos of Philo is *not* the logos of Plato, but the characteristic qualities of the Platonic logos may, nevertheless, interpenetrate the conception of the Alexandrian philosopher.

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* Compare, in Smith's "Classical Dictionary," Aristobulus 3, and Philo.

Passing from the metaphysics of Philo to the historical development of Judaism, we find three principal directions of religious speculation in the Asmonæan epoch, exhibited in the three sects so familiarly known as the Pharisee, the Sadducee, and the Essene Sects. The Sadducees were the advocates of a moral and intellectual reform, the rejectors of traditional opinion, inclined to liberalism in politics and materialism in theology. Opposed to the followers of Sadoc were the Pharisees or *Separatists*, the defenders of the ancient constitution, the professors of an exalted and exclusive patriotism, and the supporters of oral tradition. These high-church exclusives were further distinguished by an ostentatious piety; an immoral casuistry of their own invention, and by the acceptance of the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, which they regarded as a legitimate development of Judaism. This doctrine, quite unknown in the primitive period of Jewish theology, was derived from a Persian source. To the same source M. de Pressensé, who is not afraid to acknowledge this extraneous influence on the Hebrew mind, refers certain modifications of dogma in the Jewish religion, instancing the elevation of the angels to the rank of cosmogonical powers. In the same way Neander points out that the Pharisees propagated a theolosophy which grew out of the fusion of Old Testament ideas with elements derived from the Zoroastrian or Persian system of religion, and at a later period (after the time of Gamaliel) with such also as had been derived from Platonism.

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* See Jowett's Essay on St. Paul and Philo, in his work on the Epistles, vol. i. p. 484.

† "And the Father who created the Universe has given to his archangelic and most ancient Word a pre-eminent gift to stand on the confines of both, and separated that which had been created from the Creator. And this same Word is continually a suppliant to the immortal God on behalf of the mortal race which is exposed to affliction and misery; and is also the Ambassador, sent by the Ruler of all to the subject race, and the Word rejoices in the gift, and exulting in it, announces it and boasts of it, saying, 'And I stood in the midst between the Lord and you;' neither being uncreate as God, nor yet created as you, but being in the midst between these two extremities, like a hostage, as it were, to both parties; a hostage to the Creator, as a pledge and security that the whole race would never fly off and revolt entirely, choosing order rather than disorder; and to the creature, to lead it to entertain a confident hope that the merciful God would not overlook his work."—*Yonge's "Philo-Judæus."* Bohn. Vol. ii. p. 134.

The third sect, that of the Essenes, represented the subjective or emotional side of human nature. The great object which the Essenes proposed to themselves was, as their name suggests, the cure of the soul. The original settlement of the Essenes of Palestine, was the quiet country lying on the western border of the Dead Sea. Hence they had spread, apparently with some modifications of doctrine and discipline, over various districts in Judæa, not only colonizing the more remote and solitary localities, but permanently establishing themselves in the villages and towns. Retiring from the storms of life and the corruptions of the world, the Essenes of the Dead Sea border constituted a kind of monastic society. They advocated the abolition of slavery and the equality of man; they recommended and practised celibacy; they proclaimed the doctrine of universal brotherhood, and of a common right to all natural productions, and exemplified the sincerity of their professions by the institution of a community of goods. The Essenes further believed in the immortality of the soul, cherished some obscure doctrine of angels, taught a peculiar method of prophecy and interpretation, specially cultivated the evangelical virtues of humility, patience, and purity, practised a Christian abstinence from oaths, maintained with loving care the aged, and charitably supported the sick. Addicted to leechcraft and the pursuit of useful knowledge, after a fashion of their own, the Essenes explored the powers of nature in order to apply them to therapeutic purposes. Their science and medical art appear to have had something of a religious character about them. In their speculation and ceremonial traces of an Oriental spirit have been recognised. The Essenes have ere now been confounded with the Egyptian Therapeutæ, which, though an error, is not an unnatural one, as both designations admit of a similar interpretation. The Essenes, in fact, may be regarded as the Therapeutæ of Judæa, and as Therapeutism proper occupied the middle point between Græco-Alexandrine Judaism and the Essenism of Palestine, so the Essenism of Palestine was itself a fresh approximation to primitive Christianity.* Perhaps the men and women described in the Gospels as waiting for the kingdom of God, had a certain affinity with the Essenes.

This idea of a theocracy or divine government, which is not without a parallel in ethnic speculation and sentiment, arose out of the traditionary belief that Jehovah was not only the God, but the political or temporal sovereign of the Jewish people. A supernatural origin has been claimed for Hebrew monotheism, but there is reason to suppose that it was the regular outgrowth of an early polytheistic creed. In a primitive age Jehovah, or the God that was afterwards identified with or superseded by Jehovah, came to be regarded as the chief of the Elohim. From a family or tribal God, Elohim, El Shaddai, or Jehovah was elevated into a national God, till in time the supreme divinity of the Jewish people was proclaimed to be the sole and exclusive divinity of mankind. Thus the severe and purified monotheism of the later Jews, commonly understood to be an extra-mundane theism in contradistinction to the pantheistic conception of pagan philosophy, is justly held to be one of the more important elements which Judaism contributed to the formation of Christianity. By the peculiar action of Jewish monotheism, a second cardinal constituent was evolved—the expectation of a great national Deliverer or Saviour. The Messianic scheme indeed was only a modification of the old theocracy. That a mysterious descendant of the house of David should restore the lost splendour of the Hebrew monarchy had long been the dream and consolation of the conquered, oppressed, or exiled Jew. In the speculations of Philo this personal "Hope of Israel" was bereft of its true value, and assumed a cosmogonical character. Yet it was still traceable, working with a rude energy in the sects of the Pharisees, and among the populace which submitted to their influence.

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* Das Christenthum, und die Christliche Kirche, &c. By Dr. H. C. Baur, p. 19.

The succeeding phase in the evolution of historical Christianity was natural, if not inevitable. The identification of a new prophet with the expected Saviour, or champion of Jewish nationality, at the moment when it was menaced with extinction, supplied the next element in the constitution of Judæo-Christianity. Thirty years of a mysteriously obscure life had already been numbered when Jesus of Nazareth assumed the office of a public teacher. Of the previous life, of the childhood and youth of Jesus, we know little or nothing. Our great Puritan poet has indulged in an imaginary picturing of what may have been a temporary phase in the mental development of the youthful Nazarene, when he thus describes his self-communion in "Paradise Regained:"—

> Victorious deeds
> Flamed in my heart, heroic acts, one while
> To rescue Israel from the Roman yoke,
> Then to subdue and quell o'er all the earth
> Brute violence and proud tyrannic sway,
> Till truth were freed and equity restored.

This early dream of victorious deeds, however, if it ever visited the soul of the saintly Jesus, soon faded before more spiritual aims, finally, if not primarily associated with a belief in his own Messianic mission, till enforced by the irresistible teaching of circumstances, the conviction did, perhaps, arise in the mind of the aspirant that the supposed prophecies contained in his country's sacred books demanded that the triumph of the Divine Kingdom should be preceded by the sacrifice of its predestined ruler. However this be, the Christianity of Jesus was of a very different type from the Christianity which it ultimately replaced. So far as we can judge from the data before us, Jesus held a theocratic faith more nearly allied to the sympathetic aspirations of the younger Isaiah, than to the exclusive monotheism of primitive times. His moral teaching, which bears an occasional resemblance to that of the Essenes, was anti-rabbinical, having for its final result the enlargement and revivification of the Mosaic law. The originality of the new Teacher consisted mainly in the earnest living re-statement of old simple truths, obscured by pedantry or overlaid by custom. Thus Jesus republished, for the Jews at least, the doctrine of a common brotherhood. He gave fresh prominence to the old Levitical injunction which enforces the love of our neighbour, and to the other great commandment which inculcates the love of God. The more liberal spirit of his teaching is shown in his modification of Sabbath observance: its spiritual character in his preference of the great moral virtues to artificial sanctity and factitious proprieties. The theocracy which, in his assumed character of

Messiah, Jesus proclaimed, was conspicuously, and only not exclusively Jewish, because he perhaps contemplated the annexation to Judæa of the outlying Gentile world, as a magnificent super-addition to the entailed inheritance. At any rate, the Jesus of the first Gospel expressly disclaims for himself the systematic universalism which is now placed to his account. In the earliest extant draught of the Gospel, he contends that he is only sent to the house of Israel, and not only does he prohibit the Twelve from acting on a wider view of the apostolic office, but he solemnly asserts that their strictly patriotic mission alone would occupy the interval between his declaration and the re-appearance of the Messiah. St. Matt. x. 6-23.

The attempted Reform of Jesus issued, as such reforms sometimes do, in immediate defeat, to be succeeded by unimagined victory. The death of the Reformer was an apparent frustration of the hopes which his career had awakened. His adherents now found themselves compelled either to abandon these hopes or reconstrue that career, as it had been commonly conceived. This reconstruing, indeed, if we follow the Synoptical narrative, had been anticipated by Jesus himself. "The kingdom of God" was postponed. The advent of the Messiah was to be repeated. Jesus was not a dead Christ, but a living Saviour. He had left the sepulchre and ascended into heaven. "Faith stronger than death," to use the emphatic expression of an accomplished scholar, "evoked the miracle of the resurrection."*

This belief in a supernatural resuscitation of Jesus, though extraordinary, is not unaccountable. It was partly the result of the peculiar logic and exegesis of the Apostolic community, and partly the consequence of actual psychological experience. The revival of Jesus was "a scripturally predicted necessity:" for Jesus was the Messiah, and the Messiah *could* not remain in the grave, *because it was written* that his flesh should not see corruption! While we are unable to admit that the so-called Messianic prophecies are really applicable to Jesus, we must still insist that early Christian teaching so considered them, and that the supposed correspondence of event with prediction was regarded as an intended correspondence by the Apostles, and appealed to by them as infallible proof. Concurrently with this singular reasoning, the psychological experience of Jewish spiritualists and ecstatics aided to generate and sustain the faith in the resurrection of Jesus. To the susceptible retina of the enthusiastic and loving women who had gazed so long on the sun of their soul that they saw his image everywhere,* it is not surprising that Jesus should appear, in that troubled crisis of their moral life. Nor need we hesitate to allow that he *did* appear, not only to the excited sense of his more immediate followers, but to the rapt gaze of the first martyr, who, perhaps, had never seen him, to the mind's eye of the dreamer at Corinth (Acts xviii. 9), and to the spiritual vision of the five hundred disciples of Galilee, or of Jerusalem.

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* "A Sketch of the Rise and Progress of Christianity." By Robert William Mackay, M.A. Chapman's Quarterly Series, p. 26.

But however it originated,† the belief in the resurrection of Jesus supplied the fulcrum of the early Christian movement. Christianity was increasingly welcomed as the religion of a remunerative future: and the triumphant and speedy return of the once suffering Redeemer became the latest form of Messianic expectancy.

So constructed, the primitive type of Christianity by no means implied a Christian universalism. The Church of the Twelve was properly a Jew church. The most prominent of the Apostles was called to account by his Jewish converts for a simple act of social intercourse with the proselyte Cornelius and his family; and the admission of Gentiles into Christian fellowship was regarded as an inexplicable instance of Divine benevolence. The first enlargement of this narrow type of Christianity is attributable to the dissension between the Hebrews and Hellenists—a circumstance which affords a remarkable illustration of the inter-action of the foreign and domestic elements in the great evolution of opinion which we have endeavoured to explain. This dissension furnished the occasion for the establishment of the Diaconate. Of the seven men who exercised this peculiar ministry, and who perhaps were all Hellenists, the foremost was the proto-martyr, St. Stephen.‡ The accusation brought against this earnest and energetic man leaves scarce a doubt remaining as to the real nature of his crime. He appears, in fact, to have maintained, in opposition to the Jewish formalists, the transitory character of the Mosaic dispensation; to have asserted religious progress in

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* See Strauss's "Leben Jesu."

† The alleged reappearance of a dead man presents an alternative—"If he was really dead he never reappeared; if he reappeared he was not really dead." We are disposed to accept the first alternative. Either is infinitely more credible than a departure from an established uniformity.

‡ As the Acts of the Apostles, however untrustworthy as a whole, appears to be based, in part, on previous narrative collections, we follow it here provisionally, in its general outline. If the story of St. Stephen be more or less mythical, it may yet embody prevalent ideas and feelings. In the same manner the account given of the persecution of the Christians by St. Paul, and of his subsequent conversion, represents, with some approach to truth, the real history of that Apostle.

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opposition to those who insisted on the old stereotyped cultus; and to have vindicated the claims of a rational and spiritual worship, in opposition to those whose "gross materialism had made a national idol" of the temple of Jerusalem. In the bold avowal of a free theology, from the lips of a man of heathen descent, we detect traces of a preliminary Catholicity. The Gospel promulgated, shortly after the death of Stephen, perhaps by the Grecian constituent alone of the Jerusalem Church, was still, in the main, communicated to Jews by the persecuted refugees, and was not, as a rule, divulged to any less favoured persons than the Hellenists of Antioch.*

A true conception of Catholic Christianity was the distinguishing merit of a young Pharisee, at once the successor and ardent persecutor of St. Stephen. The death of the martyr was the immediate cause of this religious extension. The words of St. Augustine, "*Si Stephanus non orasset, ecclesia Paulum non haberet,*" go far to explain the mystery of St. Paul's conversion. The Christian universalism of which Paul was the pre-eminent herald, could have had no more appropriate organ than the citizen of Tarsus, a Hebrew of irreproachable descent, son of a Roman freeman, and a native of a district whose schools are said to have eclipsed even those of Athens and Alexandria. Without claiming for Paul a formal acquaintance with Greek literature, we think it probable that he had, at least, some second-hand knowledge of the philosophers and poets of Greece. The citations from Cleanthes and Menander attributed to him in the New Testament are well known. "The traditions of Judaism expressly speak of Greek learning being cultivated in some of the Rabbinical schools;" and "the coincidences between Philo and St. Paul and St. John, are another evidence that such must have been the case."† Though born at Tarsus, and we presume receiving some preparatory instruction there, the young Saul was educated at Jerusalem under the auspices of Gamaliel, the most celebrated rabbi of the time, and if we may judge from his recorded intervention in favour of the Christian movement at Jerusalem, a man of a tolerant and liberal mind. His eager and enthusiastic pupil grew up with more rigid and inflexible convictions. A sincere and ardent admirer of the Jewish law, he was opposed to all innovation. M. de Pressensé, perhaps rightly divines that the severe Pharisee deeply felt that sacred self-dissatisfaction which a strong sense of personal shortcoming awakens in all that aspire to the ideal perfection of the moral law; and that the internal conflict which agitated him, combined with his passionate

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* Acts xi. 19, 20.

† "St. Paul's Epistles." Jowett. Vol. i. p. 454.

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devotion to Judaism, and the very wish to conceal from himself his own secret misgivings, contributed to make him the implacable enemy of the courageous confessor who had so outraged for him the glorious past of Israel. We will follow the French theologian in regarding this crowning act of the first persecution of the adherents of Jesus as the commencement of the crisis in St. Paul's life. Transported with rage, and tormented by inward misgivings, he abandons his student's life, and dedicates himself to the hateful work of official persecution. That a revulsion should follow in this extravagant and furious self-assertion was inevitable. That the words, that the looks of the man whom he had helped to murder, should haunt him; that Stephen's "great argument" should recur to him; that the question of the Messiahship of Jesus should at last present itself to his perplexed and misgiving mind, seems natural; and that the spiritual paroxysm should be attended with some external manifestation is what is warranted by all analogous experience. In particular the story told of the conversion of Pascal, himself the subject of a divine despair, has a certain suggestive resemblance to that told of the conversion of the young Cilician.* St. Paul's own account of that conversion, as reported in the Acts of the Apostles, is deeply instructive. A special characteristic of the office that devolved on the Twelve original emissaries of Christianity was to testify, as ocular witnesses, to the resurrection of the Crucified Jesus. Now St. Paul, especially, arrogates to himself this qualification:—"Have I not seen Jesus Christ our Lord?" (1 Cor. ix. 1.) We give the claimant entire credit for sincere belief. If there ever was an honourable enthusiast, Paul was one. But in what sense had he seen Jesus? He had seen him in a vision. In what sense could he be a witness for the *resurrection*? At best he could only certify the spiritual existence of the glorified Messiah. Paul had not seen Jesus fresh from the sepulchre in the Garden, after a seclusion of less than forty hours; he had not seen him as the Twelve are reported to have seen him; he had not seen him with the newly-inflicted wounds; he had not seen him by the way to Emmaus; he had not been led out by him to Bethany; nor had he watched him soaring cloud-wrapt from the Mount of Olives. In a word, he had not seen the Jesus of the Resurrection, nor the Jesus of the Ascension, but the Jesus of the Exaltation. And how had he seen him? As he saw him at Corinth (Acts xviii. 9); as he saw him at Jerusalem (xxiii. 11) and as he saw him "in the third heaven," in Paradise, in "visions and revelations of the Lord" (2 Cor. xii.). In fact, the appearance to St. Paul, though real was subjective, and so far as his evidence goes he knows only of a *risen* Saviour by inference, and he gives us no indication that he recognised any distinction between his Christophany and that of the Twelve.

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* The story to which we refer is the following:—"One fête day, probably in October or November, 1654, he was driving a carriage, drawn by four or six horses, on the Pont de Neuilly; the leaders suddenly took fright, ran away, and swerving from their course at a point where no balustrade protected the road, fell into the river. The traces broke at the critical moment, and the carriage, with its occupant, remained safe upon the verge. Upon a sensitive mind, especially if already oscillating between the religious and the worldly life, such an adventure could not have been without its effect." It is said, accordingly, that God, to take away from Pascal the vain love of science to which he had returned, caused him to have a vision, and the document which he constantly wore about his person, and which his servant discovered after his death, seems to corroborate the statement. In that document we have first a reference to the *year* of grace 1654. Monday, 28th of November, St. Clement's day, the *hour* about half-past ten at night to about half-past twelve. Then follows the mysterious word Fire, followed, in its turn, by a seeming proclamation of belief in the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob, not of philosophers and savans.—See both stories in Dr. Beard's "Port Royal," with his comments thereon.

As a belief in the resurrection of Jesus was the theoretical support and moral inspiration of the Galilæan theology, so a conviction of the reality of that resurrection was the origin and basis of the Pauline system. The evangel of Paul, however, was different from that of the original Apostles: and out of its broader, freer spirit arose that catholic Christianity, which to say the least, was at first an uncontemplated development of the gospel of Peter and his associates. For this reason the courage and self-devotion of the new Apostle were either unacknowledged or combated, perhaps by the collective church at Jerusalem, certainly by a large and influential section of it. What was the attitude of the Twelve to the *soi-disant* Apostle, and what was his relation to them, is a debateable question. Without advocating the extreme hypothesis of the Tübingen school,* we unhesitatingly subscribe to the general principle on which it reposes, the non-identity of St. Paul's gospel with that of the Twelve. The Apostle himself suggests such a conclusion. In the self-vindicating narrative introduced into his letter to the Galatians, Paul maintains his entire personal independence of all predecessors. He declares that he had an evangelical system of his own; that he received his gospel direct from heaven; that he was not even acquainted with the official chiefs of the Pentecostal Church, till three years or more after his conversion. From the same letter we learn that he rebuked Peter for his inconsistency, and charged him with dissimulation or hypocrisy, a dissimulation which he attributes to the influence of emissaries from James. Moreover, far from conceding the presumed superiority of the original Apostles, he treats it with contemptuous irony, alleging that while they "seemed to be somewhat," they proved utterly worthless in the discussion of the great Circumcision question. In this way Paul contradicts point blank the statements contained in the Acts of the Apostles.* That the opponents and traducers of the liberal theologian were Judaizing Christians, is evident from the testimony of the book itself. The thousands of Jew Christians at Jerusalem who were zealous of the law, were all so exasperated at the bare notion of its abrogation, that James and his presbytery, to secure their acquiescence, during Paul's visit had recourse to a compromise which it is more easy to believe that they recommended than that Paul adopted. But further, if we assume that the conversion of this Apostle took place about A.D. 39, we shall find that for a quarter of a century after the ascension of Jesus, the Twelve had disregarded his solemn injunction (if he ever gave it), to preach the Gospel to all nations, and that even at the expiration of that period the "Pillar-Apostles" (Gal. ii. 9) continued to direct their attention to the Jews, appropriating to themselves the Gospel of Circumcision, while authorizing Paul and Barnabas to promulgate among the heathen the Gospel of Uncircumcision. Unfortunately, these Gospels were, if not directly irreconcilable, yet mutually antipathetic. The antagonism of the chiefs was perhaps only occasional and unsystematic. Yet if Paul appears to recognise the credentials of the Twelve, and if the Twelve gave an ultimate sanction to his mission to the Gentiles, it is impossible to admit the absolute identity of the Petrine and Pauline gospels. Church history and Church tradition seem to confirm this view of an inherent discordance in the original versions of Christianity. Thus we are told by Eusebius that the community of faithful Hebrews was governed by an unbroken succession of fifteen circumcised bishops. So too, to avail ourselves of a passage in so conservative a critic as Mr. Maurice, there were a set of men called Ebionites (the poor men of Jerusalem, like "The poor men of Lyon"), the disciples of St. James, who existed in the first century and survived into the second, and who maintained the greatest exclusiveness towards Gentiles, preferring a circumcised disbeliever in Jesus to uncircumcised men who professed him. So again, in the Clementine Homilies, a partisan religious romance of the second century, St. Paul is made to play the part of Simon Magus, while St. Peter, by a strange theological metamorphosis, is transformed into the Apostle of the Gentiles. Even such distinguished churchmen as Origen and Chrysostom seem to admit the reality of a primitive antagonism when they explain the dispute between the Apostles at Antioch as a concerted fiction. From the existence, then, of a Pauline and Anti-Pauline party in and after the Apostolic age, of an independent Pauline gospel, of the Judaic Christianity of St. James and his elders, of the contradictions between the narrative of Paul and that contained in the Acts of the Apostles—we are justified in concluding that the doctrinal system of the Twelve was not homogeneous with that of the true founder of catholic Christianity, the noble-hearted and the larger-minded Saul of Tarsus.

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* Yet, if we do not advocate, we do not repudiate it. We owe an apology to our readers for an indecision, which a more complete acquaintance with the writings of this school might perhaps terminate. For a valuable review of the history of modern theology in general, as well as for a summary of the conclusions of the Tübingen critics, see Mr. R. W. Mackay's recently published work, *The Tübingen School and its Antecedents.*

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* Compare Gal. ch. i. and ii. with Acts ch. ix. xi. 30, and xv.

The fundamental principle of the Pauline system is its generic universality. The sentiment of Paul, like that of Plutarch, virtually overthrows the barrier of national and individual exclusiveness. With him there is neither Greek nor Jew, neither bond nor free, neither male nor female, but all are one in Christ Jesus (Gal. iii. 28); as splendid a recognition of personal worth as perhaps any theological scheme can readily admit. The Pauline universality is of course prejudiced by the impurity of the source from which his theology was derived. The very assumptions that grew out of St. Paul's position compelled him to see in Judaism an appropriate point of departure, to accept, though not without a certain feeling of social interdependence, the historical foundation which the hereditary religion supplied. Hence the universality of a theological system offering a universal redemption, involved the doctrine of a universal fall. The Father of our common humanity, if assimilated to the divinity of Hellenic or Alexandrian culture, was also invested with the attributes of the God of patriarchal tradition. To the Hebrew monotheism which St. Paul so largely contributed to diffuse in Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy, was superadded another doctrine, also of Jewish derivation. As the national God was elevated into the God of the whole human race, so the national Messiah was promoted to a corresponding universality. Out of these two cardinal dogmas grew a fuller doctrinal development—the peculiarly Pauline doctrine of reconciliation with God, not through the attainment of an ideal moral perfection which is impossible, but through faith in a personal though supermundane Saviour, the mysterious infuser of a holier life or principle of life in human consciousness, which brings with it freedom from legal coercion and remorse, internal peace, transcendent hope, and beneficent love. The Pauline theology, which further included the subsidiary doctrines of Predestination, of Grace, and Nature, and their reciprocal opposition, together with the subordination of the human heart to the regenerating action of an indwelling spirit, was in sufficient correspondence with the moral wants and intellectual tendencies of the age. It represented the craving of Polytheism for the Creator and Father of the universe, who is hard to find and impossible to reveal—the one true Being of Plato; the First Mover or Eternal Reason of Aristotle. It reflected in its doctrine of prescience and predestination, the vague sentiment of an overruling Fate, of a divine purpose and law. It offered in the life of Jesus a touching example of personal goodness and devotion; it offered in his death a satisfaction for the instinctive demand for sacrifices inherent in every inchoate system of religion. It proposed a remedy to those whom a noble self-discontent had made painfully sensible of their moral defects, or whom dissolute conduct had stained, or appalling crime had terrified in the presence of their holy Ideal. It tended to reduce a growing multiplicity to a harmonious unity. Representing God as at once the father of men and of the Redeemer of men, and that Redeemer as his only son and the elder brother in the human family, it was in unison with the growing sense of a fraternal relation, with the desire for spiritual intercommunication and with the aspiration to a personal immortality.

If the natural theology of Paul, that the invisible attributes of God are legible in the works of creation, coincided with that of Aristotle, of Plato, of Socrates and Cicero,* his idealization of Christ partially harmonized with the Philonic conception of the Logos. The first man of St. Paul, who is of the earth earthy, and the second man who is the Lord from heaven, have their parallels in the earthly and heavenly man of Philo's contrast. In the Rock in the wilderness which St. Paul mystically identifies with Christ, Philo had already seen a symbol of the WISDOM, *i.e.*, the Logos of God. So, too, the ministration of angels in the legislation of Sinai; the strife of body and soul; the distinction between the carnal mind and the rational (or spiritual); the allegorical treatment of the patriarchal story; the milk for babes, and the strong meat for men; the contemplation of God as in a mirror, and the celebration of the fairest graces of the soul, faith, hope, and love, are common alike to Philo and St. Paul, and serve to bring out the meaning of M. de Pressensé's position that wise and good men had a forefeeling of the coming religion, that, in short, Christianity was in the air.

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* Compare Rom. i. 20, with Arist. "De Mundo," ch. vi., *πασὴ θνητὴ φύσει γενόμενος ἀθεώρητος ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐργων θεωρεὶται ὁ θεος.* See Jowett's "Epistles," vol. ii., p. 59.

With St. Paul's fine moral and intellectual qualities were combined numerous mental defects and excesses, which we do not forget, though we forbear to specify. Not only was the value of his religious construction purely transitory, but its continued transmission, as auxiliary to human progress, scarcely presented itself, either as duty or as doctrine, to his preoccupied imagination. Paul, though he saw in Christianity an advance on Mosaic legislation and Pagan theology, anticipated no extended future for it. For him, as for the other Apostles, the advent of the Messiah was a constantly expected and never distant event.*

Thus, while the general success of Christianity may partly be accounted for by the opportuneness of its doctrine, its earlier triumph was largely dependent on the emotional excitement produced by the vivid expectation of the immediate return of Christ, as the Messianic judge and king. For it is, Mr. J. S. Mill observes, "a psychological law, deducible from the most general laws of the mental constitution of man, that any strong passion renders us credulous as to the existence of objects suitable to excite it." It was the magnificent perspective afforded by the dream of the New Jerusalem, of the Millennial reign, of terrestrial glorification or supermundane felicity, that kindled the enthusiasm, that intensified the faith, that sustained the ardour of the primitive church. Of the nature and extent of these Messianic expectations, and of the mental inebriety which they promoted, we have an immortal description left us by the author of that glorious burst of poetical fanaticism, the Apocalypse. Nor was the exile of Patmos the only noteworthy expectant of the Millenarian kingdom. Cerinthus, Papias, Justin, Melito, Irenæus, and Tertullian were all Chiliasts. Indeed, it was not till the disappearance of the generation contemporary with the Apostles, that the doctrine of a proximate and personal return was attenuated into a spiritual Advent or postponed to an indefinite future.†

The composition of the Apocalypse indicates a crisis in the development of Christian dogmas.

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* M. de Pressensé's partial candour on this point is very edifying. He allows that in the commencement of his apostolical career, Paul, like all other Christians, *did* look forward at the end of a few years to the personal return of Jesus. He even goes so far as to cite the 'Ημεῖς οἱ ζῶντες ("we who are alive") of 1 Thess. iv. 17, in evidence of his assertion that Paul believed this return would take place in his own lifetime; yet he contends that the Apostle, in virtue of some new light which dawned on him in his Roman dungeon, understood before his death, that centuries would be accorded to the Church for the prosecution of her missionary work. This opinion is the more singular, as in the letter to the Philippians, to which our author appeals in its support, the writer reannounces the orthodox eschatological doctrine, "The Lord is at hand," ch. iv. 5.

† See Mackay's "Rise and Progress," p. 67.

A gradual enhancement of the dignity of the reputed Founder of Christianity accompanied the progress of the new religion. The son of mortal parents, recognised as the Messiah, received the theocratic title of the Son of God. This titular relationship graduated into a more substantive affinity, and the semi-divine character of the offspring of Mary was asserted in the dogma of the miraculous conception. The author of the First Epistle of St. Peter supposes the prophetic spirit to be the spirit of Christ; and St. Paul (2 Cor. iii.) identifies Jesus with that spirit. The latter appears also to ascribe to him pre-existence, and invests him with the attributes of the Logos (1 Cor. viii. 6, x. 4; 2 Cor. iv. 4). In the Apocalypse, superadded to other glorifying appellatives, some of which also suggest, if they do not assert, an antemundane life, Jesus bears the title of the Word of God, and appears as the Christian religion (Rev. i. 9) personified.* The Logos, however, of the Apocalypse, though it may be regarded as a faint adumbration of the Logos of the Fourth Gospel, *is certainly not* identical with it.

In the Epistle to the Hebrews, in which the speedy coming of Christ is still anticipated, Jesus is distinctly recognised as a pre-existent and superhuman being, and the name of God, though not in the ecclesiastical acceptation of the term, is accorded him. Barnabas, in the first century, affirms the ante-mundane characteristics of Christ; and Hermas, early in the second, asserts that he was before every creature, that he sustains the world, and that the Holy Spirit is his essence. Justin, before the middle of the second century, refers all the old theophanies to Christ, and palpably teaching the doctrine of Philo, declares Jesus to be the Logos, and the Logos to be God. This Logos doctrine received a final consecration by its systematic adoption into the theology of the author of the Fourth Gospel. Thus, in the first or Petrine type of the Gospel, the Messianic dignity rises only to the height of a glorified humanity; in the Pauline type Christ assumes a transcendental character; in the Johannean, which represents an Oriental Paulinism, Christ receives a further exaltation, being regarded, not indeed as the absolute God, but as a divine person.

The question of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel thus becomes a question of paramount importance. It is usually attributed to John, the son of Zebedee, though it seems quite gratuitous to identify the writer of the Gospel with the eyewitness to whom he appeals. Historical evidence in favour of the commonly received date is altogether deficient. The Gospel receives its first decided recognition, as the production of St. John, from Theophilus of Antioch (A.D. 172), being, in the opinion of competent critics, not even cited by Justin (who, however, distinctly ascribes the Apocalypse to John); and in spite of Bunsen's counter asseveration, the allusions in the Philosophumena with which Basileides and Valentinus are personally accredited, seem rightly regarded as inconclusive. Where external evidence fails, we necessarily fall back on internal evidence; and internal evidence goes far to prove that the Fourth Gospel is a post-apostolic production. For the grounds of this conclusion we must content ourselves with referring to the writings of F. C. Baur and Dr. Adolf Hilgenfeld, and assuming that it was not extant in the first century, indicate as briefly as we can the age and circumstances which best correspond with its publication. After the heavy discouragement of the Messianic expectations of the Jews under Vespasian, and still more after their final extinction under Hadrian, the Pauline form of Christianity, which was independent of the law, the temple, or the Holy City, acquired perpetually increasing consideration and importance. The conception of the Messiahship became gradually enlarged, in accommodation to intellectual and spiritual requirements. The universal revelation demanded an organ of corresponding universality. The most appropriate, as the most familiar expression for an absolute Messiah, the mediator or communicator of that revelation, was supplied by the Alexandrian school. Previously known in the more Judaic section of the Church only as the Word of God, Jesus now became God the Word, a very different conception. The Johannean gospel is a revision and expansion of the original Pauline gospel, and a preparation for a still more developed Catholicism. The narrowness and exclusiveness of a more primitive type are no longer to be found in the advanced state of Christian consciousness. The Jewish nation is only in a modified sense the peculiar people. The Jews of the Fourth Gospel appear as ideal unbelievers, and belong to a surrendered foretime, while the Greeks and Samaritans, equally unhistorical, symbolize the now favoured and less incredulous Gentile world. God is no longer the God of the Jews, but the true or absolute God; the Father of the Logos, or absolute Reason, his pre-existent and transcendental associate. Christian thought became thus gradually elevated, in consequence of the speculative tendencies of the times, and, partly at least, was moulded into shape by the external pressure of Gnosticism. Gnosis may be said to have accompanied, or indeed to have preceded Christianity—since it virtually originated in an Alexandrian modification of Judaism. The more reflective Jews of Alexandria, rejecting the anthropomorphic representations of the Old-Testament God, and anxious "to reconcile faith with philosophy, had recourse to allegorical interpretation and a machinery of intermediate beings."* Thus Jehovah retired from contact with an impure world into the silent recesses of eternity, and the angel of the Lord, or the Word, his first-begotten, became his recognised agent.

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* In accordance with the Jewish tendency to derive a permanent name from an accessory circumstance, as the Messiah was called "Anani," because he was to come in the clouds. See the *Leben Jesu*, by Strauss.

To fill up the void produced by the removal of the Supreme Being, Philo invented the POWERS, the saviours and defenders of creation, whose only suitable dwelling is in the Logos of God. In Philo, too, we have not only the Demiurgus or Creator, and his Word, the instrument of creation, but we find also a recognition of theosophical science or gnosis under the mystical form of Faith. Gnosticism, considered as an expansion and application of the earlier gnosis, is at once Alexandrian, Jew, Greek, and Christian. An indeterminate gnosis perhaps struggled into existence in Jewish ground. Possibly Cerinthus is rightly regarded as the first historically ascertainable Gnostic. His object seems to have been, not the abrogation, but the spiritualization of the Law. If we may believe Irenæus and Hippolytus, he taught that Christ, descending from the principality which is above all, entered into a mysterious union with Jesus at his baptism, but deserted him before his crucifixion. It would seem that Cerinthus also distinguished the Unknown Father revealed through Christ, from the Maker of the world. There is no Logos mentioned in the short abstracts of his theory given by Irenæus or the author of the Philosophumena. In the pre-Valentinian Ophite system, the Father is the Intelligence, whose symbol is the serpent. Of this Intelligence Jesus Christ, the invisible Word and perfect image of the celestial Adam, is the product. In the three remaining systems we find three principles. In that of the Peratæ, the Word or Serpent, or the eternal uncreated light which appeared in Jesus Christ, and which, in his brazen symbol, healed those who came out of Egypt; while the material principle produces only corruption and death. In the Sethian system the Triad consists of Light or Spirit, Darkness or Matter, and their intermediate, the Creative Breath. This indeterminate Gnosticism was succeeded by the methodized speculations of Basileides, Valentinus, and Marcion. The first of these celebrated heresiarchs promulgated his doctrines, probably in Alexandria, in or about A.D. 125. Basileides, like Philo, had an emanation theory—an absolute God, a Ruler presiding "over the entire earthly course of this world, over the whole purifying process of nature and history," as an agent of the absolute God, and a Redeemer in the Spirit sent from the absolute God, and united with the man Jesus at his baptism. Basileides further maintained the existence of a pervading antithesis of which the correspondents were light and darkness, life and death, soul and matter, goodness and evil. He seems to have differed from other Gnostics in his estimate of Faith, which he considered as a higher principle than Knowledge. He taught that the universe is the temple of God; that there is no such thing as a dead nature; but that everything has a tendency from below upward, from what is worse to what is better; and that love must embrace all, because all things maintain a certain relation to all. Valentinus, who was probably of Jewish descent and a native of Egypt, studied at Alexandria, and settled at Rome in the episcopate of Hyginus, about A.D. 140. Like Philo and Basileides, he isolated the Supreme Being. He replaced the POWERS of his predecessor with ETERNAL EXISTENCES whom he called Æons.* These Æons, thirty in number, were male and female, that is, active and passive principles. In their collective capacity they constituted the Pleroma, the Fulness or Plenitude,—the realization of Philo's imperfect corresponding conception of the Logos as the only suitable residence of his angels or Powers. The Valentinian systems varied. In its pure Pythagorean form, Valentinianism maintained that originally nothing existed but the Father, unbegotten and independent of place and time. Dissatisfied with his solitary existence, the Father, being all Love, and Love not being Love unless there is something beloved, produced as his offspring Mind and Truth. In the common Valentinian system the invisible Forefather coexists with Thought, who is also known as Silence and Grace. To manifest himself to the Æons, the Supreme Being employs the intervention of the *Only Begotten*, who is likewise known as *Mind* and *Beginning*, and whose consort is Truth. The *Word* and his associate *Life* form the third conjunction in the first Ogdoad of Æons; and *Man* and the *Church* are the fourth and completing conjunction.

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* Mackay's "Rise and Progress of Christianity," p. 110.

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* "Clemens Alexandrinus states that Æon represents at once and unites as it were in a single instant all the parts of time, the past, the present, and the future. Æon is defined by Gieseler to mean, in its Gnostic application, "developments of the Divine essence, which, as being such, are raised above the limitations of time." See "Mutual Influence of Christian Doctrine, &c.," by John George Witt, p. 70.

Mr. Maurice, calling attention to the dualism in nature, "each thing in our universe seems as if there were something else that corresponded to it, and was necessary to complete it," continues, "Valentinus had observed this truth and had meditated upon it as we all should. He traced it through nature, and through the relations of man with man, and of man with his Maker. . . . . Valentinus spoke of Æons, or spiritual substances, as distinguished from forms that are clothed with matter. Such powers there must be; it is impossible to contemplate the world without acknowledging them. Those who try to resolve all things into the effects of mere mechanism, are bewildered every moment, and fall into countless superstitions. We cannot speak of Righteousness, or Wisdom, or Truth, as the apostles and prophets speak of them, without feeling that they are spiritual substances; that they are realities which lie beneath our thoughts, not notions which our thoughts create."—*Lectures on the Ecclesiastical History of the First and Second Centuries*, p. 225, 226.

Was Valentinus a greater mystic than the noble-minded and accomplished writer who speaks so eloquently of the great heresiarch's "beautiful observations" and "glorious syzigies" [conjunctions]?

After what has been said, it seems impossible to overlook the striking correspondence between the language of the prologue of the Fourth Gospel and the terminology of the three first antitheses of the Valentinian Ogdoad. Either the heresy suggested the prologue, or the prologue furnished the materials for the heresy.* The latter alternative, however, is entirely precluded by the polemical character of the introductory protest. It presupposes an existing system, which it seeks to supersede, not by direct antagonism, but by a sort of diplomatic appropriation, giving orthodox Christianity the credit of those predicates in Gnostic vocabulary which had already become popular. Thus it identified Christ with the Logos, it entitled him the *Only Begotten;* it referred to him the principle of *Life;* it celebrated his *Pleroma* or *Fulness;* it emphasized the *Grace* and *Truth* which were the distinctive attributes of the Messiah; and perhaps replaced "the Beginning" of the heretic with an orthodox Beginning of its own.†

But this is not all. The Johannean revision of the Gospel includes another important element in the theological scheme besides that of the Logos doctrine. The Paraclete now appears for the first time in canonical narrative as a third element of a Divine Triad. The genesis of the Paraclete is, perhaps, not difficult to trace. In Philo, the term is used for the most part in a subjective reference, but in one passage the Son, *i.e.* the Logos, is designated Paraclete. So, in the First Epistle of St. John, which was, perhaps, of prior date to the Gospel, Christ is said to be our Paraclete with the Father; and this functional precedence on the part of Jesus seems distinctly recognised in the "other Paraclete" of the Gospel of St. John (xiv. 16). In the Valentinian system, Paraclete is the name of one of the thirty Æons. It is also the designation of the last Æon, Soter or Saviour; and it is remarkable that this Æon, the equivalent of the redeeming Christ of St. John, is said to come to the relief of the mundane soul, and, not unlike the *first* Paraclete of the Gospel, is described as "returning to the Pleroma." The Paraclete of Valentinus is so different from that of St. John, that it is scarcely possible to conceive that the Gnostic borrowed it from the Christian. With the former, as Hilgenfeld remarks, the term is unappropriated, is now given to one Æon now to another, whereas the Holy Spirit, so far as we know, appears only as the associate of Christ. While in the system of Valentinus we find no recognition of a new epoch of revelation, the Johannean Gospel determinately and exclusively applies the title of Paraclete to the Holy Ghost. Its author thus presupposes the completion of the Valentinian Gnosis, and the commencement of a rudimentary spiritualism, if not of Montanism proper. With Hilgenfeld, then, we may regard it as substantially representing the transition from the complex speculation of Valentinus to the simpler form of religious doctrine taught by Marcion.* In this Gospel, written probably in the Valentinian period, A.D. 120-155, or soon after, we have a humanitarian recast of Christianity. The Jewish people, though in some sense the appanage of the Messiah, is now regarded as having forfeited its superiority, through a radical incapacity for the Divine; while the Gentile world is brought into a nearer relation to Christ. The historical appearance of the Logos introduces the pure and absolute religion, the religion, professedly, of universal love. The withdrawal of the Logos prepares, in the community of the faithful, a sphere of action for a new principle, the spirit of Truth, the personified, or, as Hilgenfeld contends, the Personal Paraclete. In the eternal Father, the Divine Word, and the informing and consoling Spirit of the new Gospel, we have, if not a Trinity, at least the adumbration of a Trinity. Indeed it is scarcely too much to say, that we may find in this amended edition of the Gospel a sanction for the subsequent ecclesiastical catholicism, including the sacramental system, the Apostolical succession, and sacerdotal absolution.

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* The account given of the Gnostic heresy by the author of the "Philosophumena," while inconclusive as to the anterior existence of the Gospel, is decidedly favourable to the originality of Valentinus. He insists that this heresiarch derived his system not from the Scriptures, but from the speculations of Plato and Pythagoras, through the rather equivocal Simon of Gitta. See "Philosophumena." Miller, Oxford, p. 90. Irenæus admits the polemical character of the Proëm of the Gospel called St. John's.

† In a passage in the "Commentaries on St. John," Origen says, "One would not be wrong in calling the Father of the universe a Beginning, if one clearly fell into the notion that the Father was the beginning of the Son, and the Demiurgi the beginning of Demiurgic efforts, and absolutely God the beginning of existences; for in confirmation of this we read, In the beginning of the Logos, meaning thereby the Son, who is said to be in the beginning, as being in the Father," clearly hereby stating, as the Valentinians, that Beginning (ἀρχη) is a Person.—Quoted, with trivial alterations, from Mr. Witt's Essay "On the Mutual Influence of Christian Doctrine and the School of Alexandria," p. 54.

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* Marcion appears to have rejected the emanation-system altogether, while, on the other hand, his opposition to Judaism is more complete than that of the so-called St. John.

Thus the influence of Gnostic speculation penetrated into the Christian sanctuary. The fourth evangelist, more simple and practical than Marcion, and more sober and meditative than Montanus, reproduced the two central ideas of contemporary metaphysics, the Logos and the Paraclete doctrines, in a purified, humanized, and intelligible form. Nor was this the only mode in which speculation acted on Christianity. The anthropomorphous Jehovah of the Old Testament was regarded by the Gnostic, and indeed by the Alexandrian, as an inferior deity, and not as the Supreme and absolute God. Philo had already attributed the presence of evil in the creation of man, to the employment of subordinate ministers. Valentinus repeated this conception when he affirmed that the universe was created by the Demiurge with the assistance of his Æons. In thus creating it, the Demiurge is said to act unconsciously according to the will of the Father; and the world and its deputed maker to be united in the formation of one ideal pattern, in precisely the same way as the Logos and his Universe are united in that of Philo. This notion of a creative power, inferior to the Supreme God, was at least represented in the Christian speculation of the three first centuries by all who believed in the personality of the Logos, and who referred the creation of the world immediately, though not solely, to this divine agent. For with them the "fons et origo" of divinity was still, as in Justin Martyr, the Creator, though distinguished from the derivative God who appeared to the Patriarchs. Thus Tertullian reasons:—"How can it be that God the Omnipotent, the Invisible, whom no man hath seen or can see, who dwells in light inaccessible, walked in the evening in Paradise, seeking Adam; and shut the door of the Ark after Noah had entered, and cooled himself under an oak with Abraham, and called Moses from a burning bush. These things would not be credible concerning the Son of God if they were not written; perhaps they would not be credible concerning the Father if they were." Tertullian, as is well known, was a Montanist, or Latter-day Saint. A philosophical religion, or Christian Gnosis, was cultivated by Clement of Alexandria, and the illustrious Origen, whom Jerome pronounces to be, next after the Apostles, the master of the churches. The Platonic character of their conceptions and language, and the allegorical system of interpretation advocated by Origen, exemplify the action which the metaphysical and scholastic thought of the period exerted on Christianity.

Modifying the earlier conception of the Christian faith which included the immediate return of the Messiah, outgrowing the millenarian views of the first century, and their revival under Montanus in the second, the religion founded by Jesus, and reconstructed and amplified by St. Paul, ultimately acquired a complete ascendancy over the polytheistic theology of the State. The Messiah of the Jewish people became the Saviour of the world. The anticipation of his advent, and the accompanying catastrophe, the universal judgment, indefinitely adjourned, assumed a nobler, because a less material character. All the aspirations and apprehensions of our common humanity were emancipated from the bondage of a restrictive faith, as the horizon of the new religion gradually receded beyond the utmost bourne of human thought. The eternal compensations were postponed to a remote and mysterious future. Expectation ceased to be strained; enthusiasm sobered down; faith became more domestic, and morality more secular. So Christianity won its way from shame and persecution to glory and conquest.

The triumph of the Christian religion is at least as explicable as any other complex phenomenon. It was the "representative" religion of the period, gradually embodying prevailing beliefs, or giving expression to the unuttered thoughts of men, or stimulating their minds with some alluring imagination. It was a popular reform working with popular organs. Its victory lay partly in its own strength, partly in the weakness of antagonist religions, partly even in its inherent imperfection. It was not too philosophical for a superstitious age, not too æthereal for "human nature's daily food." With four opposition creeds to conquer, it conquered all, and essentially with spiritual weapons.

Neither the victory nor the defeat is difficult to explain. When the new religion appeared, Idolatry or Polytheism was already superannuated: necessarily and deservedly so; for it represented a lower stage of civilization and culture. Reflection, aided by scientific discovery, was fast discrediting the celestial ochlocracy, when St. Paul taught monotheism to the people of Asia Minor. Hundreds of years before, Pindar had protested against the barbarities and absurdities of the Greek mythology, Athenian philosophy had inaugurated a new era of moral and intellectual speculation. The mental vision, turned in on the mind, had contemplated the mysterious revelation of conscious existence till the nobler natures, dissatisfied with the current views of life and society, consumed with doubt or hardened into stoicism, a result of the practice of the Socratic, Γνῶθι σεαυτόν.

Similarly, the study of the external order and symmetry led despondent scepticism to a denial of all divinity, or suggested to pious belief the unity of the Divine nature and government. Thus to select a brilliant example from the latter category, the first orator of the world's capital, kindling with the greatness of the thought into something like prophetic utterance, announced—"Nor will there be one law at Athens, and another at Rome; one now, and another hereafter; but one eternal, immutable law will embrace all nations, and at all times; and there will be one common Master and ruler of all—God, the originator, expositor, and enactor of the law."* With the double preparation thus secured for it, in the decline of Idolatry and its ethical influence and in the development of a monotheistic faith and a purer moral consciousness, Christianity slowly but surely triumphed over a mythology which no longer harmonized with men's intellectual condition; which offered no Ideal of morality, and supplied no rule of life. Equally inevitable were its triumphs over the philosophical revisions of the State religion. The stoical pantheism represented by Marcus Aurelius, with its proud self-reliance and its cold intellectualism; the Neo-Pythagorism illustrated in Apollonius of Tyana, not deficient in moral purity, but implicated in theurgical practices, and degenerating into charlatanism; and the Neo-Platonism of Ammonias Saccas and Porphyry, with its abstruse metaphysics, its mysticism, its ecstasy, its cynicism, and its astrology, were not sufficiently intelligible or practical to rally the distracted intellects or weary hearts of common-sense and commonplace humanity. And thus ere the decision of the contest for the sovereign mastership between Licinius and Constantine led to the establishment of Christianity as the religion of the State, it had already obtained a virtual triumph. On his assumption of undivided power, the astute ruler of the world discerned in its doctrinal unity and episcopal organization, an available machinery for the conduct of society and government. Accordingly, the Imperium Romanum was replaced by Christendom: the political ideal denoted by the term *Romanity*,† by the social ideal supplied by Christianity, and the incorporation which the Roman Conquest had failed to complete, was consummated by the Religion of the Crucified, in in its new and double capacity of armed missionary and imperial chief.

Again, Christianity succeeded, partly because it led the rationalism of the age without being too much ahead of it, and partly because it met the aspirations of a meditative and intensely conscious humanity for a higher ideal and a holier life. For the knowledge of self, which the Greek sage had taught, it substituted the knowledge of God, the Christian Γνῶθι σεαυτον.* With its monotheism it satisfied an intellectual want, with its ethics it satisfied a moral want. One source of its success lay in the authority accruing to it from the historical apparatus which its origin supplied. In an age of inflamed expectation, it arose in the country which was, so to speak, the native land of a forward-looking hope. Securing itself two important pre-requisites of existence, it first appeared at a time in which its claims would not be too sharply challenged and in a locality in which its pretensions would not be too severely scanned. Christianity had, moreover, the prestige of hoar antiquity to introduce and sustain its assumptions. The value of a recognised sacred literature is supreme, its efficacy almost magical. It is at once a court of appeal, a laboratory of doctrine, a record of judgments: it bespeaks attention, inspires confidence, silences objections, and overawes doubt: it supplies a rallying point to scattered speculation, and serves as an obvious and authoritative reference. True of all acknowledged sacred literatures, this is especially true of the sacred literature of the Jews. The Hebrew Bible, generally accessible through the Septuagint translation, acquired a pre-eminent influence as the great oracle and consulting book of the early Christian period; exciting and confirming hope, affording a basis for a new creed, suggesting an effective historical fulcrum, inviting religious enterprise by awakening local, personal, and national enthusiasm; and, when the fact did not correspond with the prediction, promptly admitting of the necessary accommodation through the evasiveness of its archaic rhetoric or the ductility of its mystical prognostication. It was by aid of this elastic exegesis that the failure of the first Messianic expectation came to be represented as a magnificent success. The further postponement of theocratic triumph, the adjournment of the Advent and the reign of the Saints, led to the identification of the Jewish Messiah with the Divine Word of the Alexandrian theorists, to the organization of a Third Principle, and finally to the inclusion in one essence of the absolute Being of Platonic speculation, the Logos of Philo and the Gnostics, and the Paraclete of the Montanist or Pre-Montanist. The historical monotheism of Judæa was the congenial soil from which Christianity drew its initial strength; the institution of prophecy gave it an important vantage-ground in the Messianic Hope; and the compact body of Hebrew literature supplied it with ready-made "Outlines of History," with material for dogma, authority for assertion, sanction for practice, and a logical method, (the assumed necessary coincidence of event with prediction, on the plea that "so it was written,") such as are unparalleled in the records of literary influence.

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* Quoted by Lactantius from third book of Cicero's "Republic," Div. Inst. vi. 8. "Pœne divina voce depinxit" is the expression of the Christian apologist. See also "Colenso on the Pentateuch."

† See Amédée Thierry.

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* Τουτ' ἔστι τὸ Γνῶθι σεαυτὸν, ἐπιγνους τον πεποιηκότα Θεόν, κ. τ. λ.—*Philosophumena.* E. Miller. p. 339.

The triumph of Christianity was further promoted by its popular or demonstrative character. The religion of the philosopher was intellectual and patrician; the religion of the Christian was spiritual and republican. Founded by a carpenter, proclaimed by fishermen, republished by a scholar who voluntarily accepted the condition of a working man (Acts xviii. 3), it addressed the glad tidings of social renovation to the poor, the persecuted, the despised; to the fallen, the ignorant, and the criminal. Springing from the people, it became the religion of the people, of the "vile artisan," of the slave, of the woman, of the child. Appealing to the multitude, it virtually asserted the sacred rights of individualism, vindicating the claims of reason in its hostility to idolatry; of conscience, in its appeal to the feeling of personal responsibility; of sentiment, in its recognition of love, hope, and faith, as the crowning duties of Christian humanity. In giving prominence to what are called the passive virtues, it aided in the development of the gentler or feminine qualities of the mind; in announcing a common brotherhood, it favoured the abolition of slavery; in recognising the private judgment of the Christian wife, it elevated the marriage institution; in its attempt to evangelize the world, it showed a noble spirit of universality. To claim more for Christianity than Christianity is entitled to claim, would be a self-defeating injustice; to claim less for it than it deserves, would be ungenerous and dishonest. It is *not* true that the Christian religion alone has extirpated slavery, where slavery has ceased to exist; it did not even enter a direct protest against it. It is *not* true that it has adequately comprehended the relation of the sexes, or that it principally has ennobled the love of man and woman. But it is true that it has contributed to the amelioration of the slave's lot, and even to his gradual enfranchisement: it is true that it has given a dignity to the wife and a consecration to the home. Finally, it is true that it has improved the general condition of women in private as in public. In all these aspects Christian morality has wor[illegible] continued the great work of human development which Greek culture and Roman politics so grandly inaugurated.

The chief intellectual service that Christianity has rendered the world is one which it shares with secular philosophers and Pagan sophists. The direct cultivation of the reasoning faculties was an inevitable consequence of the war against the idolatry of the ancients. To establish the existence of "the one common Master and Ruler of all," it was necessary to destroy the already failing belief in a multiplicity of supernatural agents. Polytheism was but little favourable to the study of nature.* Christian monotheism permitted its partial contemplation as a means of better appreciating the beneficent arrangements of Creative wisdom. Thus, while emancipating the intellect from the perplexities and contradictions of a belief in conflicting, superfluous, and lawless deities, Christianity aided in rendering scientific investigation less difficult, by substituting a unity of divine intervention for the more obstructive and jealous plurality of Polytheistic superintendence.

A characteristic merit of the religion first taught by Jesus in the corn-fields and on the hill-tops of Judæa, is its unrelenting hatred and systematic discouragement of vice and crime, and its enforcement of moral obligation. The frantic licentiousness of an idolatrous civilization, the abominations of Cotytto and Isis, the horrible sensual sins of the resplendent Athens and the majestic Rome, the barbarous cruelty of the amphitheatre, the loathsome indecency of literature, were all directly combated or indirectly discountenanced by the spirit and practice of a religion which taught that God was too pure to behold iniquity.

It is for these services and characteristics that Christianity is entitled to respect and gratitude from mankind; it is through them that it has proved its right to be regarded as a redemption and a restoration. Its ideal of holiness, its invisible God, its Omnipresent Christ—the symbol of suffering and glorified humanity, and the memorial image of self-devotion—its aspirations, through sorrow and struggle and defeat, towards a future of sinless perfection and calm eternal joy; its control of the realm of the feelings and imaginative faculty, and the solace and support which its faith in the beautiful unseen world has supplied to thousands of lonely men and women, are elements of a beneficent operation which we cannot overrate. It is true that this influence has not always been for good. Emotion has weakened intellect; imagination has betrayed reason, and enthusiasm, dreaming of heavenly bliss, has overlooked terrestrial duties. But to oppose the sensualism and materialism of Pagan civilization, Christianity had no alternative but to create in the spirit of reaction an ideal world, with ideal duties, ideal pleasures, and ideal pains. In endeavouring to counteract the vile materialism and atrocious wickedness of the old social systems, the religion of the cross, true to its origin, continued to prohibit the love of the world and the things of the world, and make an unknown and super-sensuous region the centre to which intellect, affection, and action should gravitate. A retributive paradise, it may be, was necessary to allure the saint to holiness, a retributive Tartarus "to keep the wretch in order."* Ere long a better day may dawn which will admit of a nobler, because of a less self-regarding morality; and the true disinterestedness inherent in the Christian type of character, may acquire in a future, still all too distant, a growth and energy which are now denied it by a theology whose parent principle is in true, if abstract language, the salvation of selfishness.

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* "If no t[illegible]ological unity was possible amidst the instability, isolation, and discordance of primitive observations of nature, neither could reason be satisfied amidst the contradictions of a multitude of capricious divinities when the regularity of the external world was becoming more apparent as observation extended. . . Monotheism was of immense service in disengaging the scientific spirit from the trammels imposed by polytheism. . . . When monotheism concentrated the supernatural action it opened a much freer access to secondary studies. . . . At that time the religious disposition to admiration of divine wisdom, which has since proved a retrograde influence, was promotive of scientific inquiry."—*Positive Philosophy*, vol. ii. p. 250. (Chapman's Quarterly Series.)

In this rapid review of the consecutive phases of historical Christianity, we have endeavoured to show that in its origin and development it is a perfectly natural and even inevitable phenomenon. It grew out of a long intellectual and moral preparation. It was the product of a congenial soil; it bore transplanting because everywhere it found an appropriate culture, and everywhere derived nourishment from the liberal atmosphere of popular thought and feeling. A composite growth, Christianity had yet an originality of its own. An historical construction, it drew on the Past and Present while anticipating the resources of the Future. The monotheistic creed and Messianic hope of Judæa; the resurrection-doctrine; that of the Last Judgment, and, in a mitigated form, the dualism of Persia;† the intellectual

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* Matthew xxv. 31—46.
The fear o' hell's a hangman's whip
To hand the wretch in order."—Burns.

† "On the origin of the soul it [Parsism] does not distinctly commit itself; but it treats of a resurrection of the dead and of a Last Judgment, and in terms which it might be thought must have been suggested by Christianity, had we not proof that they long antedated it."—See a notice of "Haug's Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsees," in the *Parthenon*, Nov. 1, 1862.

The Persians regarded the universe as divided into two opposite empires, the empire of light and the empire of darkness. The former was regarded as the region of pure and happy beings, over whom reigned the beneficent God, Ormuzd. The latter was the domain of evil, peopled with malignant demons under the rule of Ahriman, the envious rival of the Creator, the enormous serpent whose folds surrounded the world and poisoned all existing things. This world was conceived of as being on the confines of these two empires, the result of their commingling and strife, the seat of their warfare, a region where the beneficent God and the Principle of Evil held divided sway.

The Satan of the Jews, "the prince of this world" of Jesus and the Christians, and ethical consciousness of Greece; the abstractions of Alexandrian and Gnostic philosophy, and the universalism of the Roman conquest, all contributed by perfectly intelligible processes to the construction of the mental organism which we call Christianity. This great historical religion is thus comparable to the Soter or Saviour of Gnostic speculation, the mysterious entity that was made up of the contributions of all the other Æons; or better still, it is "the colossal man whose thoughts are the creeds and doctrines, the opinions and principles of the successive ages."

ART. II.—THE RIVAL RACES, BY EUGÈNE SUE.

The Rival Races; or, The Sons of Joel. A Legendary Romance. By EUGÈNE SUE. London: Trübner & Co. 1863.

A VERY entertaining story was published a few years ago by a well-known author, in which the hero represented, in broad caricature, the popular conception of a young Frenchman. His sensitive heart was wounded and desolated daily by our insular conceit and self-sufficiency, but the thing that annoyed him most of all was the absurd reverence of the English for their Bible. What this book was and what it contained, he neither knew nor wished to know, but he felt perfectly sure that *he* could write a Bible, all out of his own head, which should for ever silence the ridiculous claims of this sacred book of the British people. Something of the same unhesitating faith in his own powers must have inspired Eugène Sue to compose the strange book to which, in its English form, we propose to devote a few pages. There is, it seems, a Gallic no less than an Asian mystery. Its apocalypse is, or ought to be written in the "archives of the prolétaire;" these archives, however, having, unfortunately, no tangible existence, M. Sue was kind enough to undertake to supply them from the inexhaustible resources of

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is probably the Ahriman of the Persians. According to Athenagoras, a Christian Apologist of the second century, Satan was originally created an angel of light, and entrusted by God with the administration of matter and the forms of matter. Dr. Thomas Burnet, in the eighteenth century, was of the same opinion. Speaking of Satan's power at the commencement of the Christian era, he says:—"Whatever was his right or title, he seems at that time to have had possession of the world; and God being, as it were, excluded, the ordering of affairs was at the pleasure of demons."—See "Norton on the Gospels," v. ii. pp. 189—191.

his own imagination. But he did not live to complete his vast undertaking, and although in the original French the work fills nineteen volumes, "Les Mystères du Peuple" is only an unfinished fragment. The translator, fearing the effect of this dubious sounding title on English ears, has altered it into "The Rival Races," and has otherwise condensed and pruned and abbreviated to render the book presentable, as he considers it, in the shape of the ordinary three-volume novel.

The plan and purpose of this singular work may be very briefly stated. According to its theory, one short word explains all the revolutions, insurrections, and chronic agitations which fill so many pages of French history. They have all been a simple matter of RACE. The blood of the ancient Gaul flows in the veins of the modern bourgeois. France (the very name is an odious admission of conquest) properly belongs to the men who now, under an unjust and detested usurpation, keep shops and sell merchandize, and build houses for their oppressors, but whose ineradicable instinct of natural supremacy breaks out every now and then in barricades and street *émeutes*. Holding themselves proudly aloof from the detested Frank under whose grinding tyranny they have languished for centuries, these men remain true to their faith in their superior destinies, and, in the secrecy of their back-parlours, continue to cherish the traditions and to practise the religious rites that have been handed down to them from their Druidical forefathers. No attempt is made to prepare the reader for these startling revelations, and the story opens on the morning of the 23rd of February, 1848, with a conversation between a shop-boy and a servant-girl as they take down the shutters of a linendraper's shop in the Rue St. Denis. But it is not an ordinary shop, for it bears the sign,

M. LEBRENN, LINENDRAPER.
"THE SWORD OF BRENNUS."

Nor are they an ordinary boy and girl who take down the shutters; their names are Jeanike and Gildas Pakou, they come from Brittany, they speak the language of ancient Gaul, or in other words the Low Breton dialect; and Gildas illustrates his cautions against all "helmeted fellows," by relating to his terrified companion the horrible Breton legend of "The Three Red Monks." Still less are Monsieur, Madame, and Mademoiselle Valléda Lebrenn, ordinary people. The first-mentioned is cast in a heroic mould, brave, ardent, and magnanimous, with a brow of marble and a frame of iron. His wife is in every way worthy of him; calm and beautiful, gentle and wise, she betrays her descent from those illustrious matrons of whom Diodorus Siculus says, "The women of Gaul not only rival the men in stature, but equal them in greatness of soul;" and of his daughter we read:—

"Tall, robust, and strong, without being masculine, her figure was finished; the entirety and the character of that beauty caused the paternal caprice to be understood which had led to his giving his daughter the name of Valléda, the name of an illustrious woman, heroic in the patriotic annals of the Gauls. One might imagine Mademoiselle Lebrenn, her forehead crowned with oak-leaves, apparelled in a long white robe with brazen girdle, causing the golden harp of the Druids to vibrate; those admirable educators of our fathers, who, exalting them by the thought of the immortality of the soul, taught them how to die with grandeur and serenity. One might find in her again, the superb type of those women, Gauls dressed in black, *with arms so white and so strong* (as Ammianus Marcellinus says), who followed their husbands to the battle with their children in their war-chariots, encouraging the combatants with voice and gesture, mingling with them in defeat, and preferring death to slavery and disgrace."

When we add that the son, Sacrovir (upon whose name the intelligent shop-boy remarks that, "in pronouncing it, one always feels as if one were swearing"), is in every respect a hero, it will be evident that deterioration, moral or physical, is not the necessary consequence of ages of slavery and oppression.

But for the familiar allusions to the lords of the Frank Conquest, and the ready mention of Brennus and his Gauls as ordinary household words, we might fancy we were beginning to read a common French romance. There is a cabinet-maker, the soul of chivalry; a cardinal full of all the cardinal vices; a courtesan who saves the cabinet-maker (once her faithful lover), on the barricades at the cost of her own life; a dissolute colonel of dragoons, and, of course, a model grandfather. The events of the 23rd and 24th February are sketched with a vigorous hand; the Lebrenn family fight as becomes their lineage, and M. Lebrenn rescues the aforesaid colonel, in whom he recognises the descendant of a family which have been the bitterest foes of his race for at least fourteen centuries. Afterwards, when Lebrenn is working out the sentence of hard labour to which he had been condemned after the insurrection in June, 1848, they meet again at Rochefort—the one as convict, number eleven hundred and twenty, the other as General of the Republic. The Count de Plouernel—such is his name—does not forget having once owed his life to the intrepid republican whom the republic has sent to the galleys, and obtains his release; Lebrenn, as a particular favour, asks permission to take with him the iron ring by which he had been chained. and returns once more to his family. He arrives in time to celebrate the twenty-first birthday of Sacrovir his son, and then comes the grand initiation which has been a time-honoured rite for nearly twenty centuries.

There was in the house of M. Marik Lebrenn a room with a green door, which no one was permitted to enter except himself and his wife. On the morning of his son's birthday, he tells him that the time has come for satisfying his curiosity upon the subject of that mysterious chamber, and invites him, his sister, and her betrothed husband to enter it with him:—

> "The room into which M. Lebrenn, for the first time, admitted his son, his daughter, and George Duchêne, had, as far as its interior arrangements were concerned, nothing very remarkable about it; except that it was always lighted by a lamp of antique form, as are some pious sanctuaries; and was not this the sanctuary of the pious, often heroic, traditions of that plebeian family? Under the lamp, the children of the merchant saw a great table covered with a cloth, and upon the table a bronze coffer. Around this coffer, rendered green by centuries, there were ranged several objects, some of which ascended to the most remote antiquity, and the most modern of which were the *helmet* of the Count de Plouernel, and the *iron ring* that the merchant had brought from the galleys at Rochefort. 'My children,' said M. Lebrenn, in a voice of emotion, pointing to the historical curiosities collected on the table, 'behold the relics of our family! To each of these is attached, for us, a remembrance, a moral, a fact, a date, in the same way that when our descendants possess the account of my life written by myself, the helmet of M. de Plouernel, and the iron ring that I wore at the galleys, will have an historical signification. It is thus that almost all the generations to which we have succeeded have, for nearly two thousand years, added their tribute to this collection.'" (p. 125).

There were eighteen relics, and to each belonged a manuscript containing its history. The first in the series was a small golden sickle, a druidical emblem which had belonged to Hena, the Virgin of the Isle of Sen, daughter of Joel, the earliest known ancestor of the Lebrenns, and its accompanying story bears the date 57 B.C. The last was a sword of honour, presented by the first Republic to Jean Lebrenn in 1794. Having explained, with much eloquence and solemnity, the importance and interest of these venerable heir-looms, which excite Sacrovir to exclaim "that the ancient and illustrious name of Gaul should be demanded," M. Lebrenn requires his son to enter into a solemn engagement to continue the family chronicle, and to leave a faithful record of his own life and acts for the instruction of future generations. In the meanwhile his evenings are to be devoted to the perusal of the eighteen manuscripts which, if we had had them all, would have probably filled forty volumes instead of nineteen; but the unfinished series terminates with

Number 11, A.D. 1010, of which the emblematical relic is "The Pilgrim's Shell."

It cannot be denied that this conception is a bold and original one, and it is just possible that the highest artistic skill might have rendered it successful, but more probable that it is one in which a consummate master of fiction would not have risked an almost inevitable failure. Few readers ever got through the ethnological chapters in "Tancred," and where would have been the charm of "The Last Days of Pompeii" if half the first volume had been taken up with scenes in Turin forty years ago, and if it had pretended to be a manuscript preserved in the family of a respectable silk-mercer, claiming a direct descent from Glaucus and Ione? It is a dangerous experiment to bring into close juxtaposition the modern life about which we know so much, and the ancient times of which we know so little. We expect mystery, and enchantments, and magical incantations in an oriental story, and a good deal of enthusiastic nationality might be patiently borne if we had for a hero a handsome Peruvian whose genealogical tree bore the name of Manco Capac on its trunk; but we cannot suppress an uneasy sense of the glaring unfitness of things when a prosperous tradesman, in a handsome Parisian shop, pretends to tell us that the Roman and Frank conquests of Gaul rankle in his soul as injuries personal to himself, and that the sublime thoughts of the ancient Druids are his constant mental food. We are so much diverted by the comic absurdity of the idea, that we find it useless to dissemble our conviction that it is all pure make-believe, more especially when we reflect that the author must be as fully aware of that circumstance as we are; and that he has amused himself with seeing how much could be made of a bold hypothesis supported by numerous historical corroborations, all of which are very entertaining and instructive, and only fail to be convincing because they have lost their vitality under the dust of centuries, and, like the stately form of the Etruscan warrior when dragged from the tomb where it had reposed for ages, they crumble to ashes before the irresistible evidence of facts. One, and only one of the documents adduced by M. Sue affords any proof that there ever has been, in modern times, a feeling in France amounting to an expression of protest against the foreign and conquering race, and although this curious production, as given here, is one of the worst specimens of bad translation that we have encountered, its singularity merits a record. In the days of the Convention several petitions were addressed to its members, praying that the ancient name of the country might be restored. The following was addressed to the Directory of the Departments of Paris, and is signed "Ducalle":—

"Citizen Administrators, until when will you suffer that we shall bear the infamous name of Frenchmen? All that idiotcy has of feebleness; all that absurdity has contrary to reason; all that turpitude has of baseness; is not comparable to our mania for investing ourselves with that name! What! a troop of thieves (the conquering Franks) come and steal from us all our goods, submit us to their laws, reduce us to servitude, and during fourteen centuries only study in what manner they can deprive us of all the necessaries of life, and load us with outrages; and when we break our fetters, we have still the baseness to call ourselves by the name they give us! Are we, then, the descendants of their impure blood? Citizens, please God, we *are of the pure blood of the Gauls!* Thing more than wonderful; Paris is a nursery of the learned; Paris has made the revolution, and not one of these learned men has yet deigned to instruct us of our origin, interesting as it may be to us to know it. . . . Will' you endure, citizens, that we should have made the revolution; that our courage should do honour to our enemies of fourteen centuries, to the executioners of our ancestors? No! without doubt you will recur with me to the authority of the National Convention, so that the *name of Gauls may be restored to us.*"

If, however, even the earnest pleading of this thrilling document should fail to convince the reader that the French, as a nation, are burning with a desire to get rid for ever of the name of France, his scepticism on that head need not blind him to excellences in "The Rival Races" which are quite independent of the theory it affects to advocate. It unfolds, as in a series of dissolving views, a succession of historical pictures, all of which possess a certain degree of truthful representation of times and events long past, and some of them deserve to rank among the successful efforts of the school of historical fiction. There is novelty, at any rate, in being admitted to the secret councils of the Belgic Gauls during the second and third campaigns of Cæsar, in hearing their version of those terrible wars whose history we used to construe at school with so much confusion of mind as to tribes and nations; and in hearing from the lips of Vercingetorix himself, the Chief of the Hundred Valleys, how he was one of the five hundred who alone, out of sixty thousand fighting men, escaped alive from that bloody field on the banks of the Samis, when, but for the tardy help of the tenth legion, the Nervii would have won the day. When we are taken into the domestic circle of Joel, the Brenn (or chief) of the tribe of Karnak, chief of the army of the Gauls, we confess with admiration that the scene speaks strongly to the imagination. We see the great beechwood fire, before which two whole sheep are roasting; the trophies of the chase on the walls, and the weapons of war, especially noting the curved iron lances, each ornamented with a brass bell, "in order to announce to the enemy the coming of the warriors of Gaul, because they disdained ambuscades, and delighted in fighting face to face under the open sky;" and the brass girdle which the youths of every tribe come to try on at regular intervals at the chief's house, to see that their figures are not expanding too much, and to be fined and ridiculed if they cannot clasp it; and the blanched skulls of enemies, kept out of respect to ancestral prowess, but condemned by Joel as a relic of past barbarism. On one side stands the altar of grey granite, shaded by fresh oak branches, and upon it the seven branches of mistletoe, which every one who enters reverentially kisses, while on the wall above may be read the sacred maxim of the Druids—

> "Abundance and heaven are for the just man who is pure;
> He is pure and holy who does celestial and pure works."

These things prepare us for the peculiar rites of hospitality, which consist in binding an unwilling traveller with ropes, and flinging him, "with much respect and friendship," to the bottom of the cart which conveys him to the chief's house, where, in the games after dinner, one young hero is slain, without much interruption to the general harmony and enjoyment. There is a savage grandeur in the description of the manner in which the news is received of the refusal of the people of Vannes to comply with the demand of Crassus for provisions, and there was room for a fine passage of epic tragedy in the self-immolation of Hena, the beautiful virgin priestess, as one of three human sacrifices, to appease the anger of Hesus; but although intended to be sublime, it is rather the sublimity of an opera scene, made appalling by noise and glare. It may be observed, in passing, that M. Sue has detailed the grossest and most abominable superstitions with apparently the same unfaltering admiration as that with which he cites the pure moral teachings of the Druids, which he studiously endeavours to contrast with Christianity, to the disadvantage of the latter; and also that he speaks of the belief in the immortality of the soul as if it were peculiar to the Druidical creed, and scarcely a part of the Christian.

Before the triumph of Cæsar's arms had been crowned in Brittany by the destruction of the fleet of the Veneti, Albinik, the son of Joel, and his wife (disguised in man's clothes) obtain admission to Cæsar's presence in the midst of his camp at the mouth of the Loire:—

> "The tent of the Roman general, covered outside with thick skins, like all the tents of the camp, was hung within with stuff of a purple colour, embroidered with gold and white silk; the beaten earth was hidden under a carpet of tiger skins. Cæsar had just supped, and was reclining on a camp couch, which was concealed by a lion's skin, the claws of which were of gold, and the head ornamented with eyes of

carbuncle. Beside the bed, on a low table, stood great vases of gold and silver, and goblets set with jewels, of rare workmanship. Sitting humbly at the foot of the bed of Cæsar (a sad spectacle for a free woman!) Meroe saw a young and handsome slave, no doubt an African, for her white vestments cast her copper-coloured complexion into strong relief, her great black eyes flashing the while; she raised them slowly to look at the two strangers, as she caressed a great dun-coloured hound stretched by her side. She seemed as timorous as the hound. The generals, officers, secretaries, and the young and handsome freedmen of Cæsar, stood ranged around the couch, while black Abyssinian slaves, wearing on their necks, wrists, and ankles, coral ornaments, remained motionless as statues, holding torches of perfumed wax, the brilliance of which gleamed upon the splendid armour of the Romans.

"Cæsar, before whom Albinik and Meroe had cast down their eyes, for fear of betraying their hatred—Cæsar had exchanged his armour for a long robe of richly embroidered silk; his head was bare, his high bald forehead exposed, on each side of which his brown hair hung smoothly down. The heat of the Gallic wine, of which, it was said, he drank to excess every night, had made his eyes flash, and fired his pale cheeks: his face was imperious, his smile mocking and cruel. He reclined upon one elbow, holding in his feverish hand a large golden goblet set with pearls; he drained it slowly at repeated draughts, as he fixed his piercing look upon the two prisoners, who stood so that Albinik almost concealed Meroe."—(Vol. i. p. 218.)

M. Sue has filled up his picture with a crowd of characters that exhibit, with a certain truth and strength of colouring, the frightful horrors of conquest such as used to follow the Roman arms,—the ruthless cruelty, the maddened pain, the hungering vengeance, and the blank despair; the unsounded depths of human woe that we turn away from contemplating, as we think of unbridled lust seconded by unbounded power. It is not at the hands of the author of the "Juif-errant" that we can expect to be spared the details of any of the revolting excesses of passion and crime, though the translator hints that he has softened a good deal of the original picture, which "overstepped the confines of English taste."

The scene changes, and we are shown Gaul in the third century, when for fourteen years it shook off the hated yoke, and a noble woman, Victorina, played an heroic part, refusing the title of Augusta, and preferring the name of "Mater Castrorum," by which she was best known to her own people. And then arises the new power of the Christian hierarchy, backed by the strong arms of the Franks. All is wrong and robbery, the Gaul alone remains uncorrupted, but in chains.

The eighth manuscript tells the story of two Carlovingian coins, and introduces us to Charlemagne, surrounded by daughters, granddaughters, and mistresses in amazing numbers. We quote a picturesque passage from a hunting scene:—

"Karloman and Louis, who had that morning arrived from the castle of Heristale, accompanied Karl with five of his daughters. Among the huntresses there was to be seen the beautiful Imma, then came Bertha, then followed Adelrude; lastly rode the dark Hildrude and the fair Thetralde. The greater number of the lords of the train of Karl wore very singular dresses, which had come at a great expense from Pavia, where the riches of the East were imported by the merchants. Among these courtiers, some were attired in tunics dyed purple, with large tippets and borders of the skin of Phœnician birds; others wore doublets of the furs of the dormice or weasels of Judæa; caps with waving plumes, high stockings of silk, and boots of red or green oriental leather, embroidered in gold or silver, completed the splendid costumes of these courtiers. The rude simplicity of the emperor's dress alone contrasted with the magnificence of the court; his wide and high leather boots, with iron spurs, came up to his thighs; over his tunic he wore an ample cassock of sheepskin, with the wool outside, and a cap of badger-skin; he held in his hand a short-handled whip. Karl saw Vortigern and his grandfather as they rode up, and cried out: 'Eh! my lord Breton! come, if you please, beside me. I wish to know whether your grandson is as good a rider as my girls say?' The ranks opened to allow Amarl and his grandson to pass; the latter following modestly, not daring to raise his eyes to the group of women by whom the emperor was surrounded. The latter examined Vortigern attentively, and said to him, 'Old Karl judges of the skill of a rider at a glance. I am satisfied; but admit, my lad, that you like hunting better than mass, and your saddle better than a church bench; come, answer me.' 'I prefer hunting to mass,' said Vortigern, frankly; 'but I like war best of all.' 'If your answer be not that of a good Catholic, it is at least that of a brave lad. What think you, girls?' added the emperor. 'The young man,' replied the dark Hildrude, 'has spoken sincerely; I applaud him.' The fair Thetralde, not daring to speak after her sister, grew as red as a cherry, and cast a glance of envy upon the dark Hildrude. 'I also praise the young pagan,' said the emperor. 'Come, let us away! Once in the forest, every one for himself, and to his horse. In hunting, there is no emperor, no court, only hunters.' "—(Vol. iii. p. 194.)

A rapid succession of tableaux exhibits the manners and customs of the middle ages, not more distorted than is necessary to give due prominence to the impeccability of the Gauls, and the complete depravity of the Christians, as represented by bishops greedy of gain, and abbesses devoid of modesty. If this work were calculated to attract readers who would take it all in good faith, and believe in its history on the strength of its very elaborate chronology, it might be worth while to expose some of its extravagances; but it is waste of time to refute what no one has seriously thought of believing, least of all probably the author himself. His Frank queens and pirate Northmen, feudal barons and scheming priests, all group well round the vanquished Gaul, always noble, always great, and this is sufficient for his purpose. Every form of injustice, and every species of wrong that the oppression and barbarism of feudal times warranted, is dragged in to illustrate the grand theory of nationality; the torture of serfs, the robbery of merchants, the brutality towards women, are described with a coarseness and unction that are often revolting; and for all these centuries of darkness, the Catholic Church is made to bear the heaviest blame. Its sins reached their climax in the preaching of the Crusades, which were nothing but a scheme of the clergy to rob the laity; and the only ray of light upon the general desolation comes in at the end of the book, with the first civic charter, and the inauguration of a free borough; then the Gaulic chronicler exclaims:—

> "O sons of Joel! I have said to you, ever look with horror upon those feudal castles and cathedrals which defy the centuries. Yes, when the hour of just vengeance shall arrive, leave not one stone upon another of those execrable monuments, cemented with our blood and our sweat. They have beheld our shame, our idiotcy, our misery, our martyrdom, our slavery! But look with respect upon our ancient Town Halls! They, also defying the centuries, will tell you one day of the obstinate, laborious, and bloody struggles of our fathers in reconquering and bequeathing liberty to you! O sons of Joel! the borough Town Hall is the heroic and holy cradle of the enfranchisement of Gaul!"—(Vol. iii. p. 386.)

To write the history of France for the last nineteen hundred years in the form of a romance, was certainly a bold undertaking; and in spite of the great power which is occasionally displayed, we think "Les Mystères du Peuple" is not destined to rivet the imagination of a period that has outgrown legend, but has some lingering reverence for truth, and craves for something more nutritious than specious rant, however brilliant, and more satisfying than inflated denunciations of evils which, however deplorable, have never been due to a conspiracy of one half of society against the other half, but spring from causes which the philosophy of Eugène Sue's school has as little helped to penetrate as it has tended to remove.

In conclusion, we must admit that this book has not been fortunate in its translator. The English is generally bald, and frequently so wanting in idiom that it reads like a school exercise, and it is only now and then that we can detect through its awkward phrases the faintest approach to a fair rendering of the style and composition of the original.

ART. III.—MR. MILL ON UTILITARIANISM.

Utilitarianism. By JOHN STUART MILL. London: Parker, Son, and Bourn. 1863.

WHAT is the law of life? What is the criterion of good and evil; of wrong and right? What is the *summum bonum*—the highest good to be sought by humanity? It follows as an obvious truth that all which conducts towards that end is so far right; all which deviates from it wrong. Whatever that *summum bonum* is, the principles and system which guide us towards it must constitute the law of life. If the highest—we may say in this sense—the only object in life be happiness, then in considering what is right and what wrong, we have only to consider what tends to make people happy and what unhappy. If, on the other hand, virtue be the *summum bonum*, then of course we must inquire not what makes men and women happy, but what makes them virtuous. Now, there has been from the beginning of the time when men could think over and discuss abstract questions at all, a contest going on between these two principles of human judgment and action. We have put the contrast purposely in the very broadest light; in a light wherein none of the disciples of either school would for a moment consent to place it. Because, however the opponents may differ upon other points, they agree on one principle—that true happiness and true virtue must go together. No one ever seriously professed to believe that the ruling principle of life should be an effort to make men sensuously happy. No one ever professed to think that perpetual youth and the power of indulging unharmed in perpetual delights of the senses would be, supposing such an end attainable, the object towards which all human efforts should be directed. On the other hand, we have never heard that any one insisted on the duty or the possibility of men's being supremely virtuous and at the same time unhappy. The most fanatical anchorite or self-mortifier does not proclaim that his solitude, his fasts, his scourge, his pillar, bring unhappiness. He declares that his self-torture being inflicted for the love of God makes him happy. The illustrious Frenchman who maintained that the truly pious man ought to be absolutely indifferent to the salvation or the damnation of his own soul, insisted merely that the man who truly loved God must be absolutely happy in whatever condition of mortality or immortality. Therefore the two schools of thinkers to whom we refer may be taken as agreeing to admit that happiness and virtue go together. Yet there is between them the widest practical difference. The one school contend that the object and the test of happiness is virtue; and the other that the end to be attained by virtue, and the test by which we decide what virtue is, must be found in happiness. We need hardly say that this latter class of thinkers has of late years come to be recognised by the now familiar name of Utilitarian. The Utilitarians contend that the one great object towards which we should direct all our efforts is the attainment of happiness; that virtue is primarily desirable inasmuch as it is a means towards that end; and that the only criterion by which we can ultimately decide whether acts or systems are or are not virtuous is simply the effect which they produce for or against the promotion of happiness. It may seem at the first glance that such a question can have very little interest for practical men. Since we all agree that happiness and virtue are ultimately found to be inseparable companions, what can it matter, it may be asked, which is the mistress and which the handmaiden? Is not the whole question merely a theological, or metaphysical, or psychological subtlety,—a curiosity of discussion,—a controversial puzzle, which, except in so far as it exercises human intellect, can have no practical bearing upon human affairs? If one man says he has made up his mind to be sober because sobriety conduces to health, and his neighbour declares that he is determined to be sober because sobriety is a virtuous condition, how can it avail the general public to discuss the mere principles on which the common resolution is formed? Since sobriety and health are almost certain to go together, of what earthly importance is it that the one man abstains from excess simply in order to be sober, and the other is equally abstemious in order to be healthful? Yet scarcely any difference of principle could be more important in its bearing upon human affairs than that which exists between the Utilitarians and their opponents. The whole progress of civilization has depended upon the conscious or unconscious adoption of the Utilitarian creed. Wherever it has been enabled to triumph over the other principle, there we find education, activity, enlightenment, progress. Wherever the other has had the supremacy, we find depression, ignorance, backwardness, poverty. Of course there is not, and could not be, any country, or even any one mind, in which either principle exercised an absolute supremacy. But in proportion to the conscious or unconscious prevalence of the Utilitarian doctrine over its opponent, do we note the development of that which we call human civilization. We venture to think that if any one can prove the Utilitarian principle to be false, he will also prove at the same time that the whole of modern civilization is an error and a calamity, and that mankind ought forthwith to set about getting rid of the evil system in which they have allowed themselves to become entangled.

The Utilitarian principle is commonly described as that which bases itself upon the duty of attaining the greatest happiness of the greatest number. This is, indeed, if, taken in the full and correct sense, a true description of the system. It seems almost superfluous to point out to intelligent readers that the happiness thus meant is not the sensuous, or the social, or the conventional conditions of enjoyment or satisfaction which commonly pass for happiness in the world. Not alone is the greatest happiness of the greatest number sought, but the very highest form of happiness of which the human being is capable. All the vulgar accusations which are based upon the supposition that the Utilitarians desire men and women to covet merely a sort of Turkish Paradise, may be put out of our consideration as unworthy of serious notice. To such an objection the Utilitarians may very well reply in the language of the remarkable book to which we are presently to refer, that "it is not they, but their accusers who represent human nature in a degrading light; since the accusation supposes human beings to be capable of no pleasures except those of which swine are capable." Indeed, we have never been able to regard this accusation as wholly ingenuous or sincere. They who endeavour to sustain it only make out a momentary show of reason by deliberately perverting the meaning of words; by affecting to interpret one particular phrase as it never is understood, even in the most familiar and common conversation, by ordinary men. Some one avows that he desires before all other things to see the greatest happiness of the greatest number attained. His neighbour forthwith charges him with being a mere Epicurean in the vulgarest sense of the word; with desiring to set out for life no higher end than mean and grovelling pleasures. Yet no man, in speaking or writing, uses the phrase "human happiness," as applying to sensual and degrading pleasures. The denouncer of the Utilitarian principle, when he has occasion to describe any one as labouring for the happiness of his fellow-creatures, never in any ordinary conversation means to say that such a person is labouring for their swinish pleasures. Philosophical discussions are often sadly embarrassed by men's having to employ words to which they do not all attach precisely the same signification. But a wilful difficulty is raised in this case by the opponents of the Utilitarians choosing to pervert a word from its ordinary meaning, from the meaning which is at once familiar and correct. The Utilitarians mean by human happiness exactly what all other educated persons mean by it. They cannot be misunderstood if their hearers will only accept their words as meaning what they themselves always design and understand the same words to mean. The honest man who was horrified on being told that his son at college was set to study profane literature, may be excused for his alarm. He heard a certain word employed in a sense totally unfamiliar, and to him very equivocal. Those who raise against the Utilitarians the vulgar charge we have mentioned, are compelled, in order to do so, to wrench the most familiar word from its most familiar meaning, and affect to give to it an interpretation which in ordinary conversation it never receives, and which, in educated discussion, it could not bear.

There is another vulgar misinterpretation of the Utilitarian principles, which may be noticed at once. We allude to these objections at the very outset, not merely because they are the first which always present themselves, but because they do not deserve to be considered in the serious discussion of the subject, and are only misunderstandings or perversions of words having no concern or connexion at all with realities. The second objection, then, is one merely founded on the sound of the word Utilitarian, and is commonly used by those who have not the slightest knowledge of the subject. Utilitarianism and usefulness are assumed to mean one and the same thing; and the latter word is taken in its ordinary and narrowest acceptation. Thus the Utilitarian is supposed to be somebody who contends that life should be all hard, practical realities, made up of the useful as distinguished from the pleasurable, the ornamental, the beautiful. It is something marvellous to think how many intelligent and otherwise well-educated persons can talk away complacently in the supposed refutation of some imaginary class of theorists who contend that poetry and art, and love and passion, and nature, and so forth, are objectionable things, which ought to be excluded from a Utilitarian world of steam-engines, telegraphs, whitewash, political economy, and statistics. When Mr. Dickens, in one of his novels, introduced the Gradgrinds and the Facts, more than one enlightened critic exulted over the supposed hit at the Utilitarians. We know people who always associate Utilitarianism, in some vague kind of way, with Manchester and the North, and the general manufacture of cotton. It seems almost ridiculous to answer people who argue on such impressions as these. But we may just remark, in order formally to dispose of that part of the question here at least, that the Utilitarian doctrine assumes, as a matter of course, the useful to comprehend, among other components, the pleasurable, the ornamental, and the beautiful. The highest possible cultivation of the æsthetic and the artistic faculties which is consistent with the development of other powers equally valuable, is absolutely necessary in order to realize the Utilitarian's understanding of the useful. One of the greatest poets of modern Europe, and the poet who more than any other of his day believed in the profound importance of art, was likewise in the fullest as well as the strictest sense a disciple of the Utilitarian theory.

These, of course, although very common, are not very formidable objections. They are made very often, in all *naïveté* and good faith, out of pure ignorance of the subject. They arise very often, too, from the habit which people have of judging the doctrines of others by assuming that the believer cannot entertain them without likewise entertaining certain other doctrines which seem to the critic to follow inevitably, but which the criticized altogether repudiates. People who criticize a belief in this way never can say anything worth listening to, or which really touches the essential question. Yet as this is the most futile, so it is the most common of all controversial methods. One man thinks he dumbfounders the Roman Catholics by denouncing and exposing the fatuity and the wickedness of idolatry; but the Roman Catholic does not admit that his creed is idolatrous, or conduces to idolatry; and therefore, so far as argumentative effect is concerned, all such words go by him as the idle wind. Another man endeavours to argue his neighbour out of a belief in geology because of the horrors of Atheism; but as he can never succeed in convincing his opponent that geology conducts to Atheism, he but "offends his lungs" in vain. On questions of belief there can be no argument of any avail where the opponents do not consent to accept each other's interpretation of his own creed. But the other method of argument is very much more easy. Indeed, it saves a world of trouble, and at the same time impresses much more profoundly the minds of an audience inclined to be sympathetic. Therefore the Utilitarian theory has very commonly been judged upon this principle, and therefore nine-tenths of all that is usually said against it may be set down as absolutely worthless, containing nothing suggestive, even as incorrect arguments very often do, but made up simply of whirling words which never come near the question. There have been long and grave refutations of the Utilitarian theory, every argument, assertion, and sentence of which the Utilitarians might frankly admit, and yet find their own belief not only unshaken, but absolutely untouched.

But those who oppose the Greatest Happiness theory are not all of this class. There are eminent thinkers who join issue with its disciples upon grounds which hold the very roots of the question. It is chiefly to opponents such as these that Mr. John Stuart Mill has addressed the remarkable little book which has lately been published. Most of our readers have probably observed with attention and interest the serial publication of the chapters which make up this work in the pages of a monthly magazine. Now that the book is published in an independent form, it may be transferred to the shelves of our libraries as the last and the best word spoken on the Utilitarian question. It resumes in the briefest and yet most comprehensive manner all that had been said before, and it adds some new and special considerations which, in relation to certain branches of the controversy, may be regarded as conclusive. It is one of the briefest of philosophical treatises; in length, just such a work as Lessing might have liked to offer to the world; a book which an intelligent man might peruse and understand at a sitting, but would think over and read over again and again with growing and deepening interest. In calling it a philosophical treatise, we do not mean that it is a book written for philosophers or philosophic students alone. It is addressed to every mind of ordinary intelligence, and has peculiarly the charm of that perspicuous and luminous style which so remarkably distinguishes even the profoundest of the author's writings. Small as the book is, it may be justly termed exhaustive of the subject. The author has omitted to notice none of the objections which are raised in good faith by the opponents of his doctrine. While he has addressed his arguments, as we have already remarked, mainly to the more philosophic and enlightened of the other side, he has not neglected to deal even with the most superficial and vulgar of the objections to which we have referred. The reader will feel indebted to Mr. Mill's vindication of the true meaning of the Happiness principle, not alone for its application to the question at issue, but for its dignified and noble justification of man's natural tendencies and aspirations. Nothing could be more encouraging, healthful, hopeful, than some of the eloquent passages in which Mr. Mill vindicates the supremacy of the educated mind. The world would have derived more advantage from its philosophers if they had more generally written in this healthful and manly style, if they had striven less after the realization of some impossible condition of the mind, and more after the reconciliation of the mind with its human conditions and limitations; if they had preached less of the doctrine of renunciation for renunciation's sake, and given less encouragement to the seeking after a state of frozen and lonely exaltation above the common interests, chances, and sufferings of the human race. Mr. Mill has no sympathy with those whose philosophy is little better than a monotonous iteration of the raven's syllables of despair.

"Next to selfishness," says Mr. Mill, "the principal cause which makes life unsatisfactory is want of mental cultivation. A cultivated mind—I do not mean that of a philosopher, but any mind to which the fountains of knowledge have been opened, and which has been taught in any tolerable degree to exercise its faculties—finds sources of inexhaustible interest in all that surrounds it; in the objects of nature, the achievements of art, the imaginations of poetry, the incidents of history, the ways of mankind (past and present), and their prospects in the future. . . . . In a world in which there is so much to interest, so much to enjoy, and also so much to correct and improve, every one who has this moderate amount of moral and intellectual requisites is capable of an existence which may be called enviable. . . . . No one whose opinion deserves a moment's consideration can doubt that most of the great positive evils of the world are in themselves removable, and will, if human affairs continue to improve, be in the end reduced within narrow limits. All the grand sources of human suffering are in a great degree—many of them almost entirely—conquerable by human care and effort; and though their removal is grievously slow, though a long succession of generations will perish in the breach before the conquest is completed and this world becomes all that, if will and knowledge were not wanting, it might easily be made, yet every mind sufficiently intelligent and generous to bear a part, however small and unconspicuous, in the endeavour, will draw a noble enjoyment from the contest itself, which he would not for any bribe in the form of selfish indulgence consent to be without."

One of the most common, and we might almost say instinctive, objections to the Utilitarian doctrine, is a vague idea that it tends to weaken the basis on which public and private virtue rest, if not to remove it altogether, and supplant it by some less powerful foundation. Even by some of those who discuss the question most calmly, grave doubts are expressed whether it would be possible to make men and women good if there were no stronger motive impelling them to goodness than the general happiness of their fellow-creatures. It needs, we are told, first of all, the most complete devotion to the will of God, and next, the strongest control by the inner conscience to keep frail human nature upon the right path. But the first of these impelling motives is surely as powerfully operative in the mind of the Utilitarian as in that of any other person whatever. If mere texts of Scripture could settle the question, the Utilitarian could produce passage after passage to prove that the human good and happiness of our fellows are designated as among the grandest triumphs of our religion. "The whole force," says Mr. Mill, "of external reward and punishment, whether physical or moral, and whether proceeding from God or our fellow-men, together with all that the capacities of human nature admit of disinterested devotion to either, become available to enforce the Utilitarian morality in proportion as that morality is recognised; and the more powerfully the more the appliances of education and general cultivation are bent to the purpose." With regard to what we call conscience, there can certainly be no reason to suppose that that feeling, whether innate or implanted, would act with less force because mankind had discovered in the conditions of humanity that which they profess to believe does exist elsewhere—a standard by which to judge whether we are acting faithfully in obedience to its teaching. Those who contend that conscience is an innate and in itself an infallible guide, when pressed to explain how it happens that men act so differently under its influence, insist that if the voice of conscience were not stifled or its sounds misinterpreted and perverted by evil habits and evil education, its guidance would always be to the right end. Does not this very argument supply a strong *primâ facie* reason for believing that there must be a means of testing the reality or the perversion of that which men suppose to be the voice of conscience? How are we to decide between Torquemada and Fénélon but by the recognition of such a test? Again, those who think that the mere happiness of the race would be but a vague object towards which to direct the desires of men, and that we are all too selfish to be controlled by anything save a desire of personal good or a dread of personal punishment, forget that the tendency of all civilized habits and education is to endow the unselfish wish to benefit our fellows with almost absolute supremacy over our conduct. Nothing is more common than to say, that the interests of mankind are identical; but very few of those who utter this saying are really aware how practical and literal a reality it represents, and how generally, although unconsciously, society is beginning to adopt it as a fundamental principle of action. If it can be shown that this tendency to merge one's own interests in the effort for the general welfare, is growing more and more as society progresses; that education, before which other stimulating influences fade away and lose their power, only deepens and strengthens this; that hardly any class of beings are now left in civilization who believe that religion and love of God can be disassociated from the practical doing of good to the world,—there can remain little doubt that the desire to improve the condition of the human race is capable of being made to exercise as powerful a control over the mind as ever was exercised by the blindest fanaticism or the most debasing superstition. The supporters of the Utilitarian principle may fairly argue, that the only security which the best of human beings can have against the sway of fanaticism or superstition is his deliberate or involuntary adoption of the test which they offer as the criterion of all human conduct. So far from the adoption of such a principle weakening the hold of the commonly recognised sanctions of human virtue, they contend with reason that those sanctions are enforced and justified by it; that it alone reconciles duty and impulse, principle and passion; that it alone can utilize all the human tendencies without striving to crush any out, or allowing any to run to waste; that it alone makes the path of men in life clear and direct; that it is not merely the true standard which, humanly speaking, all men ought to follow, but that it is actually the only standard which it is possible for men to follow, when they have once emerged from the dominion of absolute barbarism and superstition. The degree to which the Utilitarian principle has been followed must, of course, not be estimated by the degree to which it has been professed. The science of political economy is of very recent birth—that is, as an acknowledged principle; but it is obvious that men have always been acting on some of its dogmas even when they knew least about them, and that it was always an absolute though unacknowledged guide, whose teachings could not be disobeyed with impunity. Thus, too, of the Utilitarian principle. The world has professed other guiding doctrines and has acted on them; but it has never acted with entire independence of Utility: it has always been forced to conform to some of its laws; it has in all cases either practically renounced the other guides altogether, or tested and set them right by unconscious reference to Utility, or blindly followed them whithersoever they led, finding out too late that they led only to confusion if not to destruction.

Without entering into any subtle distinctions, or endeavouring to map out every division of human belief, we may say that there have been generally, and, indeed, among all classes and races of men, three great schemes by which the law of life is explained. These are the idea founded on the theological principle, that based on the abstract idea of justice, and that which upholds the doctrine of Utility. With the first we need not concern ourselves much. Mr. Mill almost entirely ignores it. It may be simply described as the ecclesiastical or hierarchical idea of authority delegated from Heaven to guide us in everything. It becomes unimportant to us, not because there is anything deserving of contempt in the idea itself, or because it has not a vast influence even still over all communities of men, but for the reason that all which is true and grand in it the Utilitarian calmly adopts as the basis and the justification of his own belief. The religious classes, as they are called, tell us that the whole world is governed by the Creator directly, and that we have nothing to do but to obey his laws. The Utilitarian may frankly accept this simple and grand foundation. But the religious classes are then at a loss to ascertain how we are to find out the laws; and they seek to get over the difficulty by adopting the text of the Bible, or the dogmas of a Church, as the interpreter and expounder. Here, of course, the difficulties only accumulate; the very same text which conveys one meaning to one set of men suggests a total different interpretation to another. Sects which are most cordially agreed upon their fundamental principle become hopelessly disunited on some question of interpretation. Nations sever from each other, hate each other, conquer, massacre, and devastate each other, because of the different readings of the same text. Even the Roman

Catholics, who set up a human interpreter armed with infallible authority, cannot be kept from sectional and very serious differences amongst themselves. It is obvious, that so long as the questions are argued upon purely theological ground, there never can be any reconciliation. Texts peculiarly susceptible of various explanations, texts clothed originally in a language which few scholars profess thoroughly to have mastered, are not likely, after centuries of endless doubt and disputation, and the most exhausting and laborious research, to be suddenly lighted up by some explanation which shall commend itself to all human intellects as the one true and only solution. There is no test by which to try the application of the several interpretations, and therefore there is no reason whatever to suppose that while theology is esteemed a science, men will cease to differ about the meaning of several texts and the application of various dogmas. In one of Macaulay's essays, which is, perhaps, more often quoted than any of its fellows, the author goes so far as to assert that there is no reason whatever for our feeling any conviction that the whole tide of European and Christian belief may not once more roll back into Catholicism. Certainly, if there were but the theological bulwark to prevent the reaction, we should have little reason to doubt the possibility of such a phenomenon. But happily for the world even theologists do not themselves rest upon that basis alone; and Protestant theologians are less inclined than their antagonists to rest upon it. These have long come to borrow the arguments of the Utilitarian, as a final resource against opposition. Feeling, although not acknowledging, the utter futility of opposing one text of disputed meaning to another, they protect themselves against the heretics by taking up the ground of the Utilitarians. They endeavour to prove to the Roman Catholic, the Pagan, the Infidel, the Mormon that his peculiar creed must be false because its practice does not conduce towards the utility, the happiness, of those who profess it. The favourite Protestant assertion, that all Protestant countries are rich, prosperous, and progressive, and all Roman Catholic nations poor, miserable, and retrograde, may be true or false as a matter of fact; but it is of great importance as a sign of the time, because it shows that the Utilitarian doctrine has grown so much on the world that even those who would least readily consent to acknowledge it openly are among the most eager to adopt it as a truth and a practical criterion. Therefore we need not occupy ourselves in arguing against the theologians. They start from a point which the Utilitarian may cheerfully adopt as his own point of departure. They diverge a good deal upon the way; but the moment they desire definitively to reach any goal, they have to fall into the track of the Utilitarian and accept his guidance.

More subtle is the argument founded on the principle of Justice. "In all ages of speculation," says Mr. Mill, "one of the strongest obstacles to the reception of the doctrine that Utility or Happiness is the criterion of right and wrong, has been drawn from the idea of Justice. The powerful sentiment and apparently clear perception which that word recals with a rapidity and certainty resembling an instinct, have seemed to the majority of thinkers to point to an inherent quality in things; to show that the Just must have an existence in nature as something absolute, generically distinct from every variety of the Expedient, and in idea opposed to it, though (as is commonly acknowledged) never, in the long run, disjoined from it in fact." We own to a great distrust in either the reality or the guiding value of instinctive beliefs. One of the commonest notions is that anything must have a real existence of which men can form, as if by instinct, a clear and a common conception. The word Justice conveys to all minds a very distinct impression, and it likewise conveys to all civilized intellects the very same impression; but it by no means follows that there must be an abstract principle of justice which is "a revelation of some objective reality." To take a very superficial illustration: there is no word which conveys a more vivid and a more common impression to the minds of men than the word mermaid. We are not more agreed about the nature of the animal which is represented by the word "horse." A thousand educated persons anywhere would all delineate a mermaid upon principles as identical as if they were set to give an outline of the ordinary female form; but there are not any mermaidens for all that. So with regard to many of our instinctive or intuitive ideas—the categorical imperatives, as they might be called in the phraseology of Kant. It does not follow that the abstractions which they profess to represent have any real existence. Of course, as Mr. Mill conclusively shows, it does not follow that even if a feeling is bestowed upon us by nature, its promptings must be all legitimate. "The feeling of justice might be a peculiar instinct, and might yet require, like our other instincts, to be controlled and enlightened by a higher reason. If we have intellectual instincts leading us to judge in a particular way, as well as animal instincts that prompt us to act in a particular way, there is no necessity that the former should be infallible in their sphere any more than the latter in theirs. It may as well happen that wrong judgments are occasionally suggested by those as wrong actions by these." Nothing can be more correct; the principle of Justice may exist abstractedly, and yet form no ultimate criterion of conduct. The general instinct may fail altogether in furnishing us with a guide when special questions and particular instances are in doubt. But is there any abstract intuitive principle of Justice at all? Is it "only a particular kind or branch of general utility?" Mr. Mill contends that justice is "simply the natural feeling of resentment, moralized by being made coextensive with the demands of social good." Again, "justice," says the author, "implies something which it is not only right to do, and wrong not to do, but which some individual person can claim from us as his moral right." Thus it is distinguished from generosity or beneficence in the ordinary sense of the words. "No one has a moral right to our generosity or beneficence, because we are not morally bound to practise those virtues towards any individual" If the distinction between general morality and justice be not thus defined, there can be no distinction at all; for those who would say that all mankind have an absolute right to claim, and would have a right, had they the power, to exact from us everything we could possibly do for them by generosity or benevolence, are simply, as Mr. Mill shows, merging all morality in justice. Thus they only give us an altered name, and they do not help out their own argument. Nay, they rather invalidate it, for if there be nothing in the idea of Justice different from that of mere general morality, we are not aware that any one claims for mere general morality the power of establishing a final test by which to judge of human conduct, and an infallible guide by which to regulate human life.

Justice, therefore, is "a spontaneous outgrowth from two sentiments, both in the highest degree natural, and which either are, or resemble, instincts—the impulse of self-defence, and the feeling of sympathy." The feeling of sympathy in human beings is, of course, capable of extension to the whole human race; unlike the feeling of even the very noblest of the dumb animals, which can only sympathize with the sufferings and wants of their own offspring, or those of some superior beings close to them, who have protected them. The human being comprehends, even in his most imperfect condition, something of the great truth that all men's interests are his own. He understands that, for the sake of all, there must be some common law to protect certain interests. There is no condition of human society so utterly barbaric that it has not admitted the idea of common protection for certain common rights. Something at least there will be, which all admit to be the right of each, and which all think it convenient to protect by mutual guarantees. This sentiment differs from the ordinary human feeling of benevolence or generosity, or even morality, inasmuch as it is the acknowledgment of a duty to do something for the common interest, which some one else, or the whole community, has, if it be thought needful, a right to exact. But this is not an elementary principle, a sentiment completely intuitive, in the meaning which certain persons attach to the word. It is nothing transcendental; it is the combined result of one sentiment common to all sentient animals, and another peculiar to human beings. It has no more an individual and independent existence than the sentiment which prompts civilized beings to enter into the state of marriage as distinguished from the mere random and casual pairing of the lower animals and of certain savage races. It furnishes no guide for human conduct, and no test by which to measure and estimate human progress. To be of any true practical value, it must be constantly submitted to the test of some other principle. It is, consciously or unconsciously, always submitted to this test. It can no more act as a guide by its own power alone, than the natural anxiety of a stranger to reach his destination could point him out the shortest way from Knightsbridge to the Bank of England. Even in the most highly civilized society, where there is an accepted basis of argument on all questions, the idea of justice is utterly incapable of supplying by itself a guide for human conduct. Questions are raised which, if it had any such judicial value, it ought to be able at once to decide, but which, unless for the appeal to some other principle, must remain undecided for ever. "There is," says Mr. Mill, "as much difference of opinion, and as much discussion about what is just, as about what is useful to society. Not only have different nations and individuals different notions of justice, but in the mind of one and the same individual, justice is not some one rule, principle, or maxim, but many, which do not always coincide in their dictates, and in choosing between which he is guided either by some extraneous standard, or by his own personal predilections." Nor is this, be it clearly understood, any ordinary difficulty about the settlement of questions arising out of the application of a principle the full bearing and development of which have not been yet decisively ascertained. There may, for instance, be many differences of opinion about the application of some law of political economy, or the value of some discovery in medical science; but in these cases the doubt only arises from an obvious imperfection of knowledge. The disputants are all perfectly aware not alone that the question will be ultimately settled by positive demonstration, but they are also quite aware how it will be decided. They do not agree in their expectation of the solution, but they quite agree, and, indeed, could not possibly differ, as to the mode by which the solution will be obtained. The Free-traders and Protectionists differed as widely as any metaphysical debater about abstract justice could do; but the Protectionists and Free-traders quite agreed that a few years' observation of the condition of the people of England must settle the question for ever. Allopathists and homœopathists, while arguing most vehemently about the fundamental principles of the science which the latter claim to have discovered, we quite agreed that, after all, the debate will resolve itself into a comparison of the number of cases and cures. Not so with any question concerning the abstract principle of Justice; there is no outlet, no prospective solution, no common ground on which to look for the solution. The principle of Utility must be called in as a test, or the disputes must be allowed to remain disputes for ever. Consider some of the examples given by Mr. Mill. The principle of Justice ought surely to decide, first of all, the basis on which crime should be dealt with. Can we by means of that principle alone attain any such basis? According to some thinkers, it is unjust to punish a man merely for the sake of example to others. A man punished on this principle, they contend, ceases to be a criminal, and becomes a martyr. In chastising him his judges expressly disavow any notion whatever of enforcing a *lex talionis*, of punishing him for what he has actually done himself; and they assure him that society condemns him to suffer simply in order that his doom may be a warning to others. This the thinkers we refer to contend, is in itself an instance of the most flagrant injustice; and they argue that the man ought to be punished strictly on his own account, and for his own reform and benefit, absolutely for that which he has done himself, or not at all. But then comes in another class, who insist that to punish a man for his own doings, and his own sake, excluding every other consideration, would be extravagant and despotic injustice, because each individual ought to be allowed to judge for himself as to what is good for him; therefore they maintain that the only principle on which punishment can be inflicted without violating all notions of human right and free will is that of social self-defence, chastising an offender in order to save innocent people from his aggression. But again there arises a school, of which the late Mr. Owen was a remarkable leader—a school possessing great attractions for persons of a turn of mind at once benevolent and romantic, and to which most of our eminent novelists, from Charles Dickens to Victor Hugo, have shown a decided leaning. These thinkers deny the right of society to punish at all; and they take up a very plausible ground for their opinions. No man is an offender *per se*, or for the sake of offending. Circumstances—or, to adopt the more favoured phrase, Society—must have made each what he is. Bill Sykes would never have become a burglar if fate and society had made him a bishop. There is no personal merit in a bishop merely because he does not turn highwayman: it is not a matter of praise to a wealthy banker that he does not pick pockets. Change the social conditions of all these persons, and the burglar would make a very worthy bishop, while the banker would be found watching the pockets of his well-dressed neighbours. It is not then a personal or individual question at all; and how monstrously unjust to punish Bill Sykes or Jean Valjean for not being that which he could not by any human possibility be, but which he would gladly be if he could! Therefore Mr. Owen, and those who were bold enough to follow him the whole way, contended that society committed a heinous injustice by punishing such crimes at all; and that it would be quite as fair and righteous to imprison a dwarf because Nature had not made him a giant, or to hang a red-haired man because his locks were not sable. Surely each of these three schools can bring forward arguments of the utmost plausibility in support of its own views. We quite agree with Mr. Mill when he says, that "so long as the question is argued as one of justice simply, without going down to the principles which lie under justice, and are the source of its authority," he is unable to see how any of the reasoners can be confuted. Every one of the three "builds upon rules of justice confessedly true." Here, then, is a deadlock; nor is there any way out of it on the abstract justice ground. None of the disputants can even suggest any mode of ever deciding the question, except by an appeal to the principle which so many repudiate in theory, but to which all are forced to have recourse in practice—the principle of Utility. Grant that the question is ultimately to be decided by reference to the greatest happiness of the greatest number, and the difficulty is on the way to solution. We may not all at once learn how to deal with our criminals, but we have found the only way by which we can ever learn how to deal with them. We may not have reached, we may not even see in the distance, the end of our journey, but at least we are on the right road to it, and have only to keep going forward.

Mr. Mill adduces several other instances equally forcible as illustrations. "In a co-operative industrial association, is it just that talent or skill should give a title to superior remuneration?" One set of persons contend that he who does his best deserves equally well with the man of superior power and talents, who has merely to thank nature for his greater advantages; and that the weaker man, who does all he can, ought not to be mulcted for deficiencies which are beyond his own control. On the other hand, it is contended that the more skilful person actually does more and gives more to society, and that not to pay him back in proportion to what he has given, is simply keeping something which fairly belongs to him, and is, in fact, a kind of robbery. Can any one reconcile, on mere principles of justice, these two sets of disputants? Social utility must be appealed to, in order to point out any path by which to arrive at a reconciliation. Then, again, how hopeless are the mazes into which people plunge when they begin to discuss questions of taxation by reference to what are termed principles of justice. Allow a man to argue out such questions upon those principles alone (and let it be observed that that is the favourite mode and much the easiest mode of arguing them), and there is absolutely nothing which he may not prove. We are all inclined to favour the view that the rich should be taxed more highly in proportion than the poor, because it is unjust to exact from the poor more than they can afford to spare. But there really is not so good a logical case to be made out for this view as for one which we have heard urged with a provoking and ludicrous plausibility—that the poor ought to pay more than the rich, because the State protection which they receive is more valuable, inasmuch as the rich man could far better protect himself in the absence of any central Government than the poor, and, indeed, as Mr. Mill remarks, "would probably be successful in converting the poor men into his slaves." In purely political discussions, too, the same difficulties continually arise when people choose to argue upon abstract principles of justice. We remember having heard a politician in a provincial town arguing with great plausibility on the right of all men to the suffrage, which he grounded exclusively on the principle that those whom the laws affect ought to have a share in the making of the laws by which, if badly made, they may unduly suffer. Certainly a very fair principle in the general; but the orator went on to contend that the poorer and feebler a man was, the greater was his right to a share in the making of the laws, because the greater his chance of suffering injustice by them. Those, he maintained, who are least able to protect themselves against bad laws when made, have the greatest right to a share in the making of the laws. But the speaker did not observe that according to this principle, little children and idiots ought to have a greater share still in law-making, because these have still less power than the humblest voters to protect themselves against the effects of bad legislation. Then, again, have paupers a right to the franchise? Most of us here acknowledge that they have not; but upon what principle of mere justice are they to be excluded by those who demand manhood suffrage? If a man has worked his best in life, and failed, and become a pensioner on the parish, why should he be punished by political exclusion for a fatality which was not his fault, and which certainly does not affect his capacity to estimate the relative claims of two Parliamentary candidates? Why should he be considered a more degraded being than a pensioner on the central Government? On abstract principles of justice (supposing the pauper to be a man of good character), there can be no reason shown for any difference of treatment.

Ought soldiers to be allowed the exercise of the franchise? Is it just that because a man undertakes the most dangerous of all services for his country, he should be excluded from the exercise of a citizen's rights? This surely looks like an injustice, and other nations consider it in this light, and adopt a contrary course. Most of us in this country think we could give good reasons to prove that the army, even in a land of so-called universal suffrage, ought not to exercise the political franchise; but the reasons we give must be based solely on the principle of utility. To take a much wider question, what justification upon abstract right can we give for the principle of competition? We all see that to the development of that principle we owe the greater part of our material prosperity: we see that the fact is becoming every day more and more acknowledged; that the tendency of modern legislation is to encourage, stimulate, and entirely emancipate competition; that there is growing up a sort of jealousy even of spontaneous associations of industrial bodies, on the ground that they are supposed to moderate the action of individual competition. Can any one deny that this principle, viewed abstractedly, is one of mere selfishness? Can any one vindicate it by reference to any accepted principle of abstract justice? Surely it cannot be considered that the order to love our neighbours as ourselves is carried out in the ordinary interpretation of that command by the universal modern practice of trying to undersell our neighbour, to forestall him, to get the prize he thirsts for, to secure the office he aspires to, to invent a machine which shall supersede the mechanism which it was the labour of half his life to adapt, to produce a work which shall render his masterpiece forgotten? Yet how is all this to be justified by any one but the Utilitarian? Are we all going wrong? Is the principle to which modern civilization mainly owes its development a falsehood and a crime? Let us suppose a world physically like ours, but in which no man ever got the better of his neighbour, or strove to acquire something to his neighbour's exclusion, in which each individual should be as Rousseau's man of Nature,—it is perfectly obvious that in such a world there could be nothing of what we call civilization. Where competition in material things, and the natural desire to excel, stimulated no man—that desire to excel which now underlies and urges so many of the deeds which are most lauded as benevolent and charitable—we could have neither art, nor science, nor physical advancement. It does not even matter for our present argument whether a world could be progressive without the competitive principle, or whether a society without it, progressive or not, would be fundamentally better and nobler than ours. It is enough that that principle is at the root of all our actual social progress, and we are thereby driven to acknowledge that the whole development of our social scheme is, to use a vulgar phrase, a flying in the face of Providence, or that there must be a criterion of conduct and objects other than that furnished by the abstract principles on which theologians and metaphysicians argue. Feeling the difficulty of a reconciliation between principles and facts, theologians are commonly driven to argue as if God governed the world by a series of *coups d'état*, proclaiming one law as suited for and imperative on the world of yesterday, and enunciating a totally different code for the world of to-day. We have heard people divide the world into legislative epochs for this purpose, and contend that the law of Moses having fitly ruled up to a certain time, and having then been fitly superseded by the law of Christ, there will presently, as the latter law is now supposed to be obsolete and inoperative in many respects, be a new revelation and a giving forth of a new code adapted to the requirements of modern civilization. For, these sagacious persons argue, it is perfectly obvious that we cannot any longer be expected to give up our coat when stripped of our cloak, to turn the left cheek when smitten on the right, to sell all we have and feed the poor, to believe that the poor we shall always have with us, and so on of other great and eternal principles which interpreters of the literal kind have chosen to dwarf and distort. But there is an end to all difficulty, and there arise complete harmony and reconciliation, if we accept the fact that these and all other precepts issuing from the same source in the days of Moses or of Christ, all maxims delivered by Confucius or Socrates, are intended to conduce towards and to be subordinate to one grand object—the happiness or the utility of the human race. Once we recognise this fact, we have no more difficulty in reconciling the apparent discrepancies or contradictions of different times and epochs, than we have in understanding that the rite of circumcision might well be important for one race and climate, while needless for another; or that the very same principle of justice directed the bishop to encourage a man in one place to retain several wives, which would have made him shrink in horror from any such toleration in different circumstances and a different latitude. We get rid of the idea of a Creator tormenting his creatures with instincts which perpetually drive them one way, and precepts which perpetually but vainly strive to drag them the other way. We understand that we are ordered, while in the world, to help on the scheme which is obviously developing itself there. By recognising true civilization as the end we were sent to promote in this world, we become satisfied that we are making and not marring; that each new touch is not disfiguring the marble block and destroying its original purpose, as Rousseau would have had us to believe; but, on the contrary, helping more and more to carve out the image which the great Artist designs. We justify the higher praise given to greatness and true work than to mere good intention; we learn how and why to distinguish Leonidas from Don Quixote; we explain the common enigmas of life; and if we do not solve the greater difficulties, we can at least comprehend the mode by which these will at last obtain a practical solution. Life, by the recognition of this principle, becomes redeemed from the character of universal selfishness. Men no longer appear a sort of harpy race, clawing from each other every scrap of food, but a race of progressive beings, each of whom is, knowingly or only instinctively according to his lights, serving the interests of all while labouring to benefit the few whose lives are bound up more closely with his own. The apparently selfish instinct which impels the man to seek his own advancement and prosperity—that instinct which, justified in its combined results, has so often been sentimentally and philosophically questioned as to its principles—becomes vindicated as completely as the mother's absorbing devotion to her child, or the lover's ardour for the sole possession of her he loves. Then, as Goethe says, "the beautiful feeling enters the mind, that only mankind together is the true man, and that the individual can only be serene and happy when he has the intellect and the courage to feel himself in the whole."

May we not assert something more even than all this? Utility, we contend, is the only true test of human conduct. But may we not go a step further, and maintain that it is even already accepted as the only test? We have remarked before that those who most strenuously demur to the principles of the Utilitarian, adopt consciously or unconsciously his criteria whenever any doubt arises. The civilized world always indeed governs itself by reference to its best views of its own welfare. Morality is practically treated, although not theoretically recognised, as an experimental science. That which was considered proper and right yesterday, we discover to be improper and wrong to-day, and we alter our rule of conduct accordingly. It almost always happens in the progress of human society, that a certain principle of action comes into general practical application long before people have the thoughtfulness or the courage to recognise it as a principle. So it is with the Utilitarian creed. It is at present the practical inspiration of all civilized society. We all tacitly acknowledge that the Divine Law of life requires an interpreter, and that that interpreter is to be found alone in the principle of Utility; in the principle which seeks the greatest happiness of the greatest number. The great difference between Pagan or early Christian days and our own, between the age of Moses and his followers and the period of growing Christian civilization, is that we have now almost entirely ceased to act upon abstract doctrines; ceased to carry on a struggle against the natural tendencies; ceased to endeavour to torture human nature and human society into an accordance with some *à priori* theory which we fancied we had derived from the pages of Scripture. We are growing at last to find that, whether we like it or not, human nature will absolutely be ruled by its own laws, and that these are, even as the laws of the physical world, to be inferred and discovered by observation, and not guessed by theory. The task assigned to human beings is not to labour at impossible feats—not to make bricks without straw, or to twine ropes of sea-sand. We have simply to make the best of this world; and according as we recognise the nature of our task, so do we succeed in accomplishing it. Even those classes who most exclusively arrogate to themselves the title of religious, have come almost entirely to bow their heads before the simple law of Utility. Once any change in any of our laws is proved to be for the good—the mere humane and mundane good—of society, it is acknowledged as inevitable. Those who had taken what is called the very highest ground, the purely religious ground, in arguing against it, accept the change meekly when it has proved itself to be useful. In other words, they admit, although but tacitly, that Utility is the test which decides whether a thing is right or wrong. They abandon more and more freely every day the effort to set the social and the moral, the physical and the spiritual, in conflict. Take, for instance, any one of the recent changes in English legislation, which involve any question of morals or religion. How many zealous and sincere Protestants argued in good faith that the emancipation of Roman Catholics would bring down upon England the wrath of Heaven! They argued against the measure, not upon any grounds of convenience or justice, but upon the clear and broad ground that the emancipation of Roman Catholics would be an act of disobedience against Divine command. Yet they now accept the change in equal good faith; they have entirely ceased to argue against it; we must, by their complete acquiescence in it, believe that they no longer regard it as an outrage against Heaven. Yet nothing has changed in the principles or the doctrines upon which they formerly professed to act. The Scriptural words on which they founded their objection remain the same; no new line has been added, no new verbal interpretation has been discovered. Are we to suppose that these men would be content to acquiesce in a measure which they believed to be a violation of a Divine command? It would be their duty, were such their belief, to keep up a constant warfare against it, to refuse at all risks to form part of an assembly constituted upon such a principle; but the plain truth is, that they have gradually discovered their former interpretation of their religious duty to be incorrect; and they find it to be incorrect, not because any subsequent revelation has told them so, but because the excellent working of the change they once condemned has emphatically approved its moral propriety. They find that Catholic emancipation has prevented an otherwise inevitable civil war, has established harmony and content, and thereby promoted good government and the inevitable result of good government, national prosperity. They acknowledge, if not openly at least virtually, that any measure which brings about such results is thereby self-justified; and that if it stood in apparent contradiction to any religious dogma, it has triumphed by proving, not that the dogma was itself false, but that a certain interpretation of its meaning was incorrect and fallacious. Thus, too, with the admission of Jews to Parliament. The great argument of a certain body of persons against that long-delayed measure of justice was simply that to admit a Jew to our legislative assembly would be to commit an offence against Heaven. An eminent Conservative member of Parliament solemnly declared in the House that he "dared not," when he remembered certain passages in Scripture, vote for the admission of a Jew, or sit in a house of parliament where Jews were admitted. Yet he afterwards sat with all outward appearance of composure in the same House with Baron Rothschild and Alderman Salomons; and we do not doubt that if an effort were now made to exclude Jews from Parliament, he would vote against it. There has been no new revelation made since the time of his solemn appeal to the House of Commons against the granting of equality to Jews. But the measure has been found useful, convenient, and equitable; no terrible consequences have sprung from it; no thunderbolt has fallen on the House of Commons; no Egyptian plagues have tormented the land, and the legislators who believed the admission of Jews an impious and criminal act, have quietly recognised that when tried by the test of Utility, their interpretation of the will of Heaven simply proved itself to be wrong.

But Knox, or Calvin, or Ximenes, or Bossuet, would not have been content thus to allow mere human results to override their established principles. Philip of Spain would not have abandoned what he deemed a religious duty, because the abandonment of it was certain to conduce to the prosperity of his subjects. These men would have scorned to take into consideration so poor an object as human prosperity. They would have proclaimed it a far better thing that men "should perish one by one," than that a religious principle should be infringed. They would have repudiated the emancipation of a heretical creed even more sternly than George III. did. Now the men who sincerely, and on religious grounds, opposed Catholic and Jewish emancipation, were in no degree less devoted to their faith than Knox or Calvin, Ximenes or Bossuet. For the time in which they lived, they were no whit less bigoted; but they could not wholly resist the influence of their time; and the test by which it had almost universally agreed to judge of human conduct was unconsciously accepted and acknowledged by them. Therefore they allowed the principle of Justice to be interpreted by Utility. The worst of bigots in our days cannot help this submission; and the worst of bigots has laid aside nearly all his power of doing harm when he thus at last succumbs to the principle of Utility. So, too, of the laws admitting divorce, on which the high religious mode of argument has at length been quietly abandoned. We still hear some contentions about the Court of Divorce, but they are contentions which have reference solely to its operations and its results. Were the dissolving powers of that Court to receive a very much wider extension, the change would be disputed likewise merely in relation to its effects. If marriage with a deceased wife's sister were made legal to-morrow, and were found to be a convenient and beneficial arrangement, it would be accepted and approved after a while by those who now most loudly cry out that Heaven and Nature have pronounced against it. Nay, it is not possible to imagine any innovation, however great, upon the established social usages of the world, even upon those which are believed to be most directly ordained by the Scriptures, which such a nation as England would not after a while adopt, if once it had been proved that the change would conduce towards the happiness and benefit of the human race. This is surely not because we have grown less religious than our dogmatic forefathers. It is not because there is among any class of persons a greater indifference to the sanctity of the Divine laws. But it is because the conviction has taken irresistible hold of all civilized men, that the Divine laws for humanity are to be interpreted only by reference to the happiness and prosperity of the human race, and that while we are striving to benefit this world we must inevitably, and *ipso facto*, be likewise labouring to fulfil the decrees of Heaven. There are, indeed, infinitely more Utilitarians in the world, and especially in England, than are acknowledged to be followers of Bentham and Mill, or than have ever read one sentence from the writings of either teacher. If the professions and the enlightenment of the world are generally far ahead of its practice in point of morality, *en revanche* it is some consolation to know that the practice of society is generally considerably in advance of its theories and professions where political philosophy is concerned. This is especially the case in regard to the doctrine of Utility. Practically, England is ruled by its principles, and even those who most loudly proclaim and most sincerely believe themselves to be the followers of some lofty intuition or some ecclesiastical code, never hesitate about bending to the dominion of the other creed in all matters of practical concern. But Utility is very far from being recognised as yet in its theoretic truth as a governing principle. It has to combat with two great classes; the one, and infinitely the more numerous, that which is as yet incapable of emancipation from the dominion of mere superstition; the other, composed of an intelligent and educated class, who base their opposition upon religious or metaphysical or psychological foundations. To the former class, of course, Mr. Mill does not pretend to address himself. Those who compose it are only to be affected by the slow and gradual teaching of time, and the inevitable practical enlightenment which the mere lapse of years must force in upon them. But to the other class, this little book of Mr. Mill's will appeal with an undoubted influence. Thrown off with great apparent ease, it is yet full of a subtle power, as it is in many places illumined by passages of a clear and manly eloquence. It grapples fairly, boldly, and we think successfully, with some of the greatest difficulties which have hitherto been opposed to the way of the Utilitarian philosophy. In the midst of all the exciting topics which occupy men's minds in our day—a day more passionately disturbed by violent political storms than any other since the age of the great French Revolution—this calm and thoughtful little treatise, addressing itself to considerations of pure philosophy, has succeeded in making an impression upon the intellect and the interest of English society. It will be recognised hereafter, when the philosophical progress of our age comes to be measured and estimated, as a contribution of the greatest value to the elucidation and the final decision of the important question which the author has so deeply studied.

ART. IV.—GAMESTERS AND GAMING-HOUSES.

1. *Les Faucheurs de Nuit: Joueurs et Joueuses.* Par EDOUARD GOURDON. Deuxième Edition. Paris: A. Bourdillat et Cie. 1860.
2. *Die Homburger Spielhölle in geschichtlicher und aktenmässiger Beleuchtung.* Aus dem in Frankfurt, a. M. erscheinenden. "Volksfreund für das Mittlere Deutchland," abgedruckt. Frankfurt-am-Main: Wilhelm Küchler. 1862.
3. *Jeu de la Roulette.* Par J. H. B——. Homburg-ès-Monts: Fred. Fraunholz. 1858.
4. *Guide du Spéculateur au Trente-et-Quarante, avec la Manière de faire en Six Mois plus de 50 Capitaux.* Par un Ancien Notaire. Seconde Edition. Hombourg-ès-Monts: Louis Schick. 1860.

FOUR months ago the gossips of Paris were regaling their acquaintances with a story which, though strongly resembling a cleverly concocted fiction, was yet proved in a court of justice to be true to the letter. It ran thus. On the 4th of February last, a Madame Julia Barucci, having taken possession of a new house, celebrated the event by inviting about thirty guests to supper. The lady's antecedents are unknown to us. Our knowledge of her is limited to these few facts: she was twenty-five years of age; though unmarried, she had changed her name repeatedly, and was an object of attraction to a large circle of gentlemen. We may justly infer that she was a prominent member of that sisterhood of Love which, unbound by vows, and untrammelled by principles, devotes its energies to the attainment of the seemingly incompatible ends of assiduously pursuing pleasure and rapidly accumulating gold. The hostess and her guests were well matched. Among the latter was a Signor Garcia, who had achieved a temporary notoriety at Homburg and Baden, by winning seventy-five thousand pounds in the course of two seasons, and then being reduced to beggary after a few months' play, and who, in addition to the vicissitudes of fortune, had experienced the extremes of popular feeling by being envied and extolled when rich, and heartily despised when impoverished. Signor Calzado, the manager of the Italian Theatre at Paris, was a guest whom the others regarded with dislike, and with whom Signor Garcia alone was on terms of intimacy. This dislike was attributable, not to the well-known circumstance of his being a gamester, but to the general belief that he was a cheat. What was then only suspected, was afterwards clearly demonstrated. He was not only a card-sharper, but a card-sharper of an exceptionally bold and original kind. On one occasion he proceeded to Havannah, and bought up every pack of cards in the place. He had previously freighted a vessel with marked playing-cards, which arrived opportunely to supply the dealers whose stocks were completely exhausted. When the cards he had prepared and imported were in common use, he played incessantly and for high stakes, and, as a matter of course, was invariably a winner. The most welcome of all the guests was Signor Miranda, gentleman of the Queen of Spain's household. He had previously distinguished himself by his alacrity in gaming on every occasion, and for his capacity to lose large sums of money. That he was prepared to play high on this evening was proved by his coming to the party with one hundred thousand francs in his pockets.

As soon as the guests had assembled, Signor Garcia arranged a rouge-et-noir table. His countrymen, Signors Calzado and Miranda, took part in the game, and the latter soon won thirty thousand francs. The serious business of the evening was then interrupted by the announcement that supper was ready. After supper, when the guests were suitably heated and excited with wine, they engaged in a game of Baccarat. This game is prohibited in France as hazard is in England, and for the like reason, that it is a game of chance. Signor Garcia absented himself from the room for half-an-hour. Under the pretext of wishing to smoke a cigar, he went into a private chamber, where he disposed about his person several packs of cards which he had brought with him. On returning to the gaming-table he began to play for high stakes. His success was extraordinary. In a short time he won one hundred and forty thousand francs, chiefly from Signor Miranda. Signor Calzado, who followed Garcia's lead, won a large sum also. The exceptionally good fortune of Garcia, and the marvellous character of the cards which he held, aroused the astonishment of the players, and drew forth comments from the onlookers. At length it was perceived that some of the cards in Garcia's hand were of different colours, and did not belong to the packs provided by the hostess. Thereupon he was charged with foul play. He admitted having introduced cards of his own; but alleged that he had played fairly, and had brought certain packs from his club merely because they always proved lucky cards to him. Of the reality of his luck there could be as little question as of the infamy of his conduct. He offered as a matter of favour, and on condition that the affair should be hushed up, to refund his winnings, and produced the sum of fifty thousand francs. Those whom he had cheated once, were not to be deluded now into accepting a third part in place of the whole. A scene then occurred which, if represented on the stage, would be hissed because of its improbability, and if described in a novel would be censured by the critics because of its absurdity. Fearing lest he should be forcibly despoiled of his ill-gotten winnings, Garcia tried to escape from the house. Finding the door bolted, he rushed into a room and hid himself in a corner. After being chased by his lynx-eyed and enraged pursuers from room to room, and from one hiding-place to another, he was finally stripped of all the money in his possession. Signor Calzado was then asked to display the contents of his pockets, or suffer himself to be searched. He refused to do either; but stealthily allowed a roll of bank notes, to the value of sixteen thousand francs, to slip down his trousers and fall on the floor. The roll was picked up and handed to him, but he denied all knowledge of it. The brother cheats were then permitted to leave the house. It was found, after their departure, that they had carried with them at least forty thousand francs.

The result of this scandalous affair was the public trial of the offenders. Calzado appeared in person; Garcia had fled the country. Both were convicted of malpractices. Garcia was sentenced to five years, and Calzado to thirteen months' imprisonment, in addition to fines of three thousand francs each. Moreover, they were ordered to pay jointly the sum of thirty-one thousand francs to Signor Miranda. Although on this occasion Madame Barucci escaped punishment, yet it will fare worse with her should she again be placed in a similar position. The police will henceforward keep both herself and her visitors under a supervision so strict that should she a second time permit prohibited games to be played at her house, she will be apprehended without hesitation and punished without mercy.

Neither the severity of the law of France, nor the vigilance of the French police, can check the frequent occurrence of scenes like the one we have just described; yet the formidable obstacles put in the way of gamesters deter many from commencing to play, even while they do little to hinder those who habitually game, from persevering in the practice. M. Gourdon, in his instructive work on this subject, tells us, that in order to avoid inevitable detection, professional gamesters change their quarters weekly, and even nightly; hence it is a matter of some difficulty for the initiated themselves to discover, on any given evening, where their fellow-gamesters will assemble. The most ardent and persistent gamesters are women. Both the young and the old, the comely and the ill-favoured, hazard everything in order to gratify this taste, and usually succeed in gratifying it to the full.

To the young, who deny themselves no sensual delight, this furnishes an additional pleasure, while the old who can no longer practise the degrading vices which they love, find in gaming a fresh and unfailing excitement. There exist in Paris female associations for the indulgence of the taste for play. M. Gourdon contrived to attend a meeting of one of these societies. If his description of what took place be a truthful one, the votaries of pleasure who thus assemble are the victims of the cruellest of punishments.

In Paris, as elsewhere, gaming having ceased to be a fashionable vice, is no longer commended or tolerated by good society. To become rich by gaming is considered disreputable; but to acquire wealth by speculating at the Bourse is regarded as both honourable and legitimate. The speculator has superseded the gamester. Lewis the Fourteenth accorded his favour to Dangeau, who had made a fortune by play, while Napoleon the Third patronized Mirès, the notorious speculator. There is this difference between the two monarchs; the former induced his subjects to game, by setting them the example; the latter merely affords his subjects every possible facility for risking and losing their money in gambling speculations.

The passionate fondness of Lewis the Fourteenth for play was partly attributable to his early training. Cardinal Mazarin, himself a confirmed gamester, lost no opportunity of imbuing the young king with a taste for play, and did not scruple to profit by his skill, and win large sums from the king. It was notorious that Mazarin would resort to foul means when by playing fairly he could not win. Of course he did not know what cheating meant: ecclesiastics always affect ignorance of the real names of vices. He admitted that "he made proper use of his advantages," and maintained that he was justified in so doing. On one occasion the principal personages of the time were the admiring spectators of a performance which might be accurately styled—"Diamond cut Diamond." The spectacle was Mazarin and the Chevalier de Grammont playing together at cards, and each trying to obtain the advantage over the other by cheating!

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the surest passport to public notice and distinction in France was to play desperately, to lose freely or to win largely. Montesquieu satirizes this with his usual force and point in his "Persian Letters." In the sixty-fourth letter, Usbek informs Ibben that "gaming is commonly practised in Europe. It is even followed as a profession, and the title of gamester is held to be equivalent to birth, to possessions, and to probity. Its holder is ranked, without inquiry, among honourable men, notwithstanding everybody is aware that to judge thus is to be frequently deceived. Still, in this matter, people are determined to remain incorrigible."

St. Simon records that the most distinguished member of Lewis the Fourteenth's court was a duke who had the reputation of cheating at play, and that a Princess Harcourt openly cheated, and on being detected manifested neither shame nor concern, but simply laughed and pocketed her winnings. However, it was necessary for the ladies of that age to reconcile piety with avarice, to quiet their consciences and fill their purses. If, on going to confession they acknowledged having won money unfairly, absolution was either refused them, or else a severe penance was enjoined. To prevent unpleasant scenes with their spiritual guides, without abandoning their malpractices, the following plan was devised and executed. Those who had won equal sums at play formally presented these sums to each other. They carefully avoided using the phrase "interchange of winnings." What they did were acts of pure charity. A confessor could hardly reproach the penitent who confessed to having cheated at play, but who had at once distributed in charity the sums she had improperly acquired! Certainly, the elasticity of the female conscience is only less wonderful than the depths of female ingenuity.

The famous Law first gained notoriety by his extravagant play and his extraordinary good fortune. He was the most daring and successful of gamesters. So uniform and remarkable was his success, that he became an object of suspicion to M. d'Argenson, chief of the police. Law had the skill, however, to gain millions at play, and to escape being detected and convicted as a cheat. The rage for gaming which prevailed during the Regency was not modified when Lewis the Fifteenth became king. The latter monarch was too much the slave of his appetites to take delight in gaming; but he neither disapproved of it, nor did his subjects refrain from indulging in it. On the contrary, they gamed with an effrontery altogether unparalleled, and almost inconceivable. Foreign and impartial testimony fully corroborates the statements of French writers on this point. Horace Walpole, who visited Paris in 1739, thus relates in a letter to Richard West his impressions of what he witnessed there:—"You would not easily guess their notions of honour: I will tell you one: it is very dishonourable for any gentleman not to be in the army, or in the king's service, as they call it; and it is no dishonour to keep public gaming-houses: there are at least one hundred and fifty of the first quality in Paris who live by it. You may go into their houses at all hours of the night, and find hazard, pharaoh, &c. The men who keep the hazard-table at the Duke de Gesvres' pay him twelve guineas each night for the privilege. Even the Princesses of the Blood are dirty enough to have shares in the banks kept at their houses."

Lewis the Sixteenth was the reverse of a profligate, and he detested gaming. His queen, on the other hand, was devotedly attached to faro and lansquenet, and counteracted by her daily practice the good example set by her husband. During the reign of Lewis the Sixteenth, as well as the reigns of his predecessors, various laws had been passed against gaming, and had been rigorously enforced against the middle and poorer classes. The Revolution came, and the laws which prohibited gaming were broken with the same impunity as laws of every other description. A gaming-house was opened in every street, and the people gave free scope to their passion for play. Up to the time of the Directory, there were four thousand of these houses in full operation in Paris alone. When Bonaparte rose to power, one of his first acts was to grapple with this crying evil. His first thought was to suppress gaming-houses altogether; but he abandoned this project and resolved to license them. The arrangement which he made continued till 1838, when public gaming was prohibited by law. The last company which farmed the Parisian gaming-houses paid the Government two hundred and seventy thousand pounds for the privilege. There were six houses—Frascati's, the Salons, and four in the Palais Royal. The daily average number of players was three thousand, while one thousand were generally refused admittance. The clear profit made in 1837 was seventy-six thousand pounds sterling. Of this sum three-fourths were handed over to the city of Paris, leaving nineteen thousand pounds for distribution among the members of the company.

The French, having signally failed in subjugating Europe, are wont to console themselves with the thought that those who successfully defied their arms have been forced to copy their fashions and adopt their language. With equal truth, they might boast of having invented and named nearly all those games of chance which the laws of any enlightened nation prohibit being played in public, and which are never played at all by civilized and sensible men in any part of the world. But the governments of several minor German States openly sanction and support what the governments of greater nations denounce as an incalculable evil. Although the inhabitants of those States in which games of chance are publicly played, regard gaming establishments with a well-founded abhorrence, yet they have hitherto been unable to persuade their rulers to suppress them. It is argued that as the owners of these establishments pay large sums of money to the State for the privilege of conducting them, the rulers of the State act rightly in receiving the money and in disregarding the objections of those who hold that to increase the revenue in such a way is both immoral and impolitic. Curiously enough, these establishments are usually owned and managed by Frenchmen. For example, Baden is more a French than a German town. The proprietor of its gaming-house is a Frenchman; the majority of its visitors come from France; French is the language principally spoken; French plays are performed in its theatre; in short, Baden is simply a portion of the most disreputable part of the Palais Royal planted on German territory. Homburg, its chief rival, is less exclusively French, yet it owes nearly as much to France as Baden does. A Frenchman founded and now conducts the Homburg gaming-house. Of this house, which is at once the principal attraction and the greatest curse of Homburg, we shall proceed to give an account.

Homburg, though half the size and containing half the population of Richmond-on-Thames, is a capital city, the seat of a court, and the head-quarters of an army. Hesse-Homburg, of which it is the capital, is a little larger than Richmond Park. The destinies of this State are guided by a landgrave, who has a castle to dwell in and a ministry to assist him in discharging his arduous duties. Were his State invaded, his army could make but a feeble resistance, seeing that it consists of one infantry regiment only. The manufactures for which Homburg is famous are stockings; the natural products with which it has been enriched are mineral waters. It has to thank its landgrave for the gaming-house which has made it renowned throughout the world.

In 1840, two Frenchmen, named Francis and Lewis Blanc, having acquired thirty thousand florins by play, wished to invest their capital in a gaming-house, and asked the Landgrave of Hesse Homburg for permission to establish such a house in his capital. On what terms their request was granted we do not know. But the house was opened; play commenced, and the capital was lost. In this emergency the Government advanced them, without interest, from one to one hundred and fifty thousand florins. Most probably, the price of this advance was a share in the profits. In 1847 the brothers Blanc obtained the consent of the Government to form a company for the purpose of extending the operations of the gaming-house and of conducting its affairs. The name of the company was cleverly chosen to cloak the designs of its promoters—it was called, a "Scrip Company for leasing conjointly the Pump-room and Mineral Springs."

The original capital was one million of florins, divided into two thousand shares, of five hundred florins each. Twelve years after the Company was established, the capital had been increased by successive issues of shares to four millions two hundred thousand florins, equal to three hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. The market value of the capital in 1862 was ten millions of florins, equal, in round numbers, to eight hundred and thirty thousand pounds. Fifty florins per share was the average dividend. The shares had been reduced in value from five to one hundred florins, and every holder of an original five hundred florin share had exchanged it without additional payment for fifteen one hundred florin shares. The dividends which the holders of the original shares had received, amounted to one hundred and fifty per cent. on their outlay. It is alleged by the author of a pamphlet on the "Hells of Homburg," that dividends even more enormous have been earned, but not paid, because of the manager and directors having appropriated sums which ought to have been distributed among the shareholders. What gives a colour to this allegation is, that M. Blanc, the managing director, is said to have accumulated a fortune of eight hundred thousand pounds sterling. Seeing that, shortly after founding the gaming-house, he lost his entire capital, he has been unusually fortunate to acquire so large a fortune within less than twenty years. It is quite certain that the Company's annual profits exceed a quarter of a million sterling. Surely the gamesters at Homburg pay a very heavy tax for their enjoyment!

At Homburg, and elsewhere, the Russians are notable for prodigality in squandering money; as gamesters, they play with persistence, and lose with indifference. Equally reckless, but far more excitable and demonstrative, are the Americans. Whether Confederates or Federals, they dearly love play, and indulge their passion for it without scruple. Frenchmen and Germans compose one-half of the floating population of Homburg, and are the most untiring frequenters of the gaming-rooms. Few of them, however, either risk large sums or incur heavy losses. When a Frenchman does lose, the loss is serious. In his estimation, life, without the means for enjoying it, is not worth having; consequently, after losing his last guinea he generally meditates, and often commits suicide. With the fondness for theatrical display which characterizes his nation, a Frenchman studies effect even in death. At Homburg, the favourite mode of ending his existence is blowing out his brains with a pistol, in the room where his ruin has been effected. When such a catastrophe happens, the gamesters first exhibit a momentary surprise, and then manifest considerable annoyance at the temporary suspension of the game. No sooner has the palpitating corpse been removed, the blood-stained and brain-strewn floor washed and polished, than the game is resumed and the dead man forgotten. All these things have been known to occur within the brief space of ten minutes. Prominent among the frequenters of the rooms by the readiness with which they stake considerable sums, distinguished from all the others by the external equanimity with which they bear alike the smiles and the frowns of fortune, are those players whom their apparel, demeanour, and accent emphatically proclaim to be Englishmen. They meet their losses without repining, because their purses are generally well-filled, and because they know that the loss of fifty or a hundred pounds will merely result in the shortening of their tour and the hastening of their return home. If a Frenchman or German loses a similar amount, he will be greatly inconvenienced, and perhaps seriously embarrassed. Now and then an Englishman of rank and wealth leaves behind him an amount which of itself adds considerably to the dividends of the Company. There is a tradition at Homburg, that not many years ago, an impulsive and reckless member of the House of Commons, who now exercises authority over a part of the United Kingdom inhabited by men as reckless and impulsive as himself, frequented the gaming-rooms for a few days, and lost the large sum of six thousand pounds. Whether this be true or the reverse, it is unquestionable that the Company never had so prosperous a year as that in which this visit is reported to have occurred.

But men do not visit Homburg for the sole purpose of enriching a gaming company. If they go thither to play, it is because they expect to win. That a few do leave Homburg richer than when they arrived is just possible, and even probable; but they are exceedingly rare exceptions to the general rule. A player may win for a time; if so, he will persevere in the hope of continuing to win, and in the end will assuredly lose both his winnings and something to boot. He may possess sufficient resolution to stop after a fortunate stroke; yet he will certainly return to the room again, either on the next day or during another season, and then the Company will have its revenge. The greatest and saddest of delusions is the belief entertained by many that wealth can be acquired by gaming. At such games as roulette and rouge-et-noir the beginner has the same chance as the adept; experience neither gives skill nor teaches prudence. But it is unnecessary to argue the question; how can the original shareholders in the Homburg Gaming Company have received yearly dividends at the rate of one hundred and fifty per cent. on their capital, if those who game carry away much money with them?

Just as some men continually delude themselves into the conviction that they have succeeded either in squaring the circle, or in discovering a means for producing perpetual motion, so do others work themselves into believing that they have invented a system of play, which, if practised, will render losing impossible, and winning a certainty. M. Gourdon assures us, what we can readily believe, that numbers of monomaniacs of the latter kind are to be met with in Paris. He was acquainted with one of them. This was a man, twenty-five years of age, who was well connected, and had been well educated. All the works treating of games of chance he had carefully studied, and thoroughly mastered every system that had been devised. He calculated chances, grouped figures, weighed, so to speak, the imponderable, and arrived at conclusions in favour of his own theory with a confidence, a logic, and a precision altogether astonishing. No professor of mathematics could have solved a problem more clearly and satisfactorily. Not only could he demonstrate the goodness of his system, but could incontrovertibly explain wherefore the systems of his predecessors had disappointed their expectations. All that he required to put his scheme into successful operation was a loan of ten thousand francs, which he obtained. A fortnight after he had started for Homburg, M. Gourdon received a letter from him, dated from a frontier town, and which ran thus:—"I have arrived from Germany, having left, you know where, the money I took along with me. Want of money has forced me to stop here. I require a hundred francs in order to return to Paris, and I beg that you will forward them to me." He added in a postscript—"Pray excuse my being without four sous wherewith to prepay this letter." The next time M. Gourdon saw him, he said that he had reconsidered his system, and discovered wherein it was defective. On this M. Gourdon remarks—"he could hardly have spoken otherwise of a simple error of addition."—(pp. 225-6.)

When Don Quixote was preparing to set out as a knight-errant, he furbished up an old suit of armour which had been used by his ancestors, and which he found in his garret. Unfortunately, the helmet was incomplete, there being only a simple headpiece without a beaver. This defect he supplied by forming and fastening to the helmet a vizor of pasteboard. He next proceeded to try the strength of the helmet by smiting it with his sword. The first stroke clove it in twain; thereupon, he substituted an iron plate for the pasteboard vizor. As the helmet now seemed sufficiently strong, he thought it needless to test its strength, so placing it on his head he sallied forth to aid and succour the helpless and the distressed. Now a system-monger acts precisely like Don Quixote. Having invented a system whereby he will infallibly win money at play, he tests it practically, and is beggared in consequence. Detecting the causes of failure, he ingeniously removes them, and thus renders his system perfect in his estimation. Satisfied with its theoretical perfection, he studiously avoids a second mischance and disappointment by again testing it practically. Instead of doing this, he becomes a knight-errant on behalf of luckless gamesters. He publishes his system that they may adopt it, and thus become enlightened and enriched. There are always to be found plenty of unthinking men and women who eagerly purchase every pamphlet professing to contain an infallible receipt for making a fortune by gaming. These pamphlets are generally sold in sealed covers, and for very high prices; the titles of two of them head this article.

J. H. B., the author of one of the pamphlets, is very exacting in the qualifications which must be possessed by the gamester who can reasonably hope for success. He must be cool, calculating, prudent; must never lose his temper, and must never despair. He must play a well-considered game, a game which provides for every emergency, and is suited for coping with unexpected mishaps. It is only on condition of his being so qualified, and being master of such a game, that he "ceases to be a gamester and becomes a speculator." Hence, to purchase J. H. B.'s pamphlet may avail little; to master his system may be time thrown away, seeing that only a chosen few can use that system with effect. But something more than brilliant personal qualities are requisite: "An isolated player whose means are limited cannot gain real and lasting advantages in spite of all the prudence, skill, and strategy he may possess and manifest; sooner or later he must succumb." To sadden the prospect still more, J. H. B. emphatically assures his readers that the greatest illusion they can entertain, the one which will certainly endanger their repose and their purses, is for them to suppose that without funds to start with they will be other than losers in the end. "With a few florins, or even a few hundreds of florins, and the best of all possible systems, there is nothing to gain, and everything to fear from games of chance." The minimum with which they can begin is seven hundred, and the maximum four thousand florins. By acting on his advice in the employment of these sums, they will be increased tenfold in the twinkling of an eye. What, then, is the pith of his system? It is simply to do in a complicated manner what others have done to their cost in a simpler manner: increase the stake after every loss, and diminish it after every gain. Thus, if three florins are staked and lost, four must be staked the next time; if the four are lost, then five must be staked, and so on. On the other hand, if three florins are staked and an equal number won, two are withdrawn, the remainder being staked; if the result of the next stroke be in favour of the player, he again withdraws two, and, in fact, continues to do so after every successful stroke. The danger, nay, the certainty is, that a succession of unfortunate strokes will empty his purse, and thus he will be precluded by lack of funds from attaining those results which J. H. B. proclaims to be within the reach of every qualified practitioner of his system.

"A Retired Attorney" professes to have discovered a more practicable way than that chalked out by J. H. B. for becoming enriched by gaming. The gamester who embraces the attorney's system need not bring to the practice of it either extraordinary cleverness or uncommon self-command. According to him it is an exceedingly easy thing to acquire wealth by frequenting a gaming-room. To ensure success, however, it is indispensable to avoid being excessively impatient and precipitate. In other words, while showing how money can be made, he expresses disapproval of making it too rapidly. No one need hope to do more than augment his capital fiftyfold within the period of six months. He agrees with J. H. B. in this, that the player who follows a system ceases to be a gamester and becomes a speculator. From the frequency with which this is insisted on, it would seem as if the highest object of human ambition were to acquire the character and title of speculator! How success is to be attained, the retired attorney does not clearly explain. No prophet of a sporting newspaper could be more oracular than he is. The reader who fails to comprehend his system is informed that "there are certain modifications essential to its success, which can be given orally, but not in writing, because requiring too lengthy explanations." In default of containing lucid explanations the pamphlet closes with an unmistakeable appeal: "Let all gamesters come to me, make a common purse, follow my system, and one day the remark of Napoleon will be verified; 'the gaming banks will be conquered by calculation.'" Between J. H. B. and the retired attorney there is this difference; the latter is the greater quack of the two.

The Landgrave of Hesse-Homburg, with whose consent the gaming-house was established in his capital, who profits by the ruin of the visitors to the rooms, and whose minister supervises the Company's affairs, can neither believe in [illegible] dictum ascribed to Napoleon the First, nor in the possibility of a gamester growing rich, since every inhabitant of Homburg is forbidden, under very heavy penalties, from entering the gaming-house and engaging in play.

Of late years there has been a general outcry throughout Germany against the gaming-houses. Their suppression has been vehemently demanded in the interests alike of public morality and sound policy. This expression of public feeling resulted in the consideration of the question by the Federal Diet. The Diet called upon the Governments of the different States of Germany to say what they were prepared to do with a view to putting a period to the public encouragement of gaming. The Government of the Grand Duchy of Baden replied that it intended closing the Baden establishment even before the termination of the contract. On the other hand, the Nassau Government maintained that it was impossible to abolish the gaming-banks of Wiesbaden and Ems, the proprietors of which had constructed the thermal establishments there, in 1807 and 1810, and had kept them in repair ever since at their own cost. It promised, however, not to grant any new concessions in future. The Government of Mecklenburg-Schwerin offered to suppress the Dobberan gaming-house in the event of the Governments of the other States suppressing those within their jurisdictions. The Government of Waldeck refused to suppress the gaming-houses at Pyrmont and Wildungen, the concessions for which were in force till 1873 and 1905, unless public gaming should be prohibited throughout the Confederation, a measure to which it would agree. The Government of Hesse Homburg denied to the Diet the right to entertain the question at all, until it should have abolished the public lotteries authorized within the territories of the Confederation.

We heartily disapprove the conduct of the Hesse-Homburg Government in the matter of gaming, yet we admit that it did well in returning the foregoing answer to the Federal Diet. So long as gaming-houses shall remain open in certain German towns, these towns will continue to be the scenes of irreparable ruin to thousands, will be the favourite haunts of the depraved, and the opprobrium of the enlightened. But they will not stand alone. For wherever lotteries shall receive, as they now do, open sanction from the State authorities, and shall be freely employed by them for the purposes of raising revenue and borrowing money, all classes will have improper facilities granted them for indulging in discreditable and reprehensible gambling. The lottery system, as generally practised throughout Germany, amounts to a public encouragement of avarice and indolence, because that system renders it po[illegible] acquire by chance and without exertion the wealth wh[illegible]hould be the sure if tardy recompence of sturdy and honourable industry alone.

There is hardly a German State in which lotteries are not legalized. In Austria a large portion of the revenue is derived from the proceeds of the State lottery. If an English company call for capital wherewith to construct a railway, it is readily subscribed, on the public being assured of receiving a fair rate of interest in return. On the other hand, it is customary for a German railway company, to offer money prizes as well as promise dividends to those who subscribe for shares. States in which public opinion has little influence are not more cursed with lotteries than States wherein public opinion reigns supreme. Nowhere is the fondness for lotteries more apparent, and the passion for gambling more recklessly gratified, than in the free cities of Hamburg and Frankfurt.

If German gaming-houses and lotteries were injurious to Germans only, we should deplore their existence, but should refrain from condemning the conduct of those who sanction and conduct them. Their baneful influence, however, extends to England also. Thousands of Englishmen visit Germany every summer, and lose their money in the gaming-rooms at Homburg or Baden, Wiesbaden or Ems. Throughout the entire year, lottery-tickets find as ready a sale in England as in Germany. Hence, to suppress these lotteries and gaming-houses would be to render an inestimable service to both countries.

In England, both public lotteries and gaming-houses have been suppressed by Act of Parliament. If gaming be sometimes practised in this country, it is not because the law is weak or leniently enforced. The difficulties put in the way of keeping a gaming-house are almost insuperable; the penalties being very severe, and the police being armed with ample powers. It is hard to understand why visitors to Newmarket should there find opportunities for gaming which they cannot have elsewhere; why the forbidden games of hazard, rouge-et-noir, and roulette should be played there with impunity. Perhaps this is allowed on the principle of its being fair to afford those who have won money by betting, an opportunity of losing it at play.

Public lotteries, though as illegal as gaming-houses, are by no means so rare. They are called by the more euphonious and unmeaning names of Art-Unions. The prizes are pictures or statues in place of coin. The professed objects of Art-Unions are noble and praiseworthy; they are to encourage the Fine Arts, and to convert England into a nation of followers and admirers of art. This is a most ingenious disguise under which to practise gambling. For very similar reasons betting on horses is practised, and prize-fights are commended. It is argued that were [illegible] prohibited, horse-racing would cease, and that were there no racing, the breed of horses would deteriorate. We are told that had we no prize-fights, a muscular Christian would become as great a rarity as the Moa. Now, it may delight two men to pound each other into jelly, and others may delight in witnessing the performance; but it would be as absurd to maintain that Englishmen owe their pluck and muscle to prize-fights, as that the ancient Romans were made magnanimous by gladiatorial combats, and that the Spaniards have been rendered courageous by bull-fights. Even more ridiculous and contrary to fact is it to maintain that art has been encouraged by Art-Unions, or that they are anything better than disguised lotteries, and as such ought to be prohibited. If a subscriber to an Art-Union draw a prize, he can immediately convert it into money. If the holder of a lottery ticket draw a prize, he can buy a picture or statue with it. The distinction between the two cases is impalpable to ordinary minds; but that some do perceive a distinction is evinced by their eagerly subscribing to Art-Unions, and holding lotteries in abhorrence. In like manner and with equal consistency, those who consider it pollution to enter an ordinary theatre and witness a regular play, crowd to an "entertainment" given in a hall or gallery, and consisting of plays on a reduced scale, all the parts being filled by one actor and actress.

Those who value an abuse in proportion to its antiquity, will regret that Parliament should ever have interfered with so venerable an institution as the lottery. It was in full operation a century before the National Debt was dreamt of. The astute ministers of Queen Elizabeth first employed it as a medium through which to tax the people indirectly. In 1567, proposals were issued "for a very rich lottery general, without any blankes, contayning a great number of good prizes, as well of redy-money as of plate and certain sorts of merchandize, having been valued and prized by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesties' order, to the entent that such commodities as may chance to arise thereof after the charges borne may be converted towards the reparations of the havens and strength of the realme, and towards such other good workes. The number of lotts shall be four hundred thousand, and no more; and every lott shall be the sum of ten shillings sterling, and no more." The drawing began at the west door of St. Paul's Cathedral, on the 11th of January, 1569, and was continued without intermission till the 6th of May following. Forty-five years afterwards, "King James, in special favour for the present plantation of English colonies in Virginia, granted a lottery, to be held at the west end of St. Paul's; whereof one Thomas Sharplys, a tailor of London, had the chief prize, which was [illegible]usand crowns in fair plate."* During succeeding reigns both public and private lotteries were common and popular. In the reign of Queen Anne, however, they were suppressed on the ground of being public nuisances. They were revived and licensed in 1778. From that time till 1825, a Lottery Bill was passed every session. The gross yearly income received by the Government from lotteries was seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds. A treasury minute, dated the 18th of October, 1827, closed all the public lottery offices, and this kind of gambling, first introduced and sanctioned by the Ministers of Queen Elizabeth, has been stigmatized as illegal, and we hope terminated for ever, by an Act of Parliament passed in the reign of Queen Victoria.

The attempt recently made to abolish beer-drinking on Sundays, however ridiculous and blameworthy, was admirably timed, and likely to prove successful, when compared with the efforts made by the legislators of the 18th century, to effect the suppression of gaming. Act after Act was passed, yet the evil waxed daily more formidable and intolerable. That the provisions of these Acts were stringent enough will be understood from the following specimens. Thus, an Act passed in 1739 made it illegal to play such games as ace of hearts, faro, basset, and hazard. The keepers of houses or other places for gaming purposes were to forfeit two hundred pounds on conviction, and those who played, fifty pounds each. A justice of the peace refusing to convict, forfeited ten pounds for each offence. Another Act, containing still more stringent provisions, was passed in 1749, in which roulette, or roly-poly, was included among the forbidden games. These and other Acts proved wholly ineffectual, because those who sanctioned, were the foremost in breaking them. They were never enforced against persons of quality, who were the principal offenders. Moreover, a special clause in these Acts exempted the royal palaces from their operation. Now, the royal palaces were nothing better than huge gaming-houses, and the Sovereign was the greatest gamester in the kingdom. The truth is, gaming was the fashionable vice, and a vice must cease to be fashionable before men will cease to practise it. Till then, they regard it as a virtue.

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* "Gentleman's Magazine." Vol. 85, p. 341.

Horace Walpole has put on record numerous specimens of the reckless and ruinous kind of gaming in which his contemporaries indulged. In 1770, he tells Sir Horace Mann, "the gaming at Almack's, which has taken the *pas* of White's, is worthy the decline of our Empire, or Commonwealth, which you please. The young men of the age lose five, ten, fifteen thousand pounds in an evening there. Lord Stavordale, not [illegible], lost eleven thousand there last Tuesday, but recovered [illegible] one great hand at hazard: he swore a great oath,—'Now, if I had been playing *deep*, I might have won millions!'" In a letter to the Hon. S. A. Conway, dated 1781, he relates that his "nephew, Lord Cholmondeley, the banker *à la mode*, has been demolished. He and his associate, Sir Willoughby Ashton, went early the other night to Brookes's, before Charles Fox and Fitzpatrick, who keep a bank there, were come; but they soon arrived, attacked their rivals, broke their bank, and won above four thousand pounds. There,' said Fox, 'so should all usurpers be served.' He did still better; for he sent for his tradesmen, and paid as far as the money would go.'"

Another circumstance mentioned by Walpole is even more extraordinary than the foregoing feats at play. In 1781, he informed Lady Ossory,—"I was diverted last night at Lady Lucan's. The moment I entered she set me down to whist with

Lady Bute, and who do you think were the other partners? the Archbishopess of Canterbury and Mr. Gibbon." Be it remembered, this took place five years after the publication of the first volume of the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire." Now, we take credit to ourselves for tolerance, because in our day the Test Act has been repealed, and because Roman Catholics are no longer persecuted on account of their religion. But are we really so tolerant as those of our forefathers whom we are accustomed to revile? For instance, what would the *Record* and Exeter Hall say, were they to learn that Bishop Colenso and the Archbishopess of York had been partners at whist? Would it not be predicted that, before a week elapsed, the world would certainly come to an end?

The rage for gaming was at its height toward the close of the 18th century. Prior to the first French Revolution, not more than four or five gaming-tables were in operation; but at a subsequent period, upwards of thirty houses were open every night.* This was done in defiance of the law. Several members of the aristocracy kept faro-tables at their own houses. Lady Buckinghamshire, Lady Spencer, and Lady Mount Edgcumbe, had an unenviable notoriety for so doing. They were christened "Faro's Daughters." Referring to them, Lord Kenyon said on the 9th of May, 1796, "They think they are too great for the law; I wish they could be punished. If any prosecutions of this sort are fairly brought before me, and the parties are justly convicted, whatever be their rank or station in the country—though they should be the first ladies in the land—they shall certainly exhibit themselves on the pillory." At the beginning of March, 1797, an information was laid against Lady Buckinghamshire, Lady E. Luttrell and [illegible] other ladies and gentlemen of rank, for keeping faro-tables in their houses; and on the 11th of that month they were convicted of the offence, but Lord Kenyon seems to have forgotten his former threat, and he only subjected them to rather severe fines.†

Either in consequence of these proceedings, or for some undisclosed reason, ladies of rank henceforth ceased to lay themselves open to censure for their passionate addiction to play. Instead of inviting a small number of guests to pass the evening in card-playing, ladies of fashion began to invite a large number of guests to pass the night in dancing, or doing nothing.

The abandonment of play on the part of the ladies, was followed by a similar move on the part of the gentlemen. The latter agreed to respect the laws which many of them had helped to frame. Clubs such as White's, Brookes's, and Boodle's, which were originally instituted to evade the law against public gaming-houses, were transformed into clubs for social enjoyment and political purposes. The games of whist, chess, and billiards came to be recognised as the only games at which gentlemen should play; all others, and especially all games of chance, being voted vulgar and improper.

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* Massey's "History of England." Vol. ii. p. 58.

† "England under the House of Hanover." By Thomas Wright. Vol. ii. p. 332.

If gaming first declined because frowned on by fashion, its decline was accelerated by a taste arising for other kinds of excitement. Horse-racing had always been a national pastime; but betting upon horses did not become a national passion till about the earlier portion of the nineteenth century. It is true that, long before then, men of fashion found in betting a pleasure which nothing else could yield. They were accustomed to indulge their tastes for it on all possible occasions. Thus it once happened that a man having fallen down in a fit before the window of a club, heavy bets were made whether or not he was dead; and those who had backed the latter opinion with a bet, strongly objected to his being bled, lest he might recover, and they should lose their money. Horace Walpole records a bet of so remarkable a character, that we have great difficulty in crediting his statement. When informing Sir H. Mann, in 1774, of the manners of the young men of that time, he says: "One of them has committed a murder, and intends to repeat it. He betted fifteen hundred pounds that a man could live twelve hours under water; hired a desperate fellow, sunk him in a ship, by way of experiment, and both ship and man have not appeared since. Another ship and man are to be tried for [illegible]s, instead of Mr. Blake, the assassin." Although the [illegible] of the last century was desperate enough, yet it was practised in a desultory manner, being followed for no special end, and according to no fixed principles. It has now become a science. To "make" a book on the Derby is an accomplishment requiring tenfold the labour to acquire that had to be expended in learning all the games of chance which were formerly in vogue. In fact, gambling on the turf has partially superseded gaming with cards and dice. Faro-tables have long ago disappeared from fashionable drawing-rooms. Crockford's is a thing of the past. Yet the votary of gaming need not lament: if he but subscribe to Tattersall's, he will there find opportunities for gambling such as were never enjoyed by the frequenters of Crockford's.

In addition to the increased fondness for horse-racing, another cause has largely contributed to lessen the habit of gaming by superseding the necessity for indulging it. This cause is the vast development of joint-stock undertakings, and which has been followed by increased facilities for speculating in shares. Men who were formerly attracted to the gaming-table in the hope of growing rich more rapidly than by steadily following their business or profession, now crowd to the Stock Exchange, and speculate there in shares and stocks. The business of a stockbroker would be very restricted if he made purchases for investors only. One-half, if not three-fourths, of the business transacted on the Stock Exchange is purely speculative; in other words, is simple gambling. An Act was passed in the reign of George II., "To prevent the infamous practice of stock-jobbing;" but its provisions were systematically disregarded, and very recently it has been repealed. Thus time-bargains may now be entered into with impunity, which means that a speculator may buy what he cannot pay for, with the view of selling what he has purchased before the arrival of the day appointed for payment. If the price obtained by the sale exceed that originally paid, he pockets the difference; but if the price obtained be less than what was first paid, he hands the difference to his broker. Thus the suppression of all games of chance has merely resulted in giving an augmented impetus to the Game of Speculation.

Shall we conclude, then, that in the matter of gaming we are more enlightened and less open to censure than our forefathers? This much is true, the gambler is a less foolish man, and a less useless member of society than the gamester. While the objects of the gambler on the turf and the Stock Exchange, and of the gamester at cards and dice, are identical, experience has proved that the former may succeed, and that the latter must fail in attaining their objects; that the gambler may acquire wealth, but that the gamester must be ruined if he persevere in gaming. By speculating in shares, capital is circulated and commerce increased; thus, whether the speculator be enriched or impoverished, his fellow-men are vastly benefited in consequence of his transactions. Of the gamester we may say what La Bruyère said of him who was once engaged in intrigue: he must continue as he has begun, because nothing else gives him any gratification. A confirmed gamester exists only to deal cards or throw dice. The chances are that he will forfeit his honour as well as indulge his taste; for, as Lord Chesterfield warned his son: "A member of a gaming-club should be a cheat, or he will soon be a beggar."

In our times, the passion for play is gratified with less injury to society than during any other period of our history. Unquestionably it is an incalculable gain that ladies and gentlemen of fashion should now prefer dancing to gaming, and should even profess to take pleasure in attending gatherings made ostensibly for the purpose of conversation, but at which the conversation is restricted to complaints about the heat, and protests against the pressure. The pleasures of society are always hollow and frivolous: we rejoice that in these days they are not vicious as well as unsatisfying. What the late Sir George Cornewall Lewis justly remarked, with obvious reference to the amusements in which modern society delights, would have been even more telling and applicable had it been uttered a century ago: "Life would be very tolerable but for its pleasures."

To extirpate from the human breast a taste for gaming is simply impossible. As Edmund Burke truly observed in his great speech on Economical Reform: "Gaming is inherent in human nature. It belongs to us all." The first achievement of a savage is to produce something that will intoxicate him: he next proceeds to devise a matter whereby he may stake his property, and even his liberty at play. A civilized man improves on the crude expedients and devices of the savage, substituting for the heavy fermented sap of a tree, the sparkling champagne, and for clumsy games with straws or pebbles, the roulette-table with its ingenious machinery and elaborate rules. Wealth, excitement, and the power of bringing the future near, are prized alike by men of every degree of culture. Though they never obtain by gaming the wealth they covet, yet they find in gaming the excitement they value next to wealth, and around a gaming-table have disclosed to them a new future every minute or every hour. Influenced by such feelings, at one time they waste their substance, and at another imperil their lives. They will cheerfully traverse unknown seas in quest of an imaginary El Dorado, yet refrain from laboriously tilling the soil beneath their feet, and converting its produce into gold. Their thoughts are as erroneous as their actions are ridiculous. They fancy that the jewels which flash from a royal diadem, the go[illegible] up the royal coffers, constitute the glories of a monarch, and the riches of a nation. In acting as they do, they sin against the irresistible condition of man's existence, that in the sweat of his brow can he alone earn his bread with honour and dignity. Alike in their thoughts and actions do they ignore the immutable truth that the wealth of the world is the well-directed labour of the world's inhabitants. In no other way could the folly of the gamester, and the mischief of gaming, be better summed up than in these words of Dr. Johnson: "I call a gamester an unsocial man; an unprofitable man. Gaming is a mode of transferring property without producing any intermediate good."

ART. V.—MARRIAGES OF CONSANGUINITY.

1. *On Marriages of Consanguinity.* Dr. BEMISS. *Journal of Psychological Medicine* for April, 1857.
2. *Hygiène de Famille.* Dr. DEVAY. Second Edition.
3. *Comptes Rendus,* 1852-3 passim. Papers by MM. BOUDIN, SANSON, BEAUDOUIN, GOURDON, &c.
4. *On Marriages of Consanguinity.* Dr. CHILD, in *Medico-Chir. Review,* April, 1862; and *Medical Times,* April 25th, 1863.
5. *On the Fertilization of Orchids.* Mr. DARWIN. London. 1862.

IF we had to point out the tendency or habit of mind which, more than any other, has served, in modern times, to hinder the progress of real knowledge, we should fix upon that which impels not a few really able and competent persons, when undertaking an investigation, first of all to adopt a theory, and then to look at the facts which nature presents to them by its light exclusively. Such persons do not take up a hypothesis for its legitimate use, as a guide in experimentation, as any one pursuing an investigation in the science of light would in these days start upon the undulatory theory, but adopt it with a confidence in its absolute truth which renders them utterly blind to all facts which cannot [illegible]ted with it, and by consequence exaggerates out of all due proportion the importance of those which really make in its favour. Of the many inconveniences attendant upon the state of mind of which we speak, one of the gravest and quite the most paradoxical is to be found in the fact that its mischievous results always bear a direct ratio to the ability and industry of the person whom it affects. A man of real power who sets out upon a research into a complicated subject under such conditions as we have indicated, is sure to make out a good case in favour of his own preconceived view, and by so doing he will mislead others and hinder the advance of knowledge in a degree exactly proportioned to his own ability and reputation. Instances of the kind to which we refer will occur to any reader familiar with the history of almost any scientific question. But there is one feature in such cases which is especially worthy of remark; it is, that a man's preconceived notions upon any subject may take their rise from something quite distinct from, and external to, the subject itself; a religious opinion, a moral theory, a social predilection, a fact in his own family or personal history —any or all of these may, consciously or unconsciously, so modify his view of what ought to be a mere question of fact, as to render him a totally unsafe guide in any subject-matter which he has undertaken to examine and explain. The history of the scientific question forming the subject of this article will be found to illustrate these remarks even better than most others.

That there has existed, at least in all modern times, what is called a "feeling" against the intermarriage of blood relations, is a fact that cannot be denied, but of which the scientific value cannot be rated very high. Before we admit the existence of such a feeling as even *primâ facie* evidence, we should remember how often such have been found to rest either upon no ground at all, or upon an entirely mistaken one. The biting cold of the winter months in England used to be called proverbially "fine seasonable healthy weather," until the Registrar-General's statistics had proved to the apprehension almost of the dullest, that mortality in our climate rises *pari passu* with the fall of the thermometer. In this case, doubtless the popular delusion took its rise from the sense of exhilaration and buoyancy felt by healthy, strong, and youthful persons on a bright frosty day, as compared with the dulness and languor experienced on a damp and warm one; but it entirely left out of the account the less obvious but more really potent influence of cold upon the old, the feeble, and the ill-provided. In the case before us, the following has been suggested by Dr. Child as the not improbable history of the prevailing opinion*:—

"It should be remembered that all such marriages as those under discussion, were and are strictly prohibited in the [illegible] Rome. This prohibition was first removed in England by the Marriage Act of 1540, in the reign of Henry VIII. It is natural, therefore, that many people at the time should have looked upon this removal of restrictions as a somewhat questionable concession to human weakness, and upon the marriages made in consequence of it, as merely not illegal, rather than in themselves unobjectionable; just as, should the Marriage Law Amendment Bill pass into law, there can be no doubt that many would now look upon marriage with a sister-in-law as a very questionable proceeding in a social and religious point of view, although they might possibly be unable to impugn its strict legality. Under such circumstances nothing is more natural, especially in an age when men were much more open to theological than physiological considerations, than that they should attribute any ill effects which might seem to follow from such unions to the special intervention of Providence. Such ill effects would be marked and noticed whenever they occurred, and would soon become proverbial; and when, in a later age, men began to pay more attention to the breeding of animals, and found that excessively close breeding seemed, in some cases, to produce similar results, they would be led to establish a false analogy between the two cases, and to infer the existence of a law of nature which close breeding and consanguineous marriages equally infringed.

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* "Med. Chir. Review." Vol. xxix. p. 469.

"Something like this I conceive to be the true history of the common opinion upon this subject, an opinion, which, as far as I can discover, rests on no satisfactory record of observed facts."

We are induced to insist the more strongly upon this aspect of the question because the works even of modern and professedly scientific writers bear witness both to the universality of this popular prejudice, and to the probability of its theological or rather ecclesiastical origin. Thus Niebuhr* speaks of the Ptolemies, whose history certainly affords the most striking instance on record of close breeding in the human race, as degenerate both in body and soul. He seems to forget that their dynasty continued for some three hundred years, and that the history of Cleopatra, the last sovereign, though not the last descendant of their line, is certainly not that of a person, in any intelligible sense of the words, degenerate both in body and mind. But the most remarkable instance is afforded by Dr. Devay, who, while writing specially on this subject in his work on Hygiene, which he professes to treat scientifically, occupies no small portion of the two chapters devoted to it with a long citation of the opinions of fathers and doctors of the church from St. Augustine down to the contemporary Archbishop of Tours. Truly it might be considered a rare treat for orthodox Frenchmen in these sceptical days to find such authorities polled to settle a scientific question, were it not that a few re[illegible]ts, such as the late rejection of M. Littré by the Institu[illegible]en to make such triumphs commonplace.

We turn n[illegible]om the consideration of the spirit in which inquiries into our present subject have been undertaken, and proceed to give a succinct account of the facts and arguments which have been brought forward on both sides of the question, that our readers may have an opportunity of seeing what real value belongs to them, and to which side the balance of the evidence inclines. This evidence is derived from two distinct sources, which differ in their subject-matter, in the method by which they can be investigated, and in the degree of certitude which attaches to them as far as they severally go, no less than in the conclusion to which they lead. These are, 1, experience derived from the study of mankind by means of recorded observation and statistics; and 2, that drawn from the study of the lower animals and even of plants, which admits of being brought to the test of strict experiment as well as

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"Lectures on Ancient History." Vol. iii. p. 471.*

of observation. The former of these methods has been pursued with much diligence by Dr. Bemiss, MM. Boudin, Devay, and others. We give a short summary of the results arrived at by these observers, in order that our readers may be able at a glance to comprehend the several points to which we shall have to direct their attention.

	DR. BEMISS.	DR. HOWE.	DR. DEVAY.
Marriage	34	17	121
Fruitful	27	Not stated	99
Sterile	7	Not stated	22
Total Children	192	95	Not stated.

This gives in Dr. Bemiss' cases an average number of 5·6 children to each marriage; in Dr. Howe's 5·58 to each. The average number of births to each marriage in England was recently 4·5. Of the 192 children born, 58 died in early life, and 134 reached "maturity;" *i.e.*, the number of early deaths was as 1 to 3·3. The average of deaths under 5 years old, as stated by Dr. West, is 1 to 3. It is thus clear that while the fertility of these marriages was much above the average, the infant mortality in their offspring was slightly below. In Dr. Devay's cases the total number of children is not given, and therefore no calculation on the point can be made.

In consequence of the different principles upon which these authors have arranged their statistics, it is impossible to exhibit them at length in a tabular form, or indeed to contrast them at all in detail; we must therefore content ourselves with stating that the relation of the principal forms of disease or defects mentioned by them varies as follows :-

	DR. BEMISS. In 75 Cases of Disease.	[illegible] HOWE. [illegible]ses of Disease.
Scrofula and Consumption	38 or ·506	12 or ·207
Epilepsy and Spasmodic Disease	12 or ·16	0
Deafness	2 or ·026	1 or ·017
Idiotcy	4 or ·053	44 or ·758
Deformity	2 or ·026	0 —

From the loose form in which Dr. Devay's results are stated, we are able to contrast his statement with the above in one point only, namely, that of deformity, which appears in 27 out of 52 cases, or ·519 as against ·026 in one of the other cases, and 0 in the other.

M. Boudin's statistics are of a different character and on a much larger scale. He takes merely the one defect of deaf-mutism, and finds, 1st, That while consanguineous marriages are 2 per cent. of all marriages in France, the number of deaf-mutes born of such marriages are, to all deaf-mutes,—

In Lyons	25 per cent.
In Paris	28 per cent.
In Bordeaux . . .	30 per cent.

He finds further: 2nd, That the danger of deaf and dumb offspring increases with the nearness of kinship between the parents; 3rd, That parents themselves deaf and dumb, do not, as a rule, produce deaf and dumb offspring, and that the defect is therefore not hereditary; 4th, That the number of deaf-mutes increases in proportion to the local difficulties to freedom of cross-marrying: thus it is in

France . .	6 in 10,000
Corsica . .	14 in 10,000
Alps . . .	23 in 10,000
Canton Berne	28 in 10,000

Before entering upon any examination of these particular statistics, it is necessary to say a few words upon the application of the statistical method to subjects of this kind. It is scarcely possible to exaggerate the advantages which science, and especially biological science, has derived from the use of this method; but just in proportion to the benefit which accrues from the right use of any method, and to the consequent confidence which its application inspires, is the mischief which it can produce if misapplied, and the obstruction which it is capable of throwing in the way of the progress of knowledge when used upon a subject-matter to which it is unsuited. It may be applied, with every prospect of a successful result, in cases with which human volition has nothing to do, as it has been so applied to elucidate facts in pathology, su[illegible] probability of death from a particular disease at a par[illegible]ime of life.

Often, too, w[illegible] will of man is an element in the calculation, but when that will can be shown to be swayed by conflicting motives, the comparative power of which it is impossible to guage, a judicious application of the statistical method, if only the number of instances collected be sufficiently large, may enable us to arrive at a conclusion at least approximately true. But it does not follow from the full admission of all this, that the same method can be followed in cases such as that before us, and with a view to ascertain the causes as well as the circumstances of the phenomena to which it is applied. Thus, it may be true that we can arrive at the number of murders which will be committed in a population of a certain extent in a given time, but it does not follow that we can also tell what is the cause of all these murders, or that they all depend upon the same cause. Moreover, a murder is a fact which is usually discovered, quite independently of human testimony as to its mere occurrence; and if it is the interest of the perpetrator and his friends to conceal it, it is equally that of the friends of the victim to make it known. On the other hand, it is obvious that the value of statistics such as those the results of which we have just given, depends upon the truth of a number of family histories. These are all matters of testimony, and the motives to falsification thereof lie all on the same side. There is, perhaps, as most lawyers and physicians are well aware, no point in which men are so morbidly sensitive and suspicious as one which touches a family secret, a family misfortune, or an hereditary disease. If a criminal could be convicted only upon the evidence of himself or his nearest relations, what would be the value of the statistics of crime?

These would form grave objections to any argument from statistics in a case such as that before us, and would justify us in questioning a conclusion founded exclusively upon them, even if the statistics themselves were irreproachable. Whether they are so or not in the present instance, we shall proceed next to inquire. In so doing we must beg our readers to bear in mind the purpose for which the statistics are brought forward. Their authors are all agreed that close breeding, whether in man or beast, tends of necessity to produce "degeneracy" in some form or another; and this by some unexplained and apparently inexplicable law, quite apart from and independent of those ordinary laws of inheritance, by the experience of whose action we are made aware that the diseases and peculiarities of the parent descend to his offspring, and this the more certainly if both the parents are similarly affected; and they present their several sets of statistics with the object of substantiating this view.

It is impossible not to be struck with [illegible] use of terms by all the writers who support this side of [illegible] question. They never seem able to escape as it were from the [illegible] of their own phraseology, and appear to suppose that when they have introduced a long Latin word, with a perfectly indefinite meaning, they have gone a long way towards explaining a complicated series of facts. What is really meant by "deterioration" or "degeneracy"? Every variation from an original type, not to mention every disease, might, we suppose, be spoken of as degeneracy. Thus, adopting the hypothesis of the unity of the human race, if the first man was white, the black races would be degenerate, and *vice versâ;* and if he was intermediate in colour, like the Arab or the Brahmin, then would black and white both equally be degenerate. No one ever doubted the potent influence of close breeding in developing and perpetuating an accidental variety—it is indeed the one only means by which this can be done; and similarly, no one doubts that, given a degeneracy of any kind—a disease or a morbid tendency, already existing, close breeding will tend to develop and perpetuate it in exact proportion to the degree in which it is close. These are merely instances of the operation of the ordinary and well-known laws of inheritance, simple deductions from the time-honoured generalization expressed in the homely phrase "like breeds like;" and they are intelligible just in the same degree as are any other phenomena of nature which are referred to a general expression, which is for the existing state of science an ultimate fact. Breeders know well enough that the produce of two thoroughbred shorthorns, with whose pedigree they are well acquainted, will neither be a half-bred Alderney calf nor any other mongrel. But such facts as these are far too simple and well established to satisfy those writers who wish us to believe that if only the progenitors in this example be brother and sister, the produce might vary in the remarkable manner suggested. In the case before us, moreover, the most various and apparently unconnected forms of degeneracy are all attributed to the same cause. Exactly as a Scotch peasant puts every phenomenon of nature for which he is unable to render a reason, to the account of Sir William Wallace or the devil, so do these writers attribute every conceivable imperfection existing in the offspring of parents related in blood to the fact of consanguinity alone. Each observer, it is true, puts some one defect prominently forward, but in each case it is a different one.

The qualities of offspring at birth may be said to be the resultant of the reaction of the sum of those of the two parents upon one another, together with the modifications superinduced upon them by external circumstances. Now, as the antecedents upon which the condition of any offspring depends are thus extremely complicated, it is [illegible] nothing less than a very large and very unequivocal experience can justify us in asserting that, in a particular case, this, that, or the other phenomenon in the offspring is the result of this, that, or the other individual antecedent in the parents. Such experience in many instances we do possess. Hereditary gout and hereditary insanity are as clearly traceable through many generations in the families in which they are inherent as is the succession to the family estate, and very often much more so. They do not pass upon every member of such families for many reasons, some of which we know, or are apt to think we know—such as emigration, change of external circumstances, habits of life, or even social position, and still more, the influence of successive intermarriages; but all this notwithstanding, the fact remains that such defects or peculiarities, once acquired, are, as a rule, transmitted to the offspring; and if the writers of whom we are speaking had contented themselves with showing that the marriages of blood relations are more likely, *cæteris paribus*, to produce unhealthy offspring than others where an hereditary taint exists, they would have made an assertion which, though neither very novel nor very interesting, could not well have been disputed. But what they really have asserted is something far different from this. It is, substantially, that if two persons marry, being related in blood, even at so distant a degree as that of second cousins, their offspring will, as a rule, be degenerate, or will themselves produce degenerate descendants. The following remarks by another writer are quoted by Dr. Devay, and adopted by him as accurately representing his own view. (Devay, 2nd ed., p. 246.)

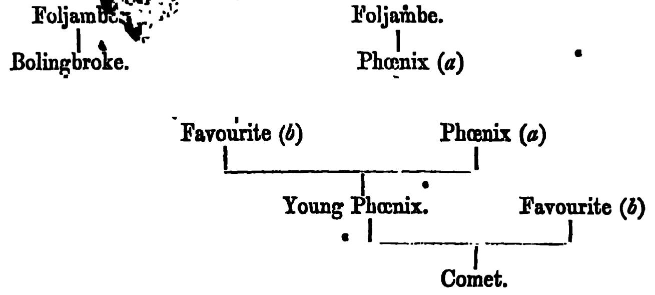
> "Ce qu'on reproche aux mariages consanguines ce n'est pas, dit le docteur Dechambre, de perpetuer dans les familles, par le moyen des alliances, les maladies susceptibles de transmission héréditaire, en certaines formes de tempérament, en certaines prédispositions organiques, comme l'étroitesse de la poitrine, ou quelque autre vice de conformation. *Il est manifeste que le condition de la consanguinité en soi n'ajoute rien aux chances d'hérédité morbide*, lesquelles dépendant de la santé des conjoints et de celle de leurs ascendants reciproques, ont la même source dans toute espèce de mariage. On accuse les alliances entre parents de même souche *d'amener de créer par le seul fait de non renouvellement de sang*, une cause spécial de dégradation organique, fatale à la propagation de l'espèce."

The questions, then, which we have to examine are as follows: —1. Is such a view as the above borne out by the facts which these writers have adduced in support of it? 2. Cannot these facts be equally well explained by the action of the ordinary laws of inheritance? and 3, Are there not other facts left out of view by these writers, which are not only left [illegible] by their doctrine, but are quite irreconcilable with it? [illegible] first reflection which occurs to a reader on looking at [illegible] statistics we have quoted, is, as we noticed above, the extreme diversity of the effects which are in them assigned to one and the same cause, and that, too, in cases in which the antecedents and consequents are many in number, and consist of various elements, some known and more unknown, complicated and involved among themselves in every variety of combination. The old school definition of an efficient cause, "*præsens effectum facit, mutatum mutat, sublatum tollit*," is doubtless far too narrow to be rigidly applied in investigations into the phenomena of nature; yet we cannot but look suspiciously at an alleged cause which fails to conform to the definition in every single particular. In the case before us we all know perfectly well that the five principal consequences here alleged to follow upon consanguineous marriages—viz., sterility, mutism, idiocy, deformity, and scrofula—all occur in children when no such marriage has been contracted by the parents, and are all absent far more often than present when it has. The attempt to account for them all by the same cause reminds us of nothing so much as the similar attempt to explain all geological phenomena as the effects of the Noachian deluge, and can only lead to physiological absurdities, as that unlucky hypothesis did to geological. Moreover, in all but one of these cases we know of other well-established causes upon which the unhappy results are often found to depend, and unless it can be shown that these are excluded in the instance before us, we are not at liberty to introduce a new cause of which nothing is certainly known. This brings us (2) in the second place to the consideration of how far the facts adduced can be explained by the known laws of inheritance. There is a phenomenon well known to breeders of animals, and frequently observed also among mankind, which has been recognised by physiologists under the name of atavism. By atavism is meant a tendency, the laws of whose action are at present quite unknown to us, on the part of offspring, to revert to some more or less ancestral type. Instances are not far to seek, and are familiar to many even who have not gone further than to remark the phenomenon itself. It is no uncommon thing to find a child born who grows up with but little resemblance to his immediate parents, but bearing a strong and remarkable likeness to some grandfather, or great-uncle, or other even more distant ancestor. This is a fact of common experience, nor is the likeness confined to figure or features, for similarities of disposition and temper, peculiarities both of mind and body, and even diseases, are found to descend in the same irregular and apparently unaccountable manner. Gout, one of the most hereditary of maladies, has even been [illegible] naturally to miss each alternate generation, and fall upon the next beyond. These things, we repeat, are known to happen among mankind, but from the length of human life, as compared with that of the domestic animals, it is among the latter that we find, as we might expect, that they have been most frequently observed, and in fact, the tendency to atavism is, we believe, habitually recognised and allowed for by the breeders of cattle. But though the fact is undoubted, no man can point out beforehand the individual case in which this reversion to the old type, this relapse, as we may call it, will take place, and many a time, doubtless, has its sudden occurrence frustrated the hopes of the breeder and wasted his labour and care. Now, if the known fact of atavism is fairly considered, it at once affords an answer to the objection of M. Boudin and Dr. Devay, that the various defects and diseases, the statistics of which they have collected, cannot be traced to the parents of those subject to them, and cannot therefore be looked upon as hereditary. The commonest acquaintance with the ordinary conditions of human life will enable any one to see that it is impossible for a medical man to investigate the family histories of any fifty of his patients, so far as to arrive at a clear notion of what has been the condition of health of even the four grandparents whom nature apportions to us all; and yet, without this, how can he pronounce with any certainty that a particular disease or infirmity is not inherited? It may be urged, no doubt with some force, that to bring into the discussion a phenomenon of which we know so little as we do of atavism is to appeal not to our knowledge, but to our ignorance; but the same is true, and true in a far higher degree, of consanguinity itself.

So far as we have gone at present, it may be said that the two sides of the argument are on the whole pretty evenly balanced. The statistics of MM. Bemiss, Home, and Devay may be left to answer one another, and even if they be considered to fail in doing so, the number of instances collected by these gentlemen is insufficient to afford more than the feeblest presumption in favour of their conclusion. But when M. Boudin comes forward, counting his instances by thousands, and tells us that in France the number of deaf-mutes who are descendants of consanguineous marriages is from ten to fifteen times what it ought to be when compared with the proportion which such unions bear to the whole number of marriages, we feel that we are on different ground. Such announcements cannot fail to produce in most men's minds a strong apprehension, at the very least, that the two phenomena which he is labouring to connect have, after all, some close mutual interdependence. On the other hand, when we fairly consider the difficulties, some of which we have just seen, which lie in the way of demonstrating that the defect is not in [illegible] cases inherited, the extremely complicated character of the phenomena with which we have to deal, and, above all, the fact that on M. Boudin's own showing, the alleged cause is absent in an absolute majority of the cases in which the effect is seen to follow, we are once again compelled to suspend our judgment, and to look further for new facts before we can arrive at a conclusion.

So far, then, we might conclude that the imperfect condition of our knowledge of the phenomena of inheritance, including in that term variation and atavism, precludes our coming to any decision upon the subject, but that the general consent of mankind, together with the positive evidence which has been given, is sufficient at any rate to arouse in our minds some misgivings lest the "law of nature" which Dr. Devay and others contend for, should really be found to exist: but before we can fairly yield, even to this extent, to the arguments of these authors, we must provide an answer to the third query, viz., (3) Whether there are not some facts which are quite irreconcilable with the theory in question? Now, in the case of the human race, the difficulty of obtaining trustworthy evidence is so great, that we should despair of ever attaining even to an approximation to the truth, did we depend on it alone. It consists almost exclusively of the published opinions of certain observers, more or less competent, as to the hygienic condition of certain small communities who from their isolated position are either supposed or known to intermarry frequently among themselves; and their opinions are found to be as contradictory in character as they are scanty in number. Fortunately, however, the evidence derived from the breeding of animals, and the record of that evidence preserved in the "Herd-book" and the "Stud book," is clear and decisive upon this point. Mr. J. H. Walsh, well known, under the *nom-de-plume* of Stonehenge, as an authority upon sporting matters, says distinctly in his recent work, that nearly all our thorough-bred horses are bred in and in. M. Beaudouin also, in a memoir to be found in the *Comptes Rendus* of Aug. 5, 1862, gives some very interesting particulars of a flock of Merino sheep bred in and in, for a period of two-and-twenty years, without a single cross, and with perfectly successful results, there being no sign of decreased fertility, and the breed having in other respects improved.

Dr. Child, in the first of his two papers on this subject, gives the pedigree of the celebrated bull "Comet," and of some other animals bred with a degree of closeness such as no one who has not studied the subject would believe possible, and any approach to which in the human race would be quite impossible. In one of these cases the same animal appears as the sire in *four* successive generations. The pedigree of "Comet" is so striking that we are induced [illegible] it.



Now, bearing in mind the argument of MM. Boudin, Devay, &c., that it is nothing but the mere nearness of blood relationship, and not any ordinary inheritance of parental defects, which produces the ill-effects which they trace to consanguinity, such examples as these ought surely to have great weight. On the other hand, it is clear that even if it were established that such breeding as that from which "Comet" was descended had invariably led to degeneracy and disease, we should not be thereby warranted in arguing from it that an occasional marriage of cousins among mankind had even the slightest tendency to produce similar results. But, on the other hand, we may certainly allege with some fairness, that if at the end of such a pedigree there is produced a remarkably fine specimen of the species to which it belongs, mere close breeding, independently of the qualities of the animals bred from, can have no ill tendency at all. At once so obvious and so forcible has this argument been felt to be, that the supporters of the opposite view have been at considerable pains to evade or destroy it. Four principal objections have been laid against either the admissibility or the value of the evidence derived from the lower animals. (1.) It has been said that prize-animals are not in fact perfect animals, but monsters, *i.e.*, deviations from, or modifications of, the natural type of the species, induced by man with the object of fitting them for special purposes of his own. (2.) That pigs and other animals have been known to die out altogether after being bred in and in for several generations. (3.) That the evidence is valueless as applied to mankind, inasmuch as when animals are closely bred with success, the progenitors in such cases are carefully selected from among the stoutest and most healthy that the breeder can obtain. (4.) The last objection applies especially, or indeed, exclusively, to M. Boudin's attempt to prove the prevalence of deaf-mutism in the offspring of consanguineous marriages; it is that the defect is one from which man, "the talking animal," alone can suffer, and [illegible] therefore expressly designed by Providence to punish [illegible] for a breach of nature's law. The special ingenuity of this objection lies in the attempt which it makes to draw a broad distinction between man and the lower animals, and thus to discredit the evidence derived from the latter in its application to the former. Dr. Child meets it in his second paper with the remark "that deaf-dumbness means, as a rule, congenital deafness, and such a defect is almost as serious where it exists in the lower animals as in man."

As the settlement of this question of the applicability to man of the evidence derived from the lower animals, seems to be of great importance to the thorough understanding of the whole subject before us, we will examine the above objections somewhat in detail.

(1). The statement that prize animals are unnatural, and therefore not perfect animals, nor fair types of their several races, contains undeniably a certain amount of truth. Those mere quivering masses of fat which appear from time to time in Baker

Street under the title of prize-pigs, are doubtless no nearer an approach to the perfection of pig-nature than was the celebrated Daniel Lambert to the noblest standard of corporeal humanity; but it is no wise proved that they are in any intelligible sense degenerate. They are not only carefully bred, but also artificially fattened for a special purpose; and there is no more reason to doubt that they would have been quite different animals had they been differently treated, than there is that the same man who is hard and active as a Newmarket jockey, might become corpulent, pursy, and dyspeptic, if he entered on "the public line" and spent his time dozing in his bar over rum-and-water and a pipe. This objection is therefore not proven even when most strongly put, and when a fairer instance is taken will be found to break down utterly. Such an instance is to be found in the English thorough-bred horse. Writers upon sporting matters are pretty generally agreed that no horse either bears fatigue so well or recovers from its effects so soon as the thorough-bred, and it is a subject upon which such writers are the best of all authorities. Thus "Nimrod" concludes a comparison between the thorough-bred and the half-bred hunter in the following words: "As for his powers of endurance under equal sufferings, they doubtless would exceed those of the 'cocktail,' and being by his nature what is termed a better doer in the stable, he is sooner at his work again than the other. *Indeed, there is scarcely a limit to the work of full-bred hunters* of good form and constitution and temper;" and yet these, as we have seen, are almost all close-bred.

(2). With regard to the allegation that some animals have been known to die out after being closely interbred through a long series of generations. While we do not dispute the fact that such may have been the case, we are not aware of any instance of which the particulars have been noted in a satisfactory or really scientific form. We know neither after how many generations this result was produced, what was the degree of close breeding, nor what were the other conditions under which the animals were placed. All these particulars it is necessary to know before we admit the efficiency of *mere* close breeding as a cause of degeneracy, in the face of the evidence above adduced. The last, viz., the conditions under which the creatures were placed, is a matter of the greatest importance, inasmuch as if once any particular disease or defect be induced upon a stock, there is no doubt that it can be transmitted and intensified to an indefinite degree by close breeding. Just as a careful breeder can take advantage of any accidental variety produced in his stock, and perpetuate it, if it be desirable to do so, so, by careless close breeding may a disease be perpetuated, however undesirable or mischievous it be.

(3). That the selection which is always practised in the close breeding of animals should ever have been brought forward at all, as against the applicability of evidence thence derived to the case of the human race, is a fact both curious and significant. It is so inasmuch as it shows at once how completely the few persons who have been at the pains to consider this subject at all have looked upon it not as a question of scientific physiology, but merely from a practical point of view. The question which really has to be decided is not whether under any particular circumstances close breeding is desirable or not, but whether any evil effect, or specific effects of any kind, are traceable to close breeding in itself, and independently of the condition, health, and perfection of the animals in whose case it is practised. We have seen this distinctly affirmed by Dr. Devay in the passage already quoted; if, therefore, we take his statement as it stands, it is quite clear that selection does not affect the question in the slightest degree. Dr. Devay states that the evils which he charges upon marriages of consanguinity are simply and solely due to the *non-renewal* of the blood, as he terms it, independently of any previous taint in the progenitors, which, he even ventures to assert, where it exists adds nothing to the chances of degeneration in the offspring. Now, the non-renewal of the blood is manifestly just as complete, if the degree of close breeding be the same, when the most careful selection has been exercised, as where none has, and if, as in some of the instances which we have cited (the bull "Comet," for example), close breeding, with selection, has been carried to an extent inconceivably greater than is possible in the human race, with no ill-consequences whatever, this constitutes a simple demonstration that mere non-[illegible] the blood does not necessarily cause degeneracy, and th[illegible]evay's theory is therefore utterly untenable. In point of fa[illegible]at we may really learn by studying the effect of selection is that no law of nature whatever is infringed by close breeding, to whatever extent it be carried, but that precisely the same laws of inheritance obtain in it as in other cases.

The distinction which is now drawn between the study of this subject as a question of scientific physiology, and as a matter affecting practical life, is one of some importance. The consideration of it from the latter point of view might, if a sufficient number of trustworthy facts could be collected, be of some value, at least as a guide to indicate the direction in which investigation of a more scientific character could be carried on with the best prospect of success. Thus, the fact which M. Boudin has brought forward might profitably induce any one who should have the means of doing it, to investigate what are really the causes of congenital deafness. It is impossible to believe that mere non-renewal of blood is the cause, since the phenomenon is met with where the supposed cause is absent, and is itself absent in the great majority of cases in which it is in operation. The next step, therefore, should be to endeavour to learn what are all the antecedents in a mass of cases of deaf-mutism, with the view of discovering any one which is common to them all. When this is carefully done, it may not improbably be found that some other and quite dissimilar phenomenon has existed in the progenitors, having a tendency to bring about deafness in their offspring, and that this tendency has been developed with additional force by the marriage with the same family, exactly as is the case with other taints of disease. In order to illustrate our meaning, let us take, for example, one of those cases of correlation of growth brought forward by Mr. Darwin. He finds that all cats having blue eyes are deaf. Now, it has been found, and cases in proof of it have been published, that this is not absolutely true, though approximately so. It is evident that there is some casual connexion between these two phenomena, though which it may be is entirely unknown. Let us suppose, then, that previously to the announcement of this fact by Mr. Darwin, any one holding Dr. Devay's views on consanguinity had been making observations upon it on certain cats. He chances to have two cats with blue eyes, but not deaf, brother and sister we will suppose: upon these two breeding together the progeny produced are deaf. The observer in this case would almost certainly conclude that the deafness was a result of the consanguinity of the parents, whereas, had he known more of the antecedents of the case, he would have seen that the blue eyes of the parents indicated a strong tendency to deafness, [illegible] that, this being the case in both, deafness had actually resulted [illegible] offspring by the action of the ordinary laws of inheritance. Or, to give another example, which will be unhappily more familiar to many of our readers, and which deals more with actual and less with hypothetical facts than the above, let us take the case of hydrocephalus, or water on the brain, as it occurs in infants. This disease is now well known to be in one of its two forms a manifestation of the same constitutional disorder which produces consumption and other forms of scrofula; but this knowledge is a comparatively recent acquisition of pathological science. Had Dr. Devay then been conducting researches into the question of consanguinity, he might doubtless have discovered in certain regions where consumption was very prevalent, that the children of cousins were unusually subject to hydrocephalus, and not knowing of any connexion between two diseases superficially so different, would doubtless have announced that this was a special provision of Providence to restrain mankind from consanguineous marriages, with as much confidence as he has now declared the same of deaf-dumbness, deformity, &c.

It is only by some really scientific investigation of the facts, some investigation, that is, which shall reduce them under the operation of a recognised, or at least recognisable law, that we can hope to obtain even such a knowledge of this subject as shall serve for a guide in practical life; and mere empirical generalizations such as those of Dr. Devay and M. Boudin, are of little or no value even for this purpose, so long at least as the exceptional cases continue far more numerous than those which can be brought under the law. Such generalizations act more often than not as mere hindrances to the progress of science, or help it on only in so far as they provoke discussion, and thus, in the very process of being themselves overthrown, contribute to increase or correct our knowledge of the facts upon which they profess to be founded.

We have now then arrived at the end of another stage of our inquiry, and must consider that the question which was left in doubt by the near balance of the evidence obtained from the study of mankind, is settled decisively against the theory which attributes ill effects to the mere non-renewal of the blood by the much more extensive and less equivocal evidence which we derive from experiment upon the lower animals. And in this position we might have been content to leave the subject, had not Mr. Darwin recently entered the arena as a champion in the same cause as Dr. Devay. The whole of Mr. Darwin's most interesting and valuable volume upon the Fertilization of Orchids was written, as he tells us at the outset, in order to substantiate the assertion that "it is apparently a universal law of nature that organic beings require an occasional cross with another individual." This supposed law of nature is very ingeniously used in Mr. Darwin's previous work to serve as a support to the theory there advanced as to the origin of species, and at the end of the volume from which we quote, the author sums up his views upon the point in the following words, which will no doubt be fresh in the memory of many of our readers:—

> "Considering how precious the pollen of orchids evidently is, and what care has been bestowed on its organization, and on the accessory parts; considering that the anther always stands close behind or above the stigma, self-fertilization would have been an incomparably safer process, than the transportal of the pollen from flower to flower. It is an astonishing fact that self-fertilization should not have been an habitual occurrence. It apparently demonstrates to us, that there must be something injurious in the process. Nature thus tells us, in the most emphatic manner, that she abhors perpetual self-fertiliza-

tion. This conclusion seems to be of high importance, and perhaps justifies the lengthy details given in this volume. For may we not further infer as probable, in accordance with the belief of the vast majority of the breeders of our domestic productions, that marriage between near relations is likewise in some way injurious—that some unknown great good is derived from the union of individuals which have been kept distinct for many generations?"—pp. 259, 60.

It is not our present purpose to enter into any general discussion of the theory popularly known as Darwinism, nor do we for one moment wish to withhold from its author his well-deserved tribute of praise and admiration for the marvellous diligence with which he has observed and recorded the phenomena of nature, the clearness of his descriptions, and, above all, the admirable candour with which he has admitted the full force and cogency of some of the objections which lie against his views. We confine ourselves at present to the very much narrower consideration of how far the inferences which he has drawn, in the very small portion of his subject which affects the question before us, are really borne out by the facts which he has adduced in their support, and whether there are not other facts of a precisely similar character which cannot be reconciled with them.

Mr. Darwin's argument, stated in a succinct form, appears to be as follows. If we examine the class of orchids, we find that the stigma and the pollinia, in most cases, exist in the same flower, and are in very close juxtaposition. We find also various indications that the pollen of orchids is precious, that is to say, it exists in small quantities, and various precautions, as we may call them, are taken by nature to prevent its waste. These facts, taken together, would naturally lead us to suppose that orchids would be self-fertilizing, but [illegible] on the contrary, that in by far the greater number of species [illegible] most curious and elaborate contrivances exist, whereby the fertilization of one flower by the pollen of another almost invariably occurs through the medium of insects, and that if the visits of insects are artificially prevented, no fertilization takes place. We may hence conclude that some evil must result to the species from the perpetual recurrence of self-fertilization, and may extend our inference so far as to suppose that close breeding of any kind, even in so diluted a form as that practised among civilized mankind by the marriage of cousins, is in some unknown way injurious, and, in fact, that within certain limits, the more remote is the connexion between two individuals who are to breed together, the better will it be for their offspring.

It is certainly curious that this should be the doctrine of one whose main theory leads directly to the conclusion that all organic beings are the lineal descendants of some one primeval monad. We do not mean for a moment to say that more than a mere apparent and superficial contradiction is here suggested, for intercrossing is merely one among many of the forces to which Mr. Darwin refers the gradual evolution of new forms of life, and it is one which we may easily suppose to have come into action at a period comparatively recent. But when we come to look into the argument more closely, the first tincture of distrust is imparted to our minds by the fact that, after all, it is but an argument from "final causes." Now, final causes have been looked upon with some suspicion ever since the time of Bacon; and it has certainly not been by the investigation of them that the chief discoveries of modern days have been made. In point of fact, in making use of an argument of this kind a man leaves everything like firm ground behind him, and sails out upon an ocean of uncertainties in which he has neither chart nor compass by which to steer. When he argues that such a phenomenon must exist for such a purpose, because there is no other purpose for which it can exist, it is obvious that his real meaning is,—because I don't know of any other purpose which it can subserve. But since the facts of nature which we understand, bear no very large proportion to those of which we are ignorant, these two propositions do not seem to bear any very necessary relation to each other. And after all, what has Mr. Darwin really proved? He has shown us that in the greater number of species of one class of plants certain arrangements which, on a superficial view, would seem intended to bring about constant self-fertilization, are found, when more closely looked into, to conduce to exactly the contrary result; but it remains upon his own showing that there are, at least in one species, the bee-ophrys, equally elaborate contrivances for the production of self-fertilization, as exist in [illegible] vention of it. If there were anything [illegible]ly pernicious in the process itself, how is it that this exceptional case does not become extinct in time, instead of being, as Mr. Darwin admits that it is, the most prolific of our native orchids? We may admit what he also shows, viz., that *occasional* intercrosses are also brought about even in this case; but if we take the fact of the rarity of this event, together with that of the prolific character of the plant, it will be hard to arrive at a conclusion therefrom which will satisfy the requirements of Mr. Darwin's theory.

If we find that in the bee-ophrys, for instance, self-fertilization takes place fifty times while a cross occurs once, we are quite as well justified, to say the least, in arguing that it is a beneficial process because it is the rule, as that it is a pernicious one because it is a rule which admits of some few exceptions. Now, in point of fact, if we take the whole vegetable kingdom, instead of the one order of orchids, we shall find that the latter are almost as exceptional in their mode of fertilization, as compared with other plants, as is the bee-ophrys when compared with other orchids. In some cases, as that of the barberry, contrivances very similar to those described in the orchids exist for the very purpose of convenient self-fertilization; but such instances Mr. Darwin meets by the statement, that if several varieties of barberry are growing together, it is found that intermediate forms do in fact spring up, thus proving that mutual fertilization frequently occurs. Here, again, the same objection seems to lie, namely, that his inference is drawn not from the rule but from the exception. In the instance both of the bee-ophrys and of the barberry, self-fertilization is the ordinary mode of propagation, and it is therefore difficult to believe that in the vast series of past generations from which every existing plant has sprung, there have been any appreciable proportion of crosses. We are not here concerned to discuss the bearing of this matter upon Mr. Darwin's main argument, viz., the origin of species. It is, perhaps, possible that the supposition of a cross taking place once in fifty, or once in two hundred times, might satisfy the requirements of his theory. All which we have to do is to examine its bearing upon the questions which he has connected with it in the passage we have cited, and this certainly seems sufficiently remote. It is surely somewhat unsatisfactory reasoning to say,—"It appears necessary in all cases that there should be an occasional interruption to the perpetual series of self-fertilization, in all organic beings, *therefore* we may believe that a similar occasional intercross is necessary where breeding takes place between two individuals of very near blood relationship, hence we may further infer that such intercrosses should be the rule; and finally, that even an occasional instance of interbreeding between two individuals very slightly related in blood is likely to be productive of serious degeneration in the offspring." Yet this is really but a paraphrase of Mr. Darwin's reasoning in the above passage of his work. The difference of degree between the cases is so great as to destroy all analogy between them, and render the reasoning which might be sound in the one case totally inapplicable to the other. So great is it, that if, from the mere non-renewal of the blood, any appreciable degeneration took place in the offspring of a marriage of cousins, our finest breeds of sheep and cattle and horses would have long since become the most miserably degenerate beings on the face of the earth, if indeed any of them still remained upon it.

In conclusion, we will inquire shortly into the evidence which has been afforded by certain experiments recently made upon the growth of wheat, having for their object its improvement for agricultural purposes, and made, therefore, without any previous bias in favour either of close breeding or of crossing.

In pacing through the Great Exhibition of last summer, many of our readers may have noticed among the agricultural products in the Eastern Annexe some magnificent ears of corn, bearing the somewhat novel title of "pedigree wheat," which excited the admiration of all those interested in such matters—except, indeed, the jurors, who left them unnoticed. This wheat was exhibited by Mr. Hallett, of Brighton, who has given its history in the Royal Agricultural Society's Journal, vol. xxii. Part 2. It appears that this gentleman having conceived the notion that careful breeding might produce some of the same advantages in cereals which it has been found to do in cattle and horses, commenced some years ago a series of experiments with the view of carrying out his idea. Having selected one ear of wheat of remarkably fine quality, he sowed the grains separately, at a distance of twelve inches apart. The next year he further selected the one finest ear produced from the former, and treated that in a similar way. The following table gives the result at the end of the fifth year from the original sowing:—

Year.		Length.	Containing	Number of ears on Stool.
		Inches.	Grains.	
1857	Original ear	4⅜	45	...
1858	Finest ear...........................	6¼	79	10
1859	Ditto................................	7¾	91	22
1860	Ears imperfect from wet season	...	...	39
1861	Finest ear...........................	8¾	123	52

"Thus," says Mr. Hallett, "by means [illegible]eated selectio alone, the length of the ears has been doubled, their contents nearly trebled, and the tillering power of the seed increased five-fold." By "tillering," we should perhaps mention, is meant the horizontal growth of the wheat-plant, which takes place before the vertical stems are thrown up, and upon the extent of which, therefore, depends in a great degree the number of ears which the single plant produces. Now there can be no doubt that a great deal of the marvellous improvement shown in the above table is due to the treatment to which Mr. Hallett subjected his wheat; that is to say, to the fact of its being sown singly and apart, so that each plant has been allowed to develop itself fully; but we cannot attribute the whole to this cause.

The point in which we are especially interested is the fact that this wheat was, without any reasonable doubt, close bred throughout the whole of these five generations; and the result has been not deterioration, but most marked improvement. If we consider the structure of the wheat-flower, and the conditions under which it grew in these cases, we cannot entertain a doubt upon this question. Each individual flower is hermaphrodite, the flowers grow close together in a spike, and the number of stems thrown up from one seed all stand in a mass together. Hence it is hardly possible that the stigma of any one flower should receive pollen from any but either its own anthers or those of another flower on the same plant, which even Mr. Darwin himself admits can hardly be considered as a distinct individual. That Mr. Hallett himself has no doubt upon this point is proved by the following extract from a private letter of his, which we have seen, in which he thus answers a question upon this subject. "As to crossing, I must in theory admit the *possibility* of its taking place, but have the fullest conviction that practically it has not taken place in my wheat and other cereals."

Mr. Hallett had also found that the improvement in the sixth generation has been even greater than in any of the others. Now, though it is true that the result of a trial of six generations does not vouch for that of one of sixty or six hundred, it is still good as far as it goes, and since it has led to a marked and unprecedented improvement in the original stock, it certainly tends to throw doubt upon the opinion that mere close breeding is of itself productive of degeneration.

On the whole evidence before us, then, we cannot conclude otherwise than that the very general opinion, that there is some special law of nature which close breeding infringes, is founded rather on a kind of superstition than on any really scientific considerations. If we look upon the question as one of science, we find that the facts given as evidence in favour of this opinion, all except those [illegible]uced by M. Boudin, can without difficulty be reduced under the ordinary laws of inheritance; and even those which he has brought forward, though at present not accounted for by the same laws, cannot be shown to be exceptions to their action, and remain quite equally unaccounted for by the introduction of the hypothesis under discussion. On the other hand, the known facts brought to light by investigation among the lower animals and plants, are such as positively to disprove this hypothesis as regards them; and it would require much more stringent proof than any one has ever yet attempted to bring forward, in order to justify us in believing that man is under the action of physiological laws differing from those which obtain in the rest of the animal kingdom. The aspect of the question before us from the practical point of view is, however, somewhat different. Here further evidence is still required, and will no doubt be collected. It is of course conceivable, whether probable or not, that there may exist at the present time in civilized communities, so few families really free from all taint of disease or imperfection, as to render intermarriage of blood relations unsafe by the action of the ordinary laws of inheritance. We are ourselves strongly disposed to disbelieve, in the absence of strict evidence, in any such degenerate condition as the normal state of modern humanity; but it is this point, and nothing further, which observation and statistics are capable of deciding; and in order even to do this, the observations must be more careful and the statistics far more extensive, than any which have yet been recorded.

ART. VI.—SAINT SIMON AND HIS DISCIPLES.

1. *Religion St. Simonienne.* LE PROCÈS. Paris. 1832.
2. *Histoire de Dix Ans.* Par M. LOUIS BLANC. Paris.

WHEN in any country we see a number of men of nearly equal age simultaneously working their way to celebrity by different roads, it becomes interesting to inquire whether we should regard them as so many parallel lines, between whom there never has been, nor can be, any possible connexion, or as the radii which issue from a common centre, however widely they may afterwards diverge: in other words, whether contemporaneous men of genius are like the monads of Lamarck, each representing in himself a separate division of human thought at a given period, or whether we may not be able to take a more general [illegible] therefore more philosophic view, by considering [illegible] exponents of the different phases of one idea, the pupils of one school, each of whom has elaborated the teaching of the same master according to his own special idiosyncrasy?

We think we may perceive such a group of men in France at the present day. The names of Auguste Comte, the father of a philosophy which, whatever its errors and defects, is one of the greatest manifestations of living thought; of Augustin Thierry, the historian of medieval Gaul; of Michel and Auguste Chevalier, the political economists who have played so great a part in the spread of the doctrines of free-trade; of the Pereyres and D'Eichthal, the lords of speculation; of Felicien David, the author of "Le Désert;" of Pierre Leroux, the democratic republican,—will be found familiar to most educated persons, even beyond the boundaries of their own country. Yet how many would be able to trace the chain which connects all these men, so different in character and career, and unites them at their starting-points not only with each other, but with a whole series of men of science and letters, of engineers and bankers (many of them of remarkable talent), once closely leagued together in the fraternal bonds of the "Family of Saint Simon," under the direction of Bazard and Enfantin.

To not a few of our readers perchance, these two last names will sound so utterly strange that we may risk the accusation of weaving a romance absurdly at variance with all probability, when we tell them how Saint Simon, who died in misery not forty years ago in Paris, at whose feet Comte once sat as a pupil, while Thierry was his secretary, had sketched out a system of religious philosophy, destined in his mind to complete and supplant Christianity, which, bequeathed by the master on his deathbed to Olinde Rodrigues, was by him transmitted to two men of singular ability, Bazard and Enfantin, in whose hands the doctrine expanded into an economico-industrial religion, the accepted creed of a school, hierarchically organized, with a regular theocratic government, presided over by the two "Supreme Fathers" as they were called. All this has disappeared, and might well be forgotten, but for the remarkable talents and great place now occupied by some of those who were once humble and submissive neophytes in this school, but we cannot pass over with disdain the men who won an empire over such pupils as we have mentioned above, so great as to induce them to accept at their hands a religion and a social philosophy implying complete renunciation of all worldly fortune, and many of them even a symbolic dress by which they were pointed out to the observation and ridicule of all Paris. On this occasion at least we do not propose to enter on any critical examination of the Saint Simonian doctrines, nor on the influence they may yet indirectly exert over present and future thought; for to do so with advantage requires at least some previous knowledge of the personal history of the school, and of the adventures of the men who were the chief propagators of its ideas: in this article, therefore, we intend to confine ourselves to giving some account of the founder and his principal disciples, of the growth of the new religion, its organization, intestine divisions, and the external circumstances which divided its members, carrying them so far from their starting point, and from each other; and if the course of our story occasionally obliges us to diverge a little, and briefly to state some of the doctrines which brought their confessors into collision among themselves, or with the Government, we wish it to be distinctly understood that in so doing we are still mere narrators, and set aside all question as to the value or demerit of the system itself, as to criticize it fairly would require far more space than we now have at our disposal.

Henri de Saint Simon, a lineal representative of the gossiping historian of Louis XIV., was born in 1760. By an alliance with the ancient Counts of Vermandois, his family claimed to descend from Charlemagne, and impressed with the notion that no one race had yet produced a hero of world-wide fame, and a first-rate philosopher, the young man from his earliest years believed himself destined to make his house illustrious beyond all others by winning an empire over thought wider than that the sword had given to the great emperor. Very early he gave signs of his resolve to carve out a path for himself by refusing to take the sacrament, when only thirteen, on the ground that it was irreverent to do so without belief in the sanctity of the ceremony; and when his father caused him to be punished by imprisonment in Saint Lazare, instead of being cowed, he was only exasperated, and forcibly wrenching the keys from his jailor, made good his escape. A little later, being bitten by a mad dog, he himself cauterized the wound with a red-hot coal, and for some time kept a loaded pistol by him, intending to use it, if attacked by hydrophobia. At seventeen Saint Simon entered the army, and served five campaigns in America; but even then observation was his chief delight, and though a soldier and a noble, he had already embraced the belief that the future of civilization lay in an era of peace and equality, to be attained by the progress of scientific thought and industrial activity. His first idea was the cutting of the isthmus of Panama, which he proposed to the Viceroy of Mexico; but finding this to be too far in advance of the age, he returned to France, and soon leaving the army, travelled in Holland and Spain, where he drew up a scheme for the excavation of a canal to put Madrid in communication with the sea, which might have been attempted, [illegible] not the French Revolution soon called him home.

Regarding this political strife as a mere preliminary by which the ground would be cleared for the social reforms he held to be requisite, Saint Simon took no active part in it, but occupied himself for seven years in speculations on the purchase of national property, and with commerce in flax, thereby to acquire means for the carrying out of his schemes. The next seven years, and his whole fortune, were spent in making himself acquainted with the general state of science and philosophy throughout Europe. He studied mathematics and physics, then physiology. He drew about him the most celebrated artists and chief thinkers of his day, in order to study the effect of their various occupations on their minds; and that his house might be an agreeable place of meeting, he in 1801 married Mademoiselle de Champgrand, a lady remarkable for her charming manners and conversation. The whole life of Saint Simon was a sacrifice of his best feelings to the exigencies of his thought, and though much attached to his wife, he the next year divorced her, to be free to offer his hand to Madame de Staël, who had just become a widow, and whose writings made him regard her as the only woman capable of understanding and sharing his plans.

It was only now that he began to develop his own thoughts. Reduced to beggary, living first on forty pounds a-year, earned by nine hours' daily labour as a copyist; then, by the kindness of one Diard, whom he had formerly obliged; then, after another period of intense misery, on a small pension given him by his relations, he for ten years evolved his idea in a purely speculative form, addressing himself to the learned, whom he hoped to rouse to an endeavour to reform and govern the world. The philosophers were deaf, and scarcely condescended to glance at his writings, far less to examine them, and regarded one who avowed that in his opinion the man who practised vice for the sake of study is highly virtuous, as mad, or worse. So at the Restoration, foreseeing that a period of pacific development was about to begin, he took a new road, and endeavoured to win over manufacturers and capitalists to his peculiar views on the necessity of a complete re-organization of society, and the form it was henceforth to assume. Up to this time he had been utterly alone; no school, no party, had grouped itself around him, and the habit of addressing himself exclusively to the most highly instructed men of his day had made him unintelligible to the mass of his contemporaries. Now, he endeavoured to use simpler language, and was rewarded by seeing a few pupils listen to his teaching; but he sought popularity as little as ever, for so early as 1814 he dared to advocate an alliance between France and England, as the true means of securing the peace of Europe and the progress of civilization. "*Tout par l'industrie, tout pour elle,*" was now his motto, and for the following ten years all his thoughts were devoted to the elaboration of this idea, and to schemes for the increase of agricultural and manufacturing production. At this time one of his writings (*Organisateur* of November, 1819) brought him into collision with the Government. He had made a comparison of the loss France would sustain if suddenly deprived either of the king, royal family, and all idle members of society, or of her philosophers, artists, and master-workmen, and for this he was accused of moral complicity in the murder of the Duke de Berry! The jury, however, acquitted him, and he pursued his own way as before.

Ill-understood by his few pupils, again reduced to beggary, for he had pledged his pension to meet the expense of publishing his writings, Saint Simon at length gave way to despair, and in 1823 attempted his own life. Wounded, but not mortally, his enthusiasm rose to a fresh pitch, and his thoughts suddenly assumed the religious form under which they were to become the gospel of the school that bears his name. Abandoned by his most celebrated pupil, Auguste Comte, who, though he had co-operated in the publication of the "Catéchisme Politique des Industriels," which claimed supremacy for the productive classes, and urged them to assume both the rights and duties of the position, refused to accept more than his master's scientific doctrine, Saint Simon found more devoted disciples in Olinde Rodrigues, Léon Halévy, and Bailly, who assisted him in publishing a volume entitled "Opinions littéraires, philosophiques, et industriels." His last thoughts, however, are chiefly to be found in his book, "New Christianity," written very shortly before his death.

Like all social reformers, Saint Simon started from the idea of the continual progress and perfectibility of the human race. Looking to the past, he divided it into alternate *organic* (or constructive) and *critical* (destructive) epochs. Of the former he saw two, one pagan, up to the age of Socrates, one Christian, up to Leo X.; while the intervening centuries, according to him, left no positive results, but were a time of reaction required for the dissolution of society and belief as previously constituted. An ardent believer in the religious future of his kind, he thought the time come for a third constructive period, manifesting itself by a new evolution of Christianity under the reign of industry, in which religion was to consist in moral perfection, while its dogma was harmonized with the progress of science and its worship surrounded by all the pomp of art, and he announced the advent of universal fraternity, promised by Moses, prepared by Jesus. According to him, the reign of God upon earth was about to begin, and all prophecy to be fulfilled by the birth of an universal church, heir to the empire of Cæsar, and governing temporally as well as spiritually a [illegible] pacific society. Addressing himself in [illegible] chiefly to the different Christian priesthoods, especially the Catholic, he perhaps thought this singular tone best calculated to win their adherence. Science and industry were to be held holy, as the means of increasing the welfare of the poor. All distinctions of birth were to disappear, every profession was to be exercised as a religious function, and regarded as a step in the social hierarchy, while the greatest happiness of the greatest number was to be attained by the co-operation of artists, philosophers, and working men, forming a body endowed with the regenerate sentiment, profound knowledge, and indefatigable activity, to the development of which they were respectively to address themselves. Olinde Rodrigues was appointed heir to this doctrine, and then Saint Simon died, after a short illness, full of hope and faith in his conception, for with his last breath he said to his disciples, "The fruit is ripe; be it yours to pluck it."

A strange doctrine this, to be broached in the 19th century, in sceptical France, under the reign of the priest-ridden Charles X.; but the very vagueness of the new religion, as bequeathed by Saint Simon, was perhaps a reason for the ephemeral success it attained, its apostles being thus enabled to elaborate it according to their own views, without putting themselves in contradiction with any dogma formally laid down by their master. Olinde Rodrigues, to whom it was originally entrusted, was an ardent believer, and devoted himself to the propagation of his faith. His first associate in this task was Enfantin, who had also listened to the teaching of the master, and with the assistance of Bazard, their first convert, they proceeded to set up a newspaper, or rather magazine, entitled *Le Producteur.* But though this journal startled the Liberals of all shades, by its peculiar views on industrial questions, it was not a purely Saint Simonian organ, as many of its contributors were not adherents to the creed, and having but few subscribers, it was abandoned in about a year. It had, however, secured the allegiance of a few original thinkers, pupils of the Polytechnic School, writers, artists, all young and enthusiastic men, who formed themselves into a little band round Bayard and Enfantin, the "Supreme Fathers," to whom Rodrigues had modestly given up the leadership. By epistolary correspondence, then by oral teaching, the Saint Simonians endeavoured to win fresh converts to their opinions. Conferences were held in a hall in the Rue Taranne, at which persons desirous of being initiated into the new doctrines used to attend, and listen to their explanation by the leaders. Continual progress was declared to be the march of the human race, and as families had united to form a city, cities into kingdoms, kingdoms into the religious federation of Catholicism, this was itself regarded as a step tow[illegible] association, under a new law, of the whole of mankind, in which there would be neither conquerors nor conquered, neither masters nor serfs, into which every one would be born with equal rights, in the first instance, though, as all communistic notions were distinctly repudiated, the doctrine went on to assert that each individual would be classed in the social hierarchy according to his capacity, while his reward was in its turn to be proportioned to his works.

No opposition was made to the development of Saint Simonianism under the elder Bourbons. Its believers were allowed to hold their meetings, to confer upon their doctrines, to enrol new converts, and even to publish reports of their assemblies, but it was not till 1830 that they came forward into the full blaze of publicity. The universal excitement of that time was favourable to the spread of any new idea; the school hastened to assume its true religious character, and missions were despatched to Lyons and other towns, to organize the new church throughout

France, in communion with the chiefs at Paris. The hierarchy too was definitely organized. After the Supreme Fathers came the members of the College, or the apostles, each of whom presided over a different department: thus to Barrault was confided the oral propaganda; to Michel Chevalier, the direction of the newspapers; Hippolyte Carnot, instruction; the missions to Duveyrier, individual conversion to Talabot, the teaching of the working-classes to Fournel and Madame Bazard, that of women to Madame Fournel, industrial enterprise to D'Eichthal, assisted each by one or more members of the second degree, who stood next them in the hierarchy; while below these again was the third degree, and finally the novices, not yet fully admitted to the ranks of the Saint Simonian family.

The quiet conferences of the Rue Taranne, too, were now succeeded by large public meetings in the Rue Taitbout. The hall was filled every Sunday by an eager and curious audience, while the disciples sat in three rows round the stage, dressed in blue, and amongst them a few ladies, in white, with violet scarfs. At twelve o'clock the Supreme Fathers led forward the preacher of the day, chosen among the most eloquent members of the College, such as Barrault, Laurent, or Abel Transon; and though the audience often came to mock, they seldom went away without being impressed with deep astonishment, if not admiration. The real centre of the society, however, was in the Rue Monsigny. There lived the chiefs, in a large house surrounded by their disciples. The members of each superior degree were addressed by those of lower grade as "father" or "mother;" equals were "brother" and "sister;" inferiors, "son" or "daughter;" but all took their meals in common. There were establish[illegible] printing presses of the *Organisateur*, and of the *Globe*, [illegible]er the direction of Michel Chevalier, whose special task it was to translate into comprehensible language the abstruse ideas of his school, and thus serve as a medium between the uninitiated and the family; and this journal, of which from three to four thousand copies were daily printed, was distributed gratis. To do so of course required money, but this was no obstacle to a religion the followers of which believed their special mission to be "the rehabilitation of matter and the sanctification of industry;" and the richer believers subscribed large sums, some even offered their whole fortune. The new converts abandoned occupation, career, family; and engineers, artists, lawyers, physicians, artisans, rushed to Rue Monsigny to enrol themselves in the ranks. Officers in the army gave up their swords, civil engineers resigned the posts entrusted to them, to devote themselves to the propagation of the new faith; nearly all quitted positions of greater worldly advantage than any Saint Simonianism could offer them, but the enthusiasm of its adepts was a powerful attraction. Belief was at so low an ebb in France, that many ardent spirits were ready to embrace any creed which offered them a refuge from the general scepticism, and no tenet perhaps had more charm than that favourite one of the school which strictly proscribed all individual thought or action. The Supreme Fathers alone were to think, from them was to come all inspiration; obedience, according to the hierarchy, was the chief quality exacted from their followers; and no prophet ever assumed a more lofty tone than that with which they were addressed, especially by Enfantin. Everything was to be done by association, or in communion, to use their own phrase; and the College served as a kind of privy council, in which all innovations were discussed before being communicated to the lower degrees.

It was scarcely possible that such an organization should last long without differences of opinion manifesting themselves, especially as the characters and views of the two chiefs were deeply contrasted. They happened, however, to be agreed on the first point which divided the College. The question was, whether the Saint Simonians should continue the purely apostolic work of elaborating the social problems they had propounded, trusting that when they had converted the whole of society around them, the revolution they desired would take place of itself; or whether, considering the dogma as complete, they should proceed from theory to practice, organize labour, constitute a government of their own, and preach henceforth, chiefly by example. The latter view was taken by the Supreme Fathers, and it naturally prevailed. The establishment of great workshops was now planned, a new grade for the admission of artisans was organized, and in an ass[illegible] whole family, the children of its members were solemnly adop[illegible] be brought up in the new faith, each according to the vocation and capacity his superiors should discover in him. The chiefs assumed the title of popes, and aspiring to unite the power of Hildebrand and Charlemagne, looked upon the world as their destined empire, occupying themselves with enlisting a force the progress and numbers of which were daily vaunted by the *Globe.* The only grief they at this time acknowledged was, that no woman sat with them on the pontifical throne. The equality of the sexes was one of their favourite doctrines; nay, according to them, the social unit was not either man *or* woman, but the *pair,* each being incomplete without the other; and in pursuance of this, women were admitted to all grades of the hierarchy; they sat in the College, but none as yet shared the supreme rank and authority.

But even while thus acting together, Bazard and Enfantin aimed at very different objects. The former was a man of cautious mind, averse to speculation, with a strong tendency to dogmatize. Before [illegible] became a Saint Simonian, he had taken part in the contests of the Restoration as an ardent republican; he still retained deep party feelings; while aspiring to the conduct of affairs, he had more the spirit of a destroyer than of a creator; and when he panted for action, the conclusion he sought was a political one, to be attained by purely realistic means. But while Bazard indulged in the dreams of a tribune, Enfantin was animated by the ambition of a pontiff, and chiefly looked to the foundation of Saint Simonianism as a religion, with himself as its infallible head, owning no superior on earth. Endowed with singular beauty of person, great eloquence, and, above all, with the art of influencing his kind, he wished to govern by intellectual daring and sentimental fascination, and his bold and soaring mind was ever discovering new heights of mysticism, leaving mere science and reason far behind. The hierarchy had been first founded at his suggestion; Bazard had hesitated, reflected, then concurred. So with the dogma; he first combated the initiative taken by Enfantin, then answered his own objections in the *Exposition*, and as long as this was alone in question, his influence remained apparently preponderant, only he thereby entangled himself in a course of which he was far from foreseeing the consequences. The pacific language and indifference to party of the *Globe* after 1830, was inspired by Enfantin; to him, too, were due the appeals to women and the working classes; the desire to exchange reflective argument for passionate persuasion; to address the heart as well as the intellect of his hearers, and to impress the world with the religious character of Saint Simonianism, by the organization of its worship. So far, he was strictly following the steps of his master, who had declared that the solution of the social problem lay in discovering [illegible] *religious* bond capable of amalgamating the spiritual and temporal power, science and industry, mind and labour. Eugène Rodrigues, the brother of Olinde, had given the first impulse in this direction as early as 1829, and having proclaimed the time come for organizing industry by association, the Saint Simonians could no longer shrink from the religious part of their task. So far as theory went, all were agreed. They did not doubt that belief was the natural state of man. They regarded Saint Simon as a Revealer who was to succeed Christ, as He had been the successor of Moses, and formulated their creed thus (we use their own words and form:)—

Dieu est *Tout ce qui est;*
Tout est en lui, tout est par lui.
Nul de *nous* n'est hors de lui;
Mais aucun de *nous* n'est lui.
Chacun de nous vit de sa vie;
Et *tous* nous *communions* en
Car il est *Tout ce qui est.*

This species of mystical pantheism, which they held to be prophesied by the Evangelists themselves,* would, they thought, complete the world-wide monotheism of the Christians, as that had succeeded the purely national Hebrew faith in Jehovah, itself a progress upon polytheism, the creed of the *city*, as that in its turn was a progress after fetichism, the worship of the *family*. After this profession of faith Bazard would fain have stopped, but Enfantin was of a widely different opinion, and reminding him that original sin, and the embodiment of evil in matter, were fundamental doctrines of Christianity, exacted that they should carry out to the consequences he deduced from it, their common declaration: "The most striking, the most original, if not the most important feature of the progress which humanity is now called upon to make, is the *rehabilitation of matter*, a mode of universal existence which Christianity smote with its reprobation;" and he proceeded to unfold his own views on the subject.

The debate was at first confined to the College, and the secret of the discussion in hand was well kept; but this very mystery increased the natural anxiety of the second degree, who could not but note the long and frequent conferences held by their fathers, and the agitated bearing and pale faces with which they came forth from the hermetically closed hall, after days and nights passed in conclave. That some terrible difference of opinion had arisen was obvious, and what would be the end of this disunion? On the members of the College themselves the effect was still greater. They were men of most ardent faith, their attachment to their chiefs amounted to fanaticism, and so long as the two were one, would have over-ridden all other considerations; but when [illegible] arose between them on the moral and political direction to be followed, each found himself thrown back on the individual resources of his own intellect or conscience, and the religious community of sentiment which united them was interrupted, and this gave rise to scenes unparalleled at any time, save perhaps among the early Anabaptists. Bazard and the majority recoiled from the doctrines set forth by Enfantin, but they could not differ with him without feeling that half their own lives were wrenched away in the doubt which thus arose whether they had been deluded by a dream in following him so far—the minority, yielding more to personal seduction than to faith in views which they avowed themselves unable fully to comprehend, were animated by a fervour almost frenzied. The younger and more feeble would fall to the ground utterly exhausted and insensible: one day an ecstasy seized upon M. Cazeaux, and he began to prophesy; on another, Olinde Rodrigues declared the Spirit of God to be in him as the first depositary of the doctrine of Saint Simon, and was almost struck by apoplexy because the proposition was curtly denied by Reynaud, a denial he was obliged to retract when he found that by so doing alone could he save his colleague's life.

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* It may be interesting to quote some of the texts they relied on: St. John xvi., 12th and following verses; xv. 1 and 2; St. Luke xii. 41, 42; St. John i. 14; xiv. 20; St. Paul, Romans xi. 36, are among the number.

Several attempts were made at reconciliation, for all felt the irreparable damage that was being inflicted on their cause and prospects. A modification of the hierarchy even was tried, so as to prevent the equal pretensions of the two chiefs from clashing at every turn; and to correspond to the triple organization of the family into artists, *savants*, and men of business (industriels), it was decided that Enfantin should henceforth be the chief of *religion*, or the direction of sentiments; Bazard, chief of the *dogma*, or the scientific development of doctrine; while Rodrigues should be styled "*chef du culte*," and direct the material interests. But this attempt at conciliation came too late, and only served to defer the inevitable schism. Once again Bazard and Enfantin measured arguments in a most animated discussion. The former felt his happiness, if not his life, to be at stake, and struggled passionately against the imperturbable temper and almost contemptuous serenity of his rival; he called upon him for a retractation, which Enfantin, the very impersonification of arrogance, already prepared to assert himself to be a divine incarnation and a living law, refused to give; and at length Bazard. overcome and dazzled by his eloquence, not knowing where t find a truth on which he might take a fresh stand, [illegible] a if dead. After a while he was restored to co[illegible]sness, but he immediately quitted the common home in Rue Monsigny, languished for a short time, and then died.

The secret of the schism could of course no longer be kept from the family, and at a general assembly, held on the 19th November, 1831, Enfantin, now sole pontiff, began to expound the views which had led to it. The mystical character of his discourse renders any satisfactory analysis of it extremely difficult, all the more as he himself did not present his doctrine as a definitive moral law to regulate the future relations of the sexes, but as a throwing down of all barriers set up by the past, to enable woman to answer the appeal he addressed to her, herself to reveal "the law of modesty and the proprieties" she should feel to be required henceforward. Instead of shrinking from his isolation, he audaciously declared it to be necessary, th[illegible] his views were to inspire *woman* with confidence, they [illegible]e rejected by *man*. The human race, he said, had be[illegible]ed, first materially by paganism, then spiritually by Christianity; under the former, the law of force had prevailed, under the latter, that of fraud, by which mind had overcome matter. In the future, he continued, this antagonism must cease, and be succeeded by harmony; the special mission of the Saint Simonian priest (or rather of the priestly couple, each social unit being man *and* woman), being to amalgamate and reconcile mind and matter by the rehabilitation of the flesh. All human beings are imperfect, and the different qualities with which they are endowed, even though each vice be regarded as the distortion of a corresponding virtue, often make their unions unhappy, and thus lead to crime and misery. The task of the priestly pair, raised by sacerdotal affection into the calmness of knowledge, and thus able to appreciate and sympathize with all earthly qualities and feelings, would be so to join and so to separate, as to afford satisfaction alike to the yearnings after happiness of the creatures of constant as of changeable affections; for each unit being a pair, every separation would be a step to another union, and rendered necessary by the different rate of moral progress accomplished by the two persons composing it.

How all this was to be regulated Enfantin did not pretend to say, awaiting a revelation from the Free Woman, whom he called to stand beside him at the head of the doctrine; and at this point he was interrupted by the earnest protestations of several members of the College. A vehement debate ensued. The doctrine of Enfantin found no support in the writings of Saint Simon (who had been peculiarly reserved on the subject of female emancipation), and was reprobated by most of those already acquainted with [illegible] most bitter attacks were made upon the Supreme Father. Pierre [illegible]ux, Carnot, Jules Lechevalier, Cécile Fournel renounced all communion with him, and declared their intention to withdraw; Cazeaux, for himself and others especially attached to Bazard, announced that they would seek the Free Woman in their own way, and that when she arose, her revelation might reconcile them all. Abel Transon denounced the abuse by which confessions, privately made, had been divulged; the most telling shaft was, however, launched by Reynaud, who took hold of the phrase by which Enfantin had declared the *practice* of the Christian moral rules obligatory on his followers until the *theory* should be confirmed by the Free Woman. Reynaud denounced him as a dangerous impostor, close by whom he was determined to stay, to counteract his evil influence by unmasking him on every occasion, until the Free Woman on her advent should finally crush his head.

Throughout this trying scene Enfantin never for a moment lost his perfect serenity—supported by Michel Chevalier, Duveyrier, Barrault, and Talabot,* he answered every attack with the calm superiority of one who feeling himself to be a living law, rather pitied than resented the error of his inferiors; even Reynaud was only met by a compliment on the way he understood the mission of high Protestantism, and a recommendation to reserve his final judgment until the revelation of the Free Woman, whose tardy arrival, he said to others, amply accounted for the abuses of which they complained. He confessed his personal imperfection, attributing it to the solitary and incomplete state of being he had to struggle with so long as the family was without a Supreme Mother to share his authority, and finally dismissed the assembly with a lofty hint that if such unseemly quarrels were prolonged, the artisans employed by the family would die of hunger, and the children it had adopted be neglected. He, however, consented to renew the debate two days afterwards.

At the next assembly, all the more immediate followers of Bazard were absent, only sending one of their number to communicate their determination to secede and form a community of their own; an example followed by many others, who quitted the hall, after hearing Enfantin announce the necessity of reconstituting the hierarchy, and of so far altering the character of its apostleship as to make the appeal to woman its principal end, a task for which he said he required the absolute confidence and adhesion of all who elected to remain with him, while those who did not recognise him as their Father, the father of the whole human race, had better retire. Left alone with his more faithful adherents, Enfantin had a vacant chair placed beside his own to indicate the absence of a Supreme Mother, saying that till it was occupied women could have no fixed place in the new hierarchy [illegible] no male chief had a right to classify them; and then Olinde Rodrigues closed the meeting by declaring the time come for the religious association of the working classes, over which he would himself preside; and in the name of the Living God, revealed to him by Saint Simon, he proclaimed Enfantin the true successor of his Master, the Supreme Chief of the Saint Simonian religion, amid the bravos of his followers.

A third stormy meeting took place when the family was reconstituted in the form it was to assume under the sole direction of Enfantin. The dogmatic or scientific phase was to be eclipsed by that of worship by industry: practice was to succeed theory, and example mere verbal instruction. The Saint Simonian religion was to embrace a vast association for the following objects: —1st. The moral, intellectual, and physical amelioration of the lower classes by pacific means. 2nd. The education in common of all the children of Saint Simonians. 3rd. To found houses for workmen belonging to the family, in which they might enjoy the advantages of association. 4th. To provide for their wants until remunerative work should be found for them. 5th. The propagation of the doctrine; to teach all classes of society that the prevalence of Saint Simonian views alone could put an end to insurrection, financial crises, and war. The society was to be constituted by an Act passed before a notary, signed by every member of it, and their united means were to form its social capital. After this had been read, Barrault, the preacher of the day, drew a harrowing picture of the sufferings of the lower classes, illustrated by the revolt which had just desolated Lyons; urged the necessity of prompt assistance, and the acceptance of the Saint Simonian plan. The assembly seemed over, but Reynaud, who was present, would not lose the opportunity of exercising the part of protester he had assumed, and vehemently exclaimed against the Act drawn up by Rodrigues, on the ground that money could not be a moral power. The greatest excitement was roused by this interruption, but Enfantin answered with his usual haughty imperturbability, explaining how the moral law of the future, as he conceived it, would consist in equality and association; and after a vehement speech from a Saint Simonian named Henri Baud, the son of a labouring man enriched by his own toil, who affirmed that when the people hungered and asked for bread, the gold which could procure [illegible] in truth a moral power, and that Enfantin, who wielded it, was [illegible] genius of progress and peace come to emancipate labour and women, many of the protesting members of the hierarchy, including Reynaud himself, threw themselves into the arms of the Supreme Father, acknowledging his authority, and asking him for a paternal kiss of reconciliation.

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* This "Père" Talabot, one of the first Saint Simonians, and a member of the College, who died of cholera at Menilmontant, must not be mistaken for his brother, the now famous speculator and capitali [illegible] though the intimate friend of Enfantin, never—openly at l [illegible] his religious authority.

The Saint Simonian religion now entered on a new phase. As far as the public at least knew, its leaders had hitherto been chiefly occupied with the means for ameliorating the condition of the poorer classes. Political economy, or "industrial policy," to use the expression of the sect, was the subject generally treated by the *Globe*, and with the exception of a few articles on the new priesthood and the emancipation of woman, its columns were filled with discussions on taxes, loans, sinking-funds; on rents, wages, and successions; on the relation of master and workman, of capital and labour, on the industrial and scientific organization of the future. During the winter of 1831-2, though these subjects were not neglected, as the remarkable articles by Michel

Chevalier on the interests involved in peace and the Mediterranean system abundantly prove, they sank into the second place. The search for the Free Woman was now the first object. Transon preached upon it (1st of January); Duveyrier wrote upon the subject (12th of January); while Enfantin, not content with either speaking or writing—though he did both—acted as if he expected her to appear in a ball-room, and made Rue Monsigny the scene of splendid festivals, the expense of which was defrayed by the contributions of his followers; while Olinde Rodrigues inaugurated a loan, the profits of which were to be applied for the benefit of the human race, and actually realized more than three thousand pounds (82,000fr). A catastrophe was, however, at hand. For a considerable time the Government of Louis Philippe had watched the proceedings of the family with grave and increasing suspicion, and so early as November of the preceding year, a warrant had been issued against Enfantin, Rodrigues, Laurent, and Barrault, on the ground that they were the chiefs of an association of more than twenty persons, and excited hatred and contempt against the State.

At that time nothing was done, but on the 22nd January, 1832, as Enfantin and Rodrigues were about to go to an assembly of the family, a commissary of police appeared to prevent their egress, and their home in Rue Monsigny was surrounded by troops of the line, national guards, and a squadron of hussars. At the same moment other officials, also escorted by an armed force, went to the hall in Rue Taitbout, where Barrault was about to preach, and forbade the meeting. Barrault did not lose his presence of mind; with a few words he calmed the excitement caused by so unexpected an interruption, ordered the crowd to disperse quietly, and having obtained immediate obedience, followed them out, to go with the initiated and join Enfantin, leaving the authorities to close and seal the doors behind him. After this, the judicial agents went to Rue Monsigny, where they carried off all the papers they could find, including account-books and private letters (even those belonging to Chevalier, who was not as yet involved), though they refused to say of what the prisoners were accused, or to give a written acknowledgment of the force employed.

The next day began a preliminary inquiry, which lasted six months before the public prosecutor could obtain from the Royal Court of Appeal (the inferior tribunal had rejected his application) a decision that there were sufficient grounds for putting the Saint-Simonian chiefs on their trial before the Court of Assizes of the Seine,—Enfantin, Rodrigues, Barrault, and [illegible] Chevalier, for having formed an unauthorized associa[illegible] than twenty persons; Enfantin, Chevalier, and Duv[illegible] traging public morality by their speeches and writings; and lastly, Enfantin and Rodrigues for swindling,* an offence for which it was ordered they should be tried separately by the judges of Correctional Police. To arrive at this result more than a hundred and forty witnesses were examined, including all the members of the family, the principal dissenters, Bazard, Lechevalier, Carnot, and others, police agents, subscribers to the loan, and even prisoners at Bicêtre known to be in correspondence with the Saint Simonains. The public prosecutor, however, got but small satisfaction from these interrogatories: for the dissenters all declared that their separation was not founded on any motives calling for judicial interference; the subscribers, with equal unanimity, denied that they had been in any way unfairly tempted to entrust their money to Rodrigues; and the prisoners asserted the correspondence to have turned only on their own moral improvement.

Meanwhile the sect had undergone a new transformation. Rodrigues, whether it was that he disliked the increasing arrogance and extravagant claims to authority of Enfantin, or that he was scared away by his strange moral conceptions, admitting the interference of the priesthood between man and wife, and the wild-goose chase he was running after the Free Woman, separated from him towards the end of February, summoning the disciples to gather around him, the direct representative and inheritor of the doctrine of Saint Simon. They declined to follow his example, nevertheless this fresh schism discredited the loan, the financial affairs of the family, though confided to the able hands of Michel Chevalier and Isaac Pereyre, became embarrassed, and this led to the discontinuance of the *Globe* and the break-up of the common establishment, Rue Monsigny.

These repeated divisions, the seeing himself successively abandoned by many of his oldest and most important adherents, would have been more than enough to disturb an ordinary mind; but Enfantin was of higher calibre. He possessed a house and garden at the top of the hill of Menilmontant, and thither he resolved to retire with forty of his followers, to prepare himself and them for a new life by meditation, manual labour, and the strictest monastic isolation, and to found their worship by the assumption of a peculiar dress and the creation of new art. Among these chosen disciples there were writers, painters, musicians, lawyers, doctors, merchants, one Catholic priest, and civil and military engineers, distinguished pupils of the Polytechnic School. Several had been bred in luxury, or had abandoned lucrative positions for their faith; most were well educated, and all young, for not one had attained his fortieth year, and but two were older than the Supreme Father, himself only thirty-six. Such as they were, however, they gaily devoted themselves to the hardest and most menial tasks, and sought to prove their belief in their own theory in the equality of spirit and flesh, united by religion, by rehabilitating labour, while preparing the conversion of women and the people by their worship. They repaired the house, kept it and the gardens in order, dug gravel from a pit to make its walks, and waited upon themselves. One Felix Tourneux, who but a few days before had been an officer of artillery, and threw up his commission to hurry to Menilmontant, became, at his own desire, the servant of his brethren; he laid the cloth for their meals, and removed it, brushed their clothes, cleaned their boots, and being adroit, or having, as he has expressed it, "*un joli coup de brosse,*" these tasks did not take him more than two hours, leaving the rest of the day free for meditation on the progress of the human race. Morning and evening the voice of Enfantin animated his followers; while at work they sang hymns in chorus, to music composed by Felicien David, and when the horn called them to dinner, they took their places, and chanted a prayer before they ate.

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* This accusation was partly founded on the Saint Simonian loan, partly on the will of a notary named Robinet—a Saint Simonian—who had died at Rue Monsigny, after making Enfantin his residuary legatee. The relations attacked the will, and though the Courts rejected the plea of undue suggestion, it was upset on the ground that the legacy left to the Supreme Father was really intended for the society; and the latter being unauthorized by the Government, it was therefore void.

From the 23rd of April, the day of the retreat, till the 6th of June, no strangers were admitted; then the doors were thrown open, that all who liked might witness the ceremony about to take place. No longer able to propagate their opinions, by [illegible]ous distribution of their newspapers and pamphlets, [illegible] by oral instruction, the Saint Simonians had decided to mark their originality by assuming a peculiar dress, and thus at the same time test the courage of their apostles. The family assembled in a circle; in a second ring stood persons in communication with them, and beyond, a few spectators, all awaiting Enfantin, whom they had not seen for three days. On his appearance he was hailed by a chorus of welcome, and having received a report of what had occurred during his absence, announced that he had disposed of all his worldly goods, and expected those who, with him, were about to assume the apostolic habit, to do the same, and free themselves from all mundane shackles, as Christians "renounce the devil, his works, pomps, and vanities;" to be thus more worthy to earn their bread and to receive daily wages. He then clothed himself in the dress, consisting of a vest, which, to symbolize fraternity, could not be put on without assistance, a close [illegible] coat, white trousers, a leather belt, and a red cap. [illegible]er part of the family hastened to follow his example,—a few indeed said they were not yet strong enough to undergo such a trial, but they were exceptions; most were armed with fanaticism, and Moise Retouret especially, exclaimed that hitherto he had seen in Enfantin the majesty of an emperor, but not sufficiently the goodness of a Messiah, but now his tenderness having overcome the feeling of awe, he was ready.

This sixth of June was a fatal day in Paris: it witnessed one of the bloodiest of the many insurrections that stained the reign of Louis Philippe; and not only did the roar of cannon interrupt the Saint Simonian ceremonial, but a woman of the faubourg, Desirée Veret, who had made her way to Menilmontant across the barricades, rushed in, imploring the chiefs to keep the promise they had given, that in case of an insurrection they would throw themselves unarmed between the people and the troops, and by the spectacle of their devotion, strive to lead both sides back to concord and pacific sentiments. Tears, entreaties, were all as vain as the attempt to remind them of their own words. Enfantin would not stir, nor allow his followers to do so; and thus the Saint Simonians incurred the charge of cowardice which has weighed so heavily against them in public opinion.

From this time the house at Menilmontant was open twice a week, on Sundays and Wednesdays, from noon till eight o'clock, and numbers of people came from Paris to walk in the garden, see the ceremonies, and watch the disciples at their work or their repasts. On the 1st of July the foundations of the temple were laid, an immense crowd being present, when a commissary of police appeared to disperse it. Enfantin, always observant of his dignity, ordered Michel Chevalier, as one of the chief apostles, to see what was wanted, and withdrew. From this time the family were continually persecuted, though they continued peaceably to work at their temple; a brigade of gendarmerie was stationed at their gate, first on Wednesdays and Sundays, to prevent the entrance of strangers, then soldiers were sent every day to cut off all communication, and at length three of the garden doors were fastened up by the authorities, and a domiciliary visit took place to verify the number of inhabitants of the house. Finally, the charge of unauthorized assemblies at Menilmontant was added to those already pending, and Enfantin and his four accused companions were cited to appear before the Tribunal on the 27th of August.

When the day came the whole family, called some as counsel, the rest as witnesses for the defence, ranged themselves in order, the exterior members, or the Saint Simonians, men and women, living at Paris, took their places in the rear, and after singing a hymn, the procession set forth. Enfantin was in the centre of his immediate followers, dressed like them, only that his costume was brighter in colour, and the words "Le Père" were legibly embroidered on the breast. His appearance excited the greatest curiosity as he passed through the streets; as well as in the court, which was crowded to excess, when he took his place at the bar. His fellow-accused sat at his side, and on the bench behind, their counsel, among the latter two ladies, Aglaé Saint Hilaire and Cecile Fournel, who had obtained leave to sit near Enfantin, though the judges angrily refused his application to have them as his especial defenders.

The trial lasted two days, and gave rise to most curious scenes, showing the immense influence of Enfantin over his followers. Throughout, as during the previous inquiry, the accused maintained the most lofty behaviour. When asked who they were, while Rodrigues was content to call himself a disciple of Saint Simon, the others respectively qualified themselves Apostles, and Chief of the new faith; and when further questioned, Enfantin boldly stated that he *was* the "Supreme Father," the "Father of Humanity," the "Living Law," and, to the great irritation of the judges, he persisted in addressing them, and in giving his orders, to his fellow-prisoners, to the counsel, and the witnesses, as if he had indeed been armed with divine authority, and had sat in that court to award instead of to receive sentence. About forty witnesses, all Saint Simonians, had been summoned, but when the first, Moïse Retouret, appeared, and the oath was tendered to him, what was the astonishment of the court to see him turn to Enfantin and ask his sanction, which the latter refused, as the formula did not mention the name of God. A most singular discussion ensued between the counsel for the defence and the law-officers of the Crown, as to the right of witnesses to be [illegible] according to their own faith; the judges refus[illegible] to modify the words, and when Retouret declared he could not pronounce them without leave from the chief of his religion, he was dismissed unheard. Again and again this scene was renewed; each witness in his turn asked the orders of Enfantin, and declined to take the oath without special permission. Finally, all were sent away without being heard, even those who, like Flachat and Fournel, not living at Menilmontant, seemed less under the influence of the chief; and it had to be recorded that they had desired to be sworn "before God," refused the oath altogether rather than take it in any other form—a point of singular interest in a trial for religion, when the prisoners placed at the bar were to justify their faith and their morality.

The speech for the prosecution presents little of interest. It is always easy to string together emphatic phrases about society being attacked, and to declaim against ev[illegible] most moderate reformers as the enemies of all law. [illegible] more than twenty persons had attended the Saint Simonian gatherings was patent, and in itself constituted a punishable offence, unless the family could be shown to be protected by the article of the Code allowing freedom of worship: the money transactions were easily susceptible of a sinister interpretation, the more so as it was certain the accused would be prevented replying, on the ground that they were not then on trial for swindling; and in support of the charge of immorality, the Attorney-General only thought it necessary to cull from the speeches of Enfantin, and the writings of Duveyrier, the passages most likely to grate upon the feelings and offend the prejudices of twelve comfortable, middle-aged citizen-jurymen, and to wind up with a flourish about the duty devolving upon them to save society from dissolution. One interruption, however, was somewhat curious. The better to condemn Enfantin, the crown lawyer quoted the protest of Cecile Fournel against his theories in the most pathetic tone, when to his surprise, that lady started up from her place behind the Father, to repudiate the words she then used, as she had since been better enlightened and accepted the doctrine—an inconvenient interruption, for which the presiding judge threatened to have her expelled.

The defence of Olinde Rodrigues was short: he contented himself with clearing the memory of Saint Simon from the charges brought against it by the prosecution, and remarked that after four years' tolerance it was rather late to try his followers for their meetings, even supposing them unprotected by their religious character. Very different was the language of the other accused, and their counsel. They did not recognise the authority of their judges, nor seek to avoid a condemnation; their object was to testify to the[illegible]th, and since their meetings were prohibited, to utter words in that court which should re-echo through the length and breadth of France. Far from defending themselves, they boldly attacked the society and the Government which had put them on their trial, and used the occasion publicly to attest their love and reverence for their chief.

The first to speak was Léon Simon, one of the counsel, and with the characteristic boldness and conviction of his sect (we recall this, because it is the intense belief in themselves and their leader, enabling them to brave prejudice and ridicule, which makes the Saint Simonians so remarkable), he grappled with the religious question, explaining and developing the famous formula, "DIEU *est Tout ce qui est,*" eloquently repudiating the idea of a victim being essential to worship, and substituting the contrary notion, that the time was come when it would consist in general happiness, the poor ceasing to be speculated upon by the rich, and woman by man. Simon was followed by Michel Chevalier, whose high character and actual position makes the part he then played the more interesting. He first showed the erratic course taken by the prosecution, which in the beginning of the inquiry had chiefly relied on the charge of political conspiracy, now tacitly withdrawn, and replaced by that of immorality, to which no allusion was originally made, though the articles and speeches incriminated were published before any proceedings began. He then proved from history that religion has ever abstracted itself from morals and policy, and that Catholicism especially was at the head of civilization precisely at the time when it exercised the greatest influence over both, so that neither its habitual subjects of discussion, nor the demand for subscriptions (since St. Paul and his deacons did as much) could deprive Saint Simonianism of its religious character. He then related the persecutions the sect had undergone at Menilmontant, the sacrifices of place and fortune made by its members, and the vast area over which the propaganda had spread by the distribution of papers and pamphlets, and a correspondence embracing America and Africa. By extracts from their writings he proved how pacific were the sentiments of the Saint Simonians, who condemned all violence, and that the objects they advocated were the opening of railroads and canals, the development of all material resources as a guarantee for peace. All this was most displeasing to the judges, who, with the impatience which makes *French* justice a thing apart, perpetually interrupted Michel Chevalier, and finally ordered him to sit down. They might have succeeded in browbeating ordinary prisoners, but it was bad policy with such a man as Enfantin, whose bold, calm insistance for a fair hearing, pithily expressed, had great effect, and won for him the sympathies of his audience.

After Michel Chevalier, Lambert (better known as Lambert Bey, for the great talents he displayed in Egypt while serving Mohammed Ali and his successor), Duveyrier, and Barrault successively addressed the Court, which did not rise till near midnight, and their words fell with startling effect on a sceptical and mocking audience. The first attacked the competency of the tribunal. If two worlds, the past and the future, were brought face to face, each with its creed, its moral law, and its policy, he said, quoting the prosecutor, what was the meaning of the veil covering the crucifix, unless it symbolized the want of a common faith of those who presumed to judge the belief of others; nor did he admit them to be more competent to decide the moral than the religious question at issue, since, in what the prosecution called essentially a woman's question, no woman sat in judgment, and the Court had expressly refused to hear the pleading of female counsel; and by a rapid sketch of the men composing the Saint Simonian family, he tried to prove that their intellectual and moral standing put them above the sentence of any twelve jurymen designated by chance. Next came Duveyrier, specially accused of outraging public morality, and supported by the consciousness of the strict celibacy observed at Menilmontant, he carried the war into the enemy's country, tearing away the cloak of hypocrisy which shrouded the vices of society around him. Some phrases of his article he surrendered, for they had been before censured by Enfantin, but only to sustain the general idea more forcibly. The world had no right to condemn his theory, he said, since in practice the opera was more popular than religious services, and the theatre obtained a larger subsidy from the State than the churches. He sketched the state of social relations throughout the world, showing how they required reform, since in all the reality was most different from profession, and vice reigned supreme, the lives of the great majority being a contradiction to the Christian dispensation, supposed to be their law; and speaking as an apostle, not as a lawyer, he denounced the anathema which made all pleasure a crime, since the practice of morality could only become general when its theory regulated, instead of contradicting, all the instincts of nature. His impassioned oratory, which irritated the judges, greatly astonished the crowded audience. The last to speak was Barrault. Called by his fellows "St. Jean Bouche d'Or," he was one of their most eloquent preachers. He treated the court of justice as a council, the prisoner's bench as a pulpit, and having publicly asked and received the blessing of his "Father," he followed up the speech of Duveyrier, pitilessly plunging the scalpel into every social wound, demonstrating the contempt into which marriage vows had practically fallen, and the demoralization misery imposes on the daughters of the poor, probing every inconsistency, scanning every vice, to persuade his hearers of the necessity of a religious reform.

Late that night the family returned in procession to Menilmontant, and the next morning they again made their appearance in the same order. Curiosity was now excited to the highest pitch, for it was known that Enfantin himself would be the next to speak. Rising gravely, he fixed his eyes alternately on the judges, the jury, and the audience; at first he spoke slowly, with frequent long pauses, during which he continued to look about him, in order, as he said, practically to prove the effect of the human eye, and the reality of the material impressions which played so important a part in his doctrines, and certainly he could never have shown more decidedly the magnetic power of attraction or repulsion he possessed, for judges, crown-lawyers, and jury g [illegible] more impatient and irritable under his calm gaze [illegible] themselves to the degree of interrupting him with sharp reprimands, and at length even suspending the trial for half an hour. Satisfied with the triumph he had thus obtained, in which, as in the incident of the oath the day before, he had manifested his influence over his fellow-creatures, Enfantin now proceeded more rapidly. From the beginning, he scouted all thought of defending or justifying himself; he was there to teach, he said. He had desired to have women as his counsel in order to be refused, that in all points the difference between him and those who tried him might be shown. The importance attached to physical beauty was one of the great accusations against him, but Enfantin, whose policy it was to turn every charge into a vaunt, freely confessed the rehabilitation of the flesh to be his object, since its degradation was the cause of the social evils he saw around him, and pointedly asked why, if perfect form was a qualification for the army, it should not be one also for the priesthood, when even the Catholic Church would not admit the deformed to orders? Not that he expected all the reforms he preached to be immediately realized, for many, he knew, must be the work of time, and be slowly and gradually evolved, but in himself he felt a power of love which gave him the mission of teaching man to respect the liberty of woman, as Christ had come on earth to break the chains of slaves. No man, he said, would dare assert himself a better judge on domestic relations than his mother, his wife, or his sister, yet by the inferior position allotted to women, they were exposed to seduction and desertion, with every accompanying sin and misery; a curse from which the world could only be freed by the advent of the Messianic Woman, whose precursor he proclaimed himself, following up by the law of *truth*, that of *equality* between [illegible] and woman given by Saint Simon, until woman herself should reveal that of *grace;* and he ended by utterly disclaiming the competency of the jury to judge him and his followers.

An animated discussion now ensued between the Crown lawyer on the one hand, and D'Eichthal, Lambert, Duveyrier, Chevalier, and Barrault on the other; the former urging on the jury the condemnation of the accused, with the personal eagerness so peculiar to the prosecutor in France, the latter enlarging on their defence of the previous day, and proclaiming their faith, in spite of the endeavours of the presiding judge to silence them, and even Enfantin rose again to answer the charge flung at him of being a juggler and a swindler, by showing that, if a speculator, he was one of a strange sort, since he had dedicated his whole fortune to his undertaking.

At length the question of guilty or not guilty was put by the presiding judge to the jury, and though they retired for awhile, they were so eager to condemn on [illegible] count, that they actually found Duveyrier culpable of forming an unauthorized association, of which he was not accused, a finding which had to be eliminated in the sentence. Finally, the Court condemned Enfantin, Duveyrier, and Michel Chevalier each to a year of imprisonment, and a fine of one hundred francs; Rodrigues and Barrault to fifty francs fine, and all of them collectively to the costs of the trial, while their papers and pamphlets were to be confiscated, and the Saint Simonian society broken up. The family heard this sentence with perfect composure, and three days being allowed to appeal against it, they formed their procession, and retired to Menilmontant, attended by their adherents, and having passed the barriers, they sang their hymns as they went.*

The trial over, the members of the family began to go about Paris in their peculiar dress, and soon the home at Menilmontant was deserted. As might have been foreseen, the appeal was rejected, and the Supreme Father, and two of his chief apostles being lodged in prison, the society again entered a new phase, for, strange to say, its extraordinary vitality was not yet exhausted, and we have still to give an account of a fresh enterprise which its members undertook.

We have already seen that Barrault was one of the leading spirits among the Saint Simonians, and left at liberty, while Enfantin was imprisoned, his position increased in importance. The time that elapsed between the first sentence and its confirmation by the Court of Appeal, had been actively employed in sending missionaries to different parts of France, that their ideas might be propagated individually though their association was forbidden; and Barrault especially drew around him a group whom he entitled "Les Compagnons de la Femme," naturally consisting of those whose nature and qualities most nearly approached the female type. As soon as the sentence of the Court of Appeal forced them to leave Menilmontant, the party set off on foot, and went all together as far as Villejuif, where they spent the first night. Next morning, having determined on a place of meeting at Lyons, they broke up into smaller groups of two or three persons, each travelling by a separate road to the common rendezvous. Once reunited, these men, highly educated as most of them were, devoted themselves to manual labour, by which they earned their bread, in order to testify to their belief in its moral dignity. After some time passed in this way, their chief, Emile Barrault, selected twelve from amongst their number, whom he ordered to prepare for a long journey; the Father, the supreme Living Law, being known to them to exist, he said, and being, nevertheless, incomplete for want of his partner, the Mother, it was obvious she must be discovered, and as he was impressed with the positive faith that she dwelt in the East, it was their duty to set off and seek for her.

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* The speeches of Enfantin and his fellow-prisoners on this trial are so long and so connected in argument, as almost to defy either analysis or quotation, even were the subjects treated of such as are usually considered fit for the pages of a review intended for general circulation. We have, however, endeavoured to give some idea of the line of argument followed; and persons specially interested in the Saint Simonians, or in the reforms they advocated, may find a full report in the very curious volume entitled "Le Procès."

The men he addressed were wound up to the same pitch of enthusiasm as himself, so the argument at once chimed in with their own feelings; and, true to the title they had assumed, they declared themselves ready to start in search of the Supreme Mother. They immediately went to Marseilles, when one of them happening to hear that two persons, one a naval officer the other a civil engineer, who had shown Saint Simonian tendencies, were to be found at Toulon, he made an excursion thither, and preached his doctrine with so much effect that the new converts threw up their employments,* and hurried to Marseilles in time to embark with Barrault and the rest of his followers on board the *Clorinde*, a brig bound to Constantinople, of which the since so celebrated Garibaldi was then mate; but we learn that, though he struck his passengers as being intelligent, and they conversed a good deal with him during the voyage, they were far from suspecting how great a part he was destined to play.

While at sea Barrault announced a new revelation as to the Supreme Mother, restricting the search to the descendants of Israel, since she must be a Jewess, the better to complete the Father, he being Christian by birth and descent. With this object before them, the party at length landed at Constantinople; and though all kinds of costume are common enough there, the appearance of fifteen men all clad alike in white trousers, high boots, a red undercoat with long sleeves, covered by a white sleeveless jacket buttoned up the back, red caps and black cloaks, walking continually about together, though they eschewed intercourse with any strangers, caused the greatest sensation. The real object for which they came was of course perfectly unintelligible to the Turks, who not knowing who they were or whence they had arrived, rather naturally conceived they might be desirous of revolutionizing the empire, or perhaps, worse than all, be freemasons; so, for the sake of precaution, Kosrew Pacha ordered them to be arrested as suspicious characters and vagabonds,* which was immediately done. The chancellery of the Porte was given them as a prison, and during the five days they remained there, though they were well treated, they had to undergo various interrogatories, among which we select the following as one of the most curious. Some of the party had stated themselves to be pupils of the Polytechnic School, so a Turkish mathematician was sent to examine them, and Barrault chose Tourneux from among his companions for the conference. An interpreter was of course employed, and through him the Turk asked, which is the noblest mathematical figure?

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* Of these two persons, so singularly led away by their enthusiasm, the first died French Consul in the Indian Archipe[illegible] while the second, still alive, occupies a high and brilliant position in the [illegible] engineers, in which he resumed his place.

The ellipse, said Tourneux; and when asked why, because of its double curve, was the answer, with the full explanation of its shape. But a circle, objected the Turk; Tourneux acknowledged that figure to be a meritorious one, he still urged its inferiority; and still more strongly that of a square, which was next suggested to him. At length the Turk inquired what he thought of a triangle, to which he replied with great contempt, that it was a wretched figure, less than nothing; not only a flat surface, like a square, but one having only three sides. Upon this the Turk withdrew, and when left alone with his companions, Tourneux explained that he had answered in this strange way that his expressed contempt for triangles might obviate their being taken for freemasons.

After a few days the French ambassador interfered in behalf of his imprisoned countrymen, and they were set at liberty on condition that they should immediately leave Constantinople. They embarked for Alexandria, but once there, their small resources were exhausted, hunger and misery overtook them, and, after a last struggle to keep together, they were obliged to part, and each seek his bread as best he might; personal preoccupation for existence rendered further prosecution of their search impossible, and thus the expedition of the "Compagnons de la Femme" ended in an egregious and deplorable failure.

Before concluding, we must now return for a moment to Enfantin, whom we left condemned to seclusion and imprisonment. His next appearance in public, in the spring of the following year (1833), was again at the bar of the Court of Assizes. Adversity had not yet reduced his pretensions to a superhuman mission, and the day happening to be Easter Monday, he took occasion from this anniversary again to explain his peculiar conception of the Divinity, "Dieu, Père et Mère, de Tous et de

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* We have heard a story that, on landing at Constantinople, Barrault and his party saluted the first women they met, in the hope that the "Mother" might respond to their greeting, and that this scandalous infringement on Turkish custom was the chief cause of their arrest, but we cannot vouch for the fact.

Toutes," as he himself expressed it, and to pour forth one of his strange but powerful rhapsodies on the retreat of Menilmontant, its objects, and the future of peace and liberty he foresaw for the world when men should call in the aid of women, roused by the Mother, whom his disciples had gone to seek in the East; and having shown the political and religious faith which was the basis of the association he had formed, he dared his judges to condemn or dissolve it.*

In this country, Enfantin and his followers would have been left undisturbed: if a certain number of educated men chose to put their fortunes in common, and then live by the toil of their hands, it would be nothing to anybody, however strange the ideas they might be pleased to emit on social subjects, as long as they did not disturb the public peace; but with all its pretensions to liberality, the Government of Louis Philippe did not allow its subjects one tithe of the real freedom we enjoy in England, and the challenge of Enfantin was answered by the strict interdiction of the family. He himself, however, was set free, with his fellow-prisoners, for it was considered that, the association broken up and deprived of all means of publicity, he could not be dangerous, and he himself felt so keenly the inaction to which he was thus condemned, that he immediately left France, accompanied by Lambert, Bruneau, and Hoart, three of his most devoted adherents, all pupils, like himself, of the Polytechnic School, and betook himself to Egypt, where he was rejoined by several of the wandering band who had preceded him under the guidance of Barrault, and who were drawn back to their original leader by a force of attraction which we can only illustrate by comparing it to that which brings flies about a honeypot.

Such was the end of the Saint Simonian sect; for when its members found their way back to France in small groups, time had swept on, other doctrines and theories had usurped the public ear, and they remained on the shore, stranded and forgotten. But if their part as sectarians was over, their career as men was only now to begin, and it remains for us to show what became of the chief among them. Of their leaders, Bazard had died soon after the rupture; Olinde Rodrigues, on the contrary, survived many years, to the last calling himself a disciple of Saint Simon, and occupied with preparing a complete edition of his Master's works, which, however, he did not live to publish; Enfantin is still alive, and still arrogant, though he has separated from all his former friends, and neither in splendour nor in purity does his life correspond to the ideal of a prophet or an apostle. After two years spent in Egypt, where he played no part worth notice, though we may mention that at this time he was considered by his followers as so holy that one of them, Charpin, used daily to comb his hair, his own hands being too sacred to perform such an office for himself, he returned to France, bringing with him the original idea of the canal through the Isthmus of Suez, which he subsequently communicated to M. de Lesseps, and in the realization of which he meant to have taken a great share, had not the latter contrived to set him aside when the concession had been obtained: but not before he had had three audiences of the Emperor on the subject, after the last of which he observed (we note the phrase as characteristic of both), "I have no power over this man." So he remains in his obscurity, and the man who for a time not only believed himself, but induced others, some of the cleverest men perhaps of the most sceptical and laughter-loving nation in Europe, to believe him a living law and a divine incarnation, has successively condescended to be a postmaster, a member of a scientific commission in Algeria, a newspaper editor, and now belongs to the administration of the Lyons railway.

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* We have this speech of Enfantin bef iginal form, a rare pamphlet, entitled "Parole du Père." In t at Simonian publications, great use and abuse is made of sma e, of capitals, and italics, with the additional peculiarity that are printed like irregular stanzas, cut up into short truncated

While such has been the fate of the chiefs, what has become of the followers? Michel Chevalier many of our readers may have seen last year, when he came to London as Imperial Commissioner to the Exhibition, in the uniform of a senator; his breast covered with orders, and none, we believe, but would consider those honours and decorations more than deserved by the great political economist who has earned a right to lasting gratitude by his exertions in favour of the treaty of commerce between France and England. His brother Auguste was secretary to the President during the Republic, is now a deputy, and a decided Imperialist. David brought back from his Oriental travel the airs which made the success of "Le Désert;" Barrault has written much and learnedly on politics, especially those of the East, whither he returned as a member of the Commission to examine the Isthmus of Suez, still enjoys a high literary reputation, and not long ago was married by a priest of the Catholic Church; Léon Simon and Currie were celebrities known to believers in homœopathy; Ivan went to China, and is now the intimate friend of Prince Napoleon; Cazeaux and Tourneux have resumed their career as engineers, the latter especially with great success and distinction; Carnot was Minister under the Republic, and now lives in retirement; Journel visited Texas, and has been decorated for his writings on different subjects; Jourdan is an editor of the *Siècle*; Urbain holds high civil office in Algeria. Madame Bazard, Abel Transon, the eloquent preacher, Dugied, the founder of Carbonarism under the Restoration, repented of their aberrations, and took refuge from them in the arms of the Catholic Church: Saint Chéron has been the editor of the *Univers Religieuse*; Margarin obtained a professorship in a Catholic University of Belgium; while on the other hand Pierre Leroux and Jean Reynaud embraced the most advanced democratic and socialist opinions, which they supported by their writings till 1848, and afterwards by their votes and attitude in the chamber, till the advent of the Second Empire again reduced them to the use of their pens only.

Thus have the Saint Simonians been cast abroad over the world; some are Imperialists, some devout Catholics, some ardent democrats. What, then, has really resulted from the singular episode in the history of French thought of which we have just given a sketch? Something very different from the exalted religious pretensions put forth by the sect, but which yet may be legitimately deduced from one part of the doctrines of Enfantin; the financial feudalism which at this moment overshadows France, and centring in the Crédit Mobilier, an establishment directed by the two Pereyres, Gustave D'Eichthal, and Duveyrier, who has combined light literature and the writing of farces with the more practical pursuits of a speculator, all old Saint Simonians, who, in conjunction with other followers of the same path, such as Mirès and Talabot, wield a power more absolute than that the medieval dukes and counts ever exercised over the State. Such has been the result of Saint Simonianism dissolved by external force. What would have happened had it been allowed to run its course, and break down from its own inherent defects and continual tendency to schism, from the revolt of individual idiosyncrasy against the intense despotism of the chief, it is, of course, vain to speculate; but this we may say, that while the views of the school embraced much that was good and beautiful, while they contented themselves with theorizing, they entirely failed to establish anything which has practically shown the world to be their debtor for any solidly secured step of progress.

ART. VII.—THE NATURALIST ON THE RIVER AMAZONS.

The Naturalist on the River Amazons: a Record of Adventures, Habits of Animals, Sketches of Brazilian and Indian Life, and Aspects of Nature under the Equator, during Eleven Years of Travel. By HENRY WALTER BATES. 2 vols. 8vo. London: John Murray. 1863.

THE general history of the travels recorded in these interesting volumes by Mr. Bates, may be given in a few words. Messrs. Wallace and Bates, after long discussion of the problem of the origin of species, resolved, in 1847, to make a joint voyage to the shores of the Amazons for the purpose of ascertaining what materials for the settlement of that question might be obtained there. Starting early in 1848, they passed some time in Pará, and after making an excursion together up the River Tocantins, the main stream entering the estuary of the Pará, they parted company, and made their way separately up the main river until they met again at Barra, on the Rio Negro, 1000 miles from their starting-point. In 1852 Mr. Wallace left Brazil to start on the Eastern expedition which has placed him in the first rank of scientific naturalists ; whilst Mr. Bates remained on the Amazons, having proceeded up the Upper River, or Solimoens, as far as Ega, which he afterwards made his headquarters for a considerable time. Mr. Bates remained for seven years after his original fellow-traveller quitted him, and only left Pará on his return to civilization in the summer of 1859—fully eleven years after his first landing there.

There are few objects in nature that impress the mind more fully with the idea of grandeur than a great river, and it is upon this alone that the interest of the Amazons reposes. The Ganges and the Indus have flowed for centuries past the seats of an ancient civilization ;—the waves of the Nile have witnessed the rise and extinction of a civilization more ancient still. The banks of the Tigris and Euphrates bore the earliest of recorded empires ; and these and many other rivers are associated with a thousand historical incidents which invest them with a special, if not sometimes almost a sacred, character. The Amazons appeals almost wholly to our senses—the short-lived glory attaching to it as [redacted]posed highway to the fabulous golden region of the Spaniards, having been too evanescent to invest it with a lasting halo of either historic or romantic interest.

But, however wanting in historical associations, it must be admitted that the Amazons is not deficient in the elements of natural grandeur. The largest river in the world, running a course of some 3500 miles, nearly from one side of a great continent to the other, pouring into the ocean a volume of water equal in expanse at least, and probably in depth, to the Straits of Dover, the accumulated drainage of a basin nearly equal in its superficial extent to the whole of Europe, the mighty Amazons rolls on through the solitudes of the vast forests which rise in marvellous luxuriance upon its banks, performing its never-ending functions as one of the great arteries of the water-circulation of the globe. So wide is its channel that the influence of the tides is felt in it at a distance of more than 400 miles from its mouth, and Mr. Bates even observed a rise and fall which could only be ascribed to the tide in a small tributary 530 miles from the sea, whilst the volume of water which it pours into the sea is so great that even in the great estuary the water is scarcely brackish. Favoured by the moist atmosphere and the warmth of the climate, the vast plain which stretches on all sides of the great river and its affluents is clothed with a vegetation unsurpassed elsewhere in beauty and grandeur. The plants which furnish the necessaries and many of the luxuries of existence may be raised on its banks with the least possible expenditure of labour in their cultivation, and the vast facilities for water-carriage, the immense shore-line presented by the water-system of the Amazons, would seem to indicate the region traversed by it as one from which a most extensive commerce in tropical products might be carried on. Instead of this, we find its shores occupied by a scattered and scanty population, whose indolence and ignorance seem to be their most striking characteristics. As a rule, they seem scarcely to cultivate more than is absolutely necessary for their own wants, and in most parts of the country domestic animals are almost, if not quite unknown, so that the inhabitants, being generally dependent for their supplies of animal food upon the natural resources of a country offering comparatively few of the larger birds or quadrupeds, are driven perforce to adopt a fish diet, which Mr. Bates appears to have found by no means satisfactory.

The population consists of whites, Indians, and negroes, and of mixtures of these three in various proportions, and it is one of the most hopeful features in the social condition of the district that no prejudice exists against those who show marks of mixed blood: indeed, the cross of black or Indian blood seems so general that it is considered bad taste to boast of a pure white pedigree. In most cases the whites do not appear to have much to boast of, the lower Portuguese immigrants adopting the indolent habits of the Indians and Indian-half-castes with great success. The people generally think more of their religious festivals than of anything else, and as these are very numerous, and last for nine or ten days, and their most important feature apparently consists in getting drunk on hot rum and ginger in honour of the saints, we can hardly be surprised that with all its natural advantages the Amazons province does not advance very rapidly. In most other respects the inhabitants of the Amazons valley seem generally to possess at least a negatively good character; acts of violence and dishonesty are of rare occurrence, and the morality of the sexes does not seem to be much lower than in other countries. Mr. Bates, indeed, tells us that "most of the half-caste women on the Upper Amazons lead a little career of looseness before they marry and settle down for life;" and thinks it "rather remarkable that the men do not seem to object much to their brides having had a child or two by various fathers before marriage," although we fear that he might find very similar customs prevailing much nearer home.

The ignorance on the most ordinary subjects prevailing amongst the inhabitants of this favoured region is well shown by the question put to Mr. Bates by a man holding an important office in Santarem, namely, " On what side of the river was Paris situated ?" a question which, Mr. Bates says, " did not arise, as might be supposed, from a desire for accurate topographical knowledge of the Seine, but from the idea that all the world was a great river, and that the different places he had heard of must lie on one shore or the other."

Amongst a society of this kind Mr. Bates passed eleven years of his life, and whatever may have been the intellectual barrenness of the soil around him, he seems to have found his existence on the Amazons so enjoyable that he was unwilling to leave its shores, and had it not been for his broken health, due rather to exposure and hard fare than to any influence of the climate, he would probably, as he himself says, have furnished an example of the truth of the Paraense proverb, " He who goes to Pará stops there." And in the pages of the two delightful volumes in which Mr. Bates records the memorabilia of his life during his sojourn in the Amazons region, the reader will find abundant evidence of its possessing attractions such as would cause the naturalist to regard with indifference the want of congenial society and of the appliances of civilized life. Take the following description of the scenery which greeted the eyes of the traveller on his first landing at Pará. After remarking on the slovenly condition of the human elements in the picture presented to him, Mr. Bates says :—

> " But amidst all, and compensating every defect, rose the overpowering beauty of the vegetation. The massive dark crowns of shady mangos were seen everywhere, amongst the dwellings, amidst fragrant blossoming orange, lemon, and many other tropical fruit-trees, some in flower, others in fruit, at varying stages of ripeness. Here and there, shooting above the more domelike and sombre trees, were the smooth columnar stems of palms, bearing aloft their magnificent crowns of finely-cut fronds. Amongst the latter, the slim assai-palm was especially noticeable, growing in groups of four or five ; its smooth, gently-curving stem, twenty to thirty feet high, terminating in a head of feathery foliage, inexpressibly light and elegant in outline. On the boughs of the taller and more ordinary-looking trees sat tufts of curiously-leaved parasites. Slender woody lianas hung in festoons from the branches, or were suspended in the form of cords and ribbons ; whilst luxuriant creeping plants overran alike tree-trunks, roofs, and walls, or toppled over palings, in copious profusion of foliage. The superb banana, of which I had always read as forming one of the charms of tropical vegetation, here grew with great luxuriance, its glossy velvety green leaves, twelve feet in length, curving over the roofs

of verandahs in the rear of every house. The shape of the leaves, the various shades of green which they present when lightly moved by the wind, and especially the contrast they afford in colour and form to the more sombre hues and more rounded outline of the other trees, are quite sufficient to account for the charm of this glorious tree. . . . . Many other trees and plants, curious in leaf, stem, or manner of growth, grew on the borders of the thickets along which lay our road; they were all attractive to new comers whose last country ramble of quite recent date was over the bleak moors of Derbyshire on a sleety morning in April."

In the midst of a scenery offering so striking a contrast to that which he had last gazed on, Mr. Bates was struck with the absence about Pará of any similar tropical character in the more prominent members of the fauna. The only animals which struck him as remarkable were the lizards, of which great numbers were to be seen running about; the birds, in general, were of dull colours, and of forms such as might be seen in Europe without exciting much attention. The insects met with were likewise singularly European in their aspect; and in connexion with this circumstance Mr. Bates remarks that "those species which have the widest distribution in America, and which have the closest affinity to those of the tropics of the Old World, are such as occur in open sunny places near towns. The general appearance of the insects and birds belonging to such situations is very similar to that of European species." But it is remarkable that the species, however similar, belong generally to different genera and even to different families, or to different types of the same family, exhibiting often great divergence in all essential points of structure.

"Facts of this kind," says Mr. Bates, "would seem to show that it is not wholly the external conditions of light, heat, moisture, and so forth, which determine the general aspect of the animals of a country. It is a notion generally entertained, that the superior size and beauty of tropical insects and birds are immediately due to the physical conditions of a tropical climate, or are in some way directly connected with them. . . . . The tropics, it is true, have a vastly greater total number of handsome butterflies than the temperate zones; but it must be borne in mind that they contain a far greater number of genera and species altogether. It holds good in all families that the two sexes of the more brilliantly-coloured kinds are seldom equally beautiful; the females very often quite obscure in dress. There is a very large number of dull-coloured species in tropical countries. The tropics have also species in which the contrast between the sexes is greater than in any species of temperate zones; in some cases the males have been put in one genus and the females in another, so great is the difference between them. There are species of larger size, but at the same time there are others of smaller size in the same families in tropical than in temperate latitudes. If we reflect on all these facts, we must come to the conclusion that climate, to which we are naturally at first sight inclined to attribute much, has little or no direct influence in the matter. . . . The abundance of food, the high temperature, absence of seasons of extreme cold and dearth, and the variety of stations, all probably operate in favouring the existence of a greater number of species in tropical than in temperate latitudes. This, perhaps, is all we can say with regard to the influence of climatal conditions. The causes which have produced the great beauty that astonishes us, if we really wish to investigate them, must be sought in other directions. I think that the facts above mentioned are calculated to guide us in the search. They show, for instance, that beauty of form and colour is not peculiar to one zone, but is producible under any climate where a number of species of a given genus lead a flourishing existence. The ornamental dress is generally the property of one sex to the exclusion of the other; and the cases of widest contrast between the two are exhibited in those regions where life is generally more active and prolific. All this points to the mutual relations of the species, and especially to those between the sexes, as having far more to do in the matter than climate."

America, in Mr. Bates' opinion, is the region of forests, and he remarks especially on the arboreal habits of most of the animals, and the extraordinary abundance of climbing plants. Trees and plants of many orders take on a scansorial habit in the Brazilian forests, binding together the trunks and branches of the larger trees with their slender woody stems; and by means of the support thus afforded them carrying their foliage and inflorescence into the free light of day above the crowns of the ordinary forest-trees. Among the most remarkable forms of these lianas, as they [illegible] frequently called, are the climbing-palms (*Desmoncus*), to which the Amazons Indians give the name of Jacitára. "These have slender, thickly-spined and flexuous stems, which twine about the taller trees from one to the other, and grow to an incredible length. The leaves, which have the ordinary pinnate shape characteristic of the family, are emitted from the stems at long intervals, instead of being collected into a dense crown, and have at their tips a number of long recurved spines. These structures are excellent contrivances to enable the trees to secure themselves in climbing, but they are a great nuisance to the traveller, for they sometimes hang over the pathway and catch the hat or clothes, dragging off the one or tearing the other as he passes." Remarkable as these climbing-palms are from their singular departure from the ordinary mode of growth of their order, another kind of parasitic plant presents us with an example of a still more curious habit. This is known as the Sipó Matador, or Murderer Liana, from the fatal effects produced by it on the forest-tree which it selects as its supporter. Applying itself to one side of the stem of this like a wooden mould, it throws out at intervals from each side arm-like processes which pass round the trunk of the tree and unite at their point of contact on the other side. Thus the tree is gradually encircled by a series of inflexible wooden rings, which increase in size with the growth of the parasite, and in course of time inevitably strangle the unfortunate victim of this close embrace. "The strange spectacle then remains of the selfish parasite clasping in its arms the lifeless and decaying body of its victim, which had been a help to its own growth. Its end has been served—it has flowered and fruited, reproduced and disseminated its kind; and now, when the dead trunk moulders away, its own end approaches; its support is gone, and itself also falls."

It is impossible not to recognise in the apparently reckless and selfish behaviour of these parasitic plants of the Brazilian forest an intense manifestation of that "struggle for existence" which, according to Darwin, is the prime mover or main instrument in the origination of new species. The same struggle, the same competition for the physical essentials of existence, is doubtless going on elsewhere, and even before our eyes in the temperate climates of Europe; but in these tropical regions the phenomena acquire a magnitude and intensity commensurate with the intensity of all vital phenomena, and influence the mind of the observer as the feebler manifestations of a similar nature in our northern regions cannot do, leading him almost to ascribe to the vegetable parasites whose successful struggles he watches the characteristics of animal volition. Thus, Burmeister describes himself as painfully impressed by the spectacle presented to him by a Brazilian forest, from the vegetation apparently displaying a spirit of restless selfishness, emulation, and craftiness. "Live and let live," says Mr. Bates, "is clearly not the maxim taught in these wildernesses," nor, we may add, anywhere else by the contemplation of nature. Eat and be eaten, seems rather to be the natural law of the relation of animals to plants and to each other; the law which, like a resistless fate, pays no regard to the suffering of the individual or the extinction of the species, so long as by either the one or the other the general good can be secured.

Upon the important question of the origin of species, Mr. Bates holds opinions perfectly in accordance with those of Wallace and Darwin, and many illustrations of the principle of "natural selection" are to be found in his pages. One of the most striking examples adduced by him in support of the Darwinian theory is that furnished by the butterflies of the peculiarly American genus, *Heliconius*, of which numerous species are described by naturalists. These are elegant, slender-bodied butterflies, furnished with long and narrow wings, usually of a deep black colour, and adorned with large spots and streaks of bright tints. Of the species, or supposed species, many form groups of closely allied forms, presenting considerable difficulties to the entomologist who wishes to discriminate them; others exhibit well-marked differences, although perhaps even these may be found to merge more or less towards the characters of their near allies if a large series of specimens could be brought together. One fine species (the *H. Melpomene*) of a black colour, with a large crimson spot on each forewing, found throughout Guiana, Venezuela, and those northern parts of South America with the fauna of which that of the valley of the Amazons has most in common, occurs on both shores of the lower Amazons about the middle of its course, namely, at Obydos and Santarem, but is entirely wanting elsewhere. Throughout the forests of the remainder of the Amazons valley its place is taken by another species (described as *H. Thelxiope*), which is of the same size and form, but has the wings beautifully rayed with black and crimson, and adorned with a number of light yellow spots. Any one looking at these two forms alone, would say at once that they were perfectly distinct species; but Mr. Bates found, at different places in the valley of the Amazons, forms which seemed to indicate a transition from the one to the other, connected together by so complete a chain of gradations, that it is difficult to separate them even into varieties, and gradually filling up the wide interval between the two species. That these are not hybrids between *H. Melpomene* and *H. Thelxiope* is shown by the fact that they do not occur at points where these two species come into immediate contact, and that they do exist in Guiana, where only one of the supposed distinct species is found. Hence Mr. Bates believes that in these butterflies we may trace the formation by gradual modification of truly distinct species, that is to say, of physiological species, or forms which will not breed together, for he states that where the two species came in contact, he never observed them to pair. The mode in which such changes may be brought about, in accordance with the principle of natural selection, is indicated by the author as follows:—

> "According to this theory [that of Natural Selection], the variable state of the species exhibited in the districts above mentioned would be owing to Heliconius Melpomene having been rendered vaguely unstable by the direct action of local conditions dissimilar to those where it exists under a constant normal form. In these districts selection has not operated, or it is suitable to the conditions of life there prevailing that the species should exist under an unstable form. But in the adjoining moister forests, as the result shows, the local conditions were originally more favourable to one of these varieties than

to the others. The selected one, therefore, increased more rapidly than its relatives, and the fact of the entire absence of these latter from an area whence they are now separated only by a few miles, points to the conclusion that they could not there maintain their ground. Those individuals of successive broods which are still better suited to the new conditions, would, for the same reasons, be preferred over their relatives; and this process going forward for a few generations, the extreme point of H. Thelxiope would be reached. In the higher and drier areas of Guiana and the neighbouring countries, H. Melpomene has been the selected form; in the lower and more humid regions of the Amazon, H. Thelxiope has been preferred. An existing proof of the perfect adaptation is shown by the swarming abundance of the species; the derivation of H. Thelxiope from H. Melpomene is made extremely probable by the existence of a complete series of connecting links; and lastly, its permanent establishment is made evident by its refusal to intercross with its parent form, or revert to its former shape, when brought by natural redistribution into contact with it."

Although this may be cited as an interesting example in support of the hypothesis of the origin of species by gradual change, under the influence of altered conditions of existence, it is no less valuable as an illustration of the extreme imperfection of our knowledge on this most difficult subject, and of the vast amount of purely hypothetical reasoning that must be introduced into any discussion of any question connected with it. What are the conditions of existence that re-act upon the organism? and in what consists the state of "vague instability," ingeniously assumed by Mr. Bates as induced by them? and without which the phenomena presented by the Amzonian Heliconii would evidently be incapable of explanation, on the hypothesis of natural selection.

Another striking instance of a nature precisely similar to the above is recorded by Mr. Bates, with regard to two other butterflies, belonging to the restricted genus Papilio. One of these (P. Ergoteles) is found on the north side of the Amazons, from Obydos to the Rio Negro; it is replaced on the opposite by an apparently distinct species (P. Echelus). In Cayenne, where neither of these forms occur, there is an intermediate one, and the two extremes are so linked together by varieties, "that they cannot be considered otherwise than as modifications of one and the same species; one produced on the north, the other on the south side of the Amazons."

Many others of Mr. Bates' observations on the animals of the valley of the Amazons in connexion with the Darwinian hypotheses of the origin of species are deserving of the attention of naturalists; and in this respect we may refer especially to his remarks on the American monkeys and their relations to the Quadrumana of the old world, which are exceedingly suggestive, but unfortunately too long for insertion here, whilst it is impossible to abridge them satisfactorily. Scattered through his pages there is also a great mass of highly interesting notes on the habits of various animals, amongst which the entomologists will find important information on the Ants and Termites which form so striking a portion of the Insect Fauna of the regions traversed by Mr. Bates, and also a confirmation of the old story related by Madame Mérian, and since so often disputed, of the existence of a spider which catches small birds in its webs and destroys them. On the Solimoens and the upper part of the Lower Amazons he made the acquaintance of a new insect plague, a small fly called the Piúm, which he says comes out on its work of torment only by day, relieving the mosquitoes at sunrise with the greatest punctuality. The insect, which is evidently nearly allied to the sand-flies (*Simulium*), is of small size, but its excessive numbers, and the great irritation produced by its bite, render it formidable. Our author mentions a Portuguese fellow-traveller "who was laid up for three weeks from the attacks of Piúm; his legs being swollen to an enormous size, and the punctures aggravated into spreading sores."

From such attacks as these apparently arise the chief dangers of the Amazonian traveller. The reader of Mr. Bates's volumes will look in vain in their pages for adventures such as African travellers delight in—we find in them no records of nocturnal watchings for the needless destruction of game—no thrilling descriptions of hair's-breadth escapes from situations of danger, in which, had the writer actually come to grief, he would perhaps have met with his deserts. On the Amazons the jaguar, indeed, is heard roaring during the night, and leaves his footprints in the sand around the travellers' encampment—the cayman lurks about the bathing-places of the villages, on the look-out for prey, and the great water boa, or anaconda, occasionally seizes on a human victim; but in Mr. Bates's narrative the jaguar rarely makes his appearance; the only feat of the anaconda consists in a burglarious attack upon the traveller's fowls; and the cayman (who seems to be a most cowardly brute) makes an attempt to carry off a favourite dog from his sleeping-place, and gets ignominiously pelted back into the river with firebrands. Nevertheless, those who can dispense with "sensational" incidents will find an abundance of entertainment in this record of a naturalist's doings. The pictures of scenery and of the manners of the population are given with a truthfulness and vivacity which lend a great charm to the narrative, and we shall not be surprised, now that the facilities of transit are so great, to hear of batches of our summer tourists being induced by its perusal to start on expeditions to the head-waters of the great American river.

ART. VIII.—M. LOUIS BLANC'S HISTORY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

Histoire de la Révolution Française. Par LOUIS BLANC. 12 vols. Paris: Furne et Cie.

THERE are not many historical periods about which the opinions and sentiments of Englishmen have varied as much, within the course of a few years, as they have about the great French Revolution. To our fathers and grandfathers, France was already a natural object of dislike and contempt; but, at the close of the last century, their aversion was intensified into active hatred, and enraged almost to madness, by the fearful tales of horror and bloodshed which reached them from beyond the narrow seas, or were invented *intra quatuor maria* to satisfy their craving for that species of intelligence. They counted for nothing the long centuries of wrongs and injustice that were then so fearfully avenged; the good, too, that was done, was unappreciated or unheard of; the heroic virtues of the time, the courage, the endurance, the single devotion to an unselfish cause, were either disbelieved in, or passed by with a curse or a sneer. They heard only, that in France all regard for divine or human law had been flung aside; that innocent blood was daily poured forth with no mercy, and with no pity; that no rank or order was any longer sacred; no age or sex a protection against the people's fury. And when, one after another, the chief [redacted] of the people perished, struck down in succession by the storm they could no longer guide, the tidings of their fate were received only with feelings of stern pleasure. Our ancestors had no pardon for their errors—no sympathy, even for their cause. We need say nothing of the events that followed—the rapid successes of the French arms, and their slower but sure reverses; until, when England had won her last great victory, and Paris, a second time, was entered by the allied armies, the news was accepted as decisive, and the result as final, and it was believed that the last act of the French Revolution was now closed for ever.

We have since learned better. We have learned, at least, that the power of kings and emperors to create or destroy is, after all, confined within narrow limits; and that the armed forces of Europe can do nothing against those changes which the past has rendered inevitable. For the French Revolution was no accidental outbreak of a people's madness; no local disorder that the course of a few years might be enough to produce and to terminate. It had its roots fixed deeply in the past, and its consequences extending far into the unseen future. It was possible, only because faith and loyalty had turned away for ever from the objects of their former worship. The church and throne that had been flung down could be restored; so much of outward change it lay within the will of Europe to determine and accomplish; but between the past and present there lay the memory of an hour when the people had held for a while the title and the right of majesty,—when the Church had proclaimed officially before the world the falsehood of her own doctrines; and it was felt and known that no force could restore a dominion which could command no reverence, and that the times had gone by, in which Frenchmen could be taught by priests or governed by divine sanction.

And we have learned, too, that the worst scenes of the French Revolution are not marked off, as was once believed, from all others, standing alone in the horror of their excessive cruelties. Good was, at least, mixed largely with the evil; and, if the leaders of the day were not without their crimes, still less were they without their virtues. Such deeds as theirs have been done before and since, and done from viler motives; and we can look back with sorrow rather than indignation upon the strange earnestness of patriots preparing war against the world, in the interests of universal peace, and plying the guillotine daily in the name of universal love. There is no danger, even now, that we should pass too light a judgment upon the rough means which they employed to effect their purpose. The cause for which they contended has been too much sullied, and the hour of its triumph too long deferred, for us ever to forget the reasons of its disgrace and failure. To their excesses it has, at least in part, been owing, that Europe has been unable, since, to regard the brotherhood of mankind as anything but another name for the reign of murderers and scoundrels, or to hear, without the very gloomiest forebodings, of the advent of "the days of peace." Let us now take M. Louis Blanc as our guide, and endeavour to trace the causes of the Revolution, and the scenes with which it opened.

In discussing the antecedents of any wide and important movements, it is not easy to determine at what precise point we should begin. Obviously, the period immediately preceding the change, when all things were already ripe, and required only the occasion to develop them into active life, needs itself to be accounted for. The cause, when we have found it, is the effect of an earlier condition; and that too is determined, not less truly, by the circumstances that preceded it. So that if we extend our search back to the very sources of the revolution, we may be sure that they will continually recede, and escape our grasp; until we find ourselves at length at the starting-point of history, at the cradle of the human race, with the task before us of supplying the intermediate links between fetichism and civilization—between the savage wanderers of the plain and of the forest, and the statesmen and philosophers of France at the close of the eighteenth century.

We scarcely need say that we have no intention of presuming so far as this upon the time and attention of our readers. Such inquiries beyond doubt have a real value of their own, grotesque as may appear the contrast, and slender the connexion between their two extremes; but we need not enter upon them here; although, indeed, a proper appreciation of any period of history involves, at least, an implied theory of the whole. We may perceive readily enough that the winds are blowing hard, and that the waves threaten; but we must have learned the ship's course, and whither she is bound, if we are to tell whether she has held on her way truly in spite of them. A bare knowledge of the facts, as they are called, of history, without the guidance of a theory to explain their meaning, is about as really useful for purposes of science, as the former species of information would be to enable a captain to guide his vessel into harbour.

It may be enough, then, for our present purpose if we look back into the past as far as the great organization which preceded the course of, properly, Modern History; that is, to the constitution of the Middle Ages, resting on the double basis of Catholicism and the Feudal system. From that period to the present the revolution has in truth extended. The Feudal system fell necessarily in France, as the crown united in itself the various functions of Government, trampling down in succession the individuals or classes who opposed themselves to its further progress. And Catholicism fell, too, when its distinctive doctrines had ceased to command the belief of educated Europe. In some countries its place was supplied by the acceptance of a new system, hailed almost as another revelation from Heaven, and passing in its degrees of difference from the Lutheran faith of Germany to the more negative doctrines of Calvin, and Zwingle, and Socinus. But such a charge as this was possible only where the teaching of Catholicism had not already been absolutely discredited.*

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* "La France," says M. Renan, "est, à peu près, dénuée d'initiative religieuse. Si la France avait été capable de se créer un mouvement religieux qui lui put propre, elle serait devenue protestante. La France est le pays du monde le plus orthodoxe, car c'est le plus indifférent en religion. Innover en théologie, c'est croire à la théologie. Or la France a trop d'esprit pour être jamais un pays théologique."—*Etudes d'Histoire Religieuse*, p. 397.

Elsewhere there was no sufficient stimulus to induce educated men to lend their aid in recasting a system which they considered merely provisional. The State, they thought, might support it in its present form, as well as in any other. The common people might continue to believe a little more as well as a little less of a creed which they had not yet learned was merely a useful fiction; but in both countries alike, in Catholic as well as Protestant, the Church descended from her former position of independence, and rested now on the support of the temporal power; while the energies and thought of Europe, roused to intenser life, were henceforward directed to supplant the old sacerdotal-military *régime* by the new creation, or rather the new development of an industrial and scientific system.

In the course of such a change as this it was inevitable that the old should be destroyed more rapidly than the new could be created. It was inevitable, because the work of destruction is more pleasant, and by far less laborious. And it was inevitable, too, because the old system, whatever portion of it was yet preserved in detail, necessarily perished as a whole when any vital part of it had been destroyed. It could no longer appear competent to guide the intellect into all truth, or command the veneration and active obedience of the noblest portion of humanity. Its synthesis was defective, or, in other words, it explained a portion of phenomena, and regulated a part of conduct by principles which it could not adapt to all, or push to their logical conclusions even as regarded the subjects to which they were yet applied. And the new system was not as yet prepared to take its place. It laboured under the same defects, under the same imperfections in its application. Its different parts were worked out gradually and in detail, instinctively rather than methodically; and the scope and limit of its various functions were as yet imperfectly determined, while the appearance of its disorder was, at first, only increased by its growth, and by the continual accessions which it received in detail, in the absence of any organizing principle which could bring its parts into relations of mutual harmony—which could breathe, as it were, upon the tangled mass of complicated and apparently unrelated systems, and inspire them with its own fulness and perfection of ordered life. It must be a matter of regret for ever that, at a time when, in spite of its vast capacities for the future, the newly fashioned world of Europe was as yet without form and void—that, at such a time as this, the retrograde action of the French monarchy brought on before its time a crisis that had been long inevitable, and precipitated a vast outburst of popular madness and anarchy, which, though no wisdom of man could have avoided it altogether, might yet have been less violent, and less disastrous in its immediate results, had it been provoked a little less, and delayed a little longer.

The central idea of French progress had been the growth of the King's power. Under his protection the commons were gradually enfranchised, and industry spread among the towns; while both King and Commons were united in opposition to the power of the nobility. It would be out of place to point out in detail the steps by which the King's supremacy had been reached; how one enemy after another had been triumphed over, one prerogative after another attained, and its right sanctioned by prescription, until the weak rule and disputed authority of Hugh Capet had been developed by his successors into the plenitude of power that was inherited by Louis XIV. During the period of the King's weakness his instinctive policy had led him to seek the alliance of the Commons. Each was necessary to the other; the interests of each had for long been the interests of the other, too. But when this sure bond of union had been weakened; when each was strong enough to stand alone, and had begun to occupy a position not only independent of the other, but often antagonistic, the policy of the King was changed. It had once been his aim to trample down the nobles, and he had succeeded. They had been dangerous as enemies and rivals, but there was a more real affinity between them and an hereditary monarch, than between either and the newly created "industrial classes." This reaction had commenced before the time of Louis XIV.; but the date of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685, is the one most properly assigned as marking the adoption by the King of a definitely retrogressive policy. Signs were not wanting that [redacted] was with impatience that the nation submitted to it. The exhibition of joy and contempt at Louis XIV.'s funeral proves this sufficiently. But the same policy was persevered in by his successors. Even the kind heart of Louis XVI. satisfied itself with private charities. He wished well to his people, but his duties to them as their King he knew nothing of, or ignored. The social influence and pressure of those who were interested in the maintenance of abuses were strong enough to defeat the wise reforms of Turgot; but the guilt and excesses of the outbreak which was so soon to follow, may not unfairly be imputed to a monarch who could permit Turgot to fall unsupported by his favour. But we must pass rapidly on to say a few words in detail about the state of things in France which immediately preceded and provoked the French Revolution.

Never before, even during the age of slavery, had the separation been so entire, or the contrast so marked, between the extreme orders in the State. It had been scarcely an affectation in the circle that surrounded the monarch, to be astonished at the discovery that certain animals, apparently bipeds, who had been seen for years past grubbing about in the fields near Paris, were real human beings. But it mattered little by what name they were to be called, or under what genus it might be determined that they fell. Men, or not men, they had none of the rights of citizens, few even of the privileges of slaves. There must exist some community of interest between the slave and his master. There was none felt to exist between the noble and the peasant. Within the towns, the exclusive laws of the various corporations existed only to forbid the people from all hope of bettering their position; while the weight of an excessive and unequal taxation rendered that position insupportable. There had, in fact, been a change long in progress, similar to that which has transformed the old chieftains of the Highlands into landowners, with complete rights of property. Duties are soon forgotten, when public opinion does not demand their exercise. Rights, precise or indeterminate, which were adapted well enough to a state of things which has passed away, become mere instruments of organized oppression, when, under new social relations, the former are strictly insisted on, or the latter worked rigidly out to their strict logical results.

The facts which M. Louis Blanc has brought together, reveal a state of society scarcely to be surpassed in its oppressiveness towards the low and weak. The invading march of a Rhadagaisus or an Attila may have been accompanied with greater horrors; but it lay not within their ingenuity to devise a scheme which should result in so wide and so prolonged a misery. The careless expenses of a lavish and wasteful Government, administered at home for the advantage of the privileged orders only, encumbered with a vast amount of debt created by foreign wars, and resulting, of course, in a disordered state of the public finance, had rendered heavy taxation necessary, if the system, which every noble was interested to maintain, was to continue to be maintained at all. The taxation was not only heavy—it was unequal; for the privileged classes paid practically nothing. But the worst and the most oppressive circumstance of all consisted in its extreme uncertainty. Many of the taxes were farmed out to the nobles, or held by them almost as private property, and underlet to speculators, whose only aim could be to realize the most by their bargain. And in this they were favoured not only by the ignorance and weakness of the lower orders, which rendered them an easy prey; but by the complication of the system itself, which made the amount imposed on each individual almost arbitrary. Some of the taxes, too, were laid upon the first necessaries of life.

Salt was a luxury which it was beyond the poor man's power to obtain. When we are told that five hundred human beings were condemned annually to the galleys for attempting to smuggle salt, we may form some idea of the other effects of the unnatural price to which it had been raised. Let us add to all this the chance to which every poor man was exposed of being drawn for military service—a chance increased by the numerous exceptions allowed in the classes above him; and let us add, worst perhaps of all, the corvée, or system of forced labour, a relic of the slavery from which the people had scarcely yet emerged. The season and the length of this were alike uncertain. It might be demanded when the peasant's little crop was just ripe, and when the absence of its master might involve its total loss. That master, meanwhile, was working for another, but at his own charges. Worse off even than a slave, he received not only no wages, but no food, from his employer. In the fact that the beggars in France were computed at a million and a half, we may see the practical working of the system, though in a part only of its effects. In the legal maxim *le peuple est taillable et corvéable à merci,* or in the objection of the Prince de Conti to the abolition of involuntary labour, *parce que ce serait effacer sur le front de la plèbe la tache originelle de sa servitude,* we may learn the spirit in which that system was administered.

Such, then, was the condition to which the many had been brought, and such the disdain with which their superiors regarded them. If we look next at the condition of the few, favoured by birth or fortune, the contrast seems only to deepen and render more intense the reality of degraded misery which had become the rule rather than the exception among Frenchmen ~~of the~~ lower classes. Never before had the French Court been more splendid. Never before had the art and labour and ingenuity of the world been made so subject to the gratification of the tastes and passions, and even the whims, of the small minority for whose exclusive benefit the nation existed and suffered. There was no church now to stand between the weak and his oppressor; and to teach the rich and powerful that their rights were to be regarded less than their duties, and that for all the talents with which they had been entrusted they would be called strictly to account. Such a voice had the Church once raised, and often not in vain, but its attitude had become more respectful; its tones more honeyed; its doctrine better accommodated to its own changed position. It had once taught with authority; but it must now request where it had commanded, and fall in as it could with the customs and wishes of a State which had become its master. To the rich and noble the change may have been agreeable enough. It left him free to follow his own pleasures, and conferred even the sanction of religious approval upon vices which religion had become quite powerless to forbid. But to the poor man, who lost thereby his best friend and supporter, the change was sad indeed. Feeling keenly the oppression under which he suffered, he found now that he must suffer unaided and unrelieved. The Church, on which he could once have relied for protection, had passed over to his enemies. He was taught indeed the duty of submission, but nothing was done to render a lot tolerable to which no human being could willingly submit. Can we wonder at the retribution which he exacted when the hour of his deliverance had at length sounded; when his fetters had been broken, and his hand was free to strike? When we read with pity of the victims of the great Revolution, of noble houses robbed of their wealth, forced into exile, or thinned by the axe of the guillotine, our pity indeed is not misplaced. The revenge that was taken was fierce, the reverse of fortune terrible; but we should set in the opposite scale, the long unpitied wrongs of the poor and lowly, the less obtrusive and less romantic miseries of the artisan and the labourer. If any consideration for the greatest happiness of the greatest number is to influence our views of right, we may well hesitate to condemn a movement which struck at the few, and brought salvation to the many, which relieved the oppressed, though it was at the price of the ruin of his oppressor.

But it was not only the social wrongs and sufferings of the poor that had made a revolution inevitable. The tide of speculation had set strongly against the existing order in Church and State. Most prominent among those who contributed to weaken the "principle of authority" must be ranked Voltaire and Rousseau. Their influence may be measured most properly by the effect which their lives and writings had produced in Paris. Acting immediately upon the centre of French thought and action, and spreading widely among the people a disbelief, and a distrust in the old system, their doctrine fell upon a soil already fitted to receive it, and seemed to bring about results of which it was the occasion rather than the cause. Inferior as they were, beyond all question, to the school of Diderot and D'Alembert, the true representatives of the thought of the eighteenth century, their influence was yet greater, if we measure it by its immediate and tangible results. Alike animated by a burning hatred of injustice, each, as he believed, had vowed his life to the service of his fellow-men. But the kind of service which they rendered was very different. Voltaire's attacks were directed mainly against the Church: he did not assail the fundamental order of society, but contented himself with exposing in detail the wrongs of individuals and the oppressive tyranny of the great. Maintaining still a belief in God, partly as a deduction of his reason, partly as an apparent social necessity; willing to uphold provisionally the existing social order purged of its worst abuses; and aiming rather at the end he had in view, than careful about the consistency of the means by which he reached it,—Voltaire, in spite of his many faults and errors, has earned our gratitude as men, for the spirit in which he wrought, more even than for the work which he accomplished, and for what he was willing to support rather than for that which he was most successful in destroying.

The aim of Rousseau was wider and more ambitious. The god in which he believed was the creation of his heart, rather than of his understanding,—a being of pure benevolence, whose function it was to protect the weak and relieve the wretched,—a necessary counterpoise to the existing evils of society. Those evils he regarded, not as inherent in the nature of things, but as consequences of the unjust and artificial rules by which men had agreed in regulating their social intercourse. The proper cure for them, therefore, was to be found in discrediting those rules, and returning to a state of nature. He was not of a temper to be dismayed at any consequences to which his theories necessarily led him. He was not conscious of any absurdity in declaring his deliberate preference for the life and habits of the savage. Civilization had been a downward course. Our examples, therefore, must be chosen from the distant past, the conception of which was gained, however, from imagination rather than from history; and was little else, when we had got it, than an aggregation of merely negative qualities.

But we must not measure the effect of Rousseau's doctrines by any consideration of their value as a speculative system. When he spoke of the sufferings of mankind as soon now to be redressed, and of the conscious brotherhood of the human family as a conception soon to be realized, he spoke to men smarting under a sense of wrong, and ready to welcome any means which promised them an effectual deliverance. In the words of M. Louis Blanc, *Il devait être le précurseur du socialisme moderne : ce fut son malheur et sa gloire.* We shall find the chief actors in the coming revolution divided as followers of one or the other of these two philosophers.

The period which M. Louis Blanc has treated in full detail, commences with the events immediately preceding the Convocation of the States-General, and comprising about seven years, extending as it does down to the close of the memorable Convention, It will, of course, be impossible for us to attempt to follow him in detail in his treatment of this period. He has made no secret, throughout, of his own political views; and these have necessarily and fairly modified his judgment as an historian. He has little sympathy for the *bourgeoisie*, less still for the Court and nobles. Their point of view was too narrow,—in plain English, too selfish. He is content with nothing less than a wide and all-embracing fraternity. There are, he tells us, three principles possible;—the principle of authority, which is out of place when the Government and Church have ceased to command man's reverence;—the principle of individualism, showing itself in the *laissez-faire* of modern politics; in the right of private judgment of modern religion; and, generally, in the disorganization and selfishness of modern society;—and lastly, there is fraternity, the conception of the past, the hope of the nobler future; a principle which is to destroy vice by striking at its root—selfishness; and by which the happiness of all is to be the great aim and motive of each; and society is to expand itself into new forms of beauty and virtue, because such results must, of necessity, follow, when men have laid aside the private aims, and have emancipated themselves from the narrow motives, which have troubled and debased the past, and have become contented to submit themselves freely to the perfect liberty of love. There are countries still in which the principle of authority is supreme, and well-nigh unquestioned. There are countries in which, as in our own, a full scope is given, avowedly, to the principle of individualism, with what results we need not here inquire. But it has been in France, and in France only, that the principle of fraternity has been believed and taught as the purest and noblest rule of human conduct; and it is inasmuch only as they have expressed and developed this principle, that the French Revolution and its heroes must stand ennobled for ever in the grateful memory of the future. To have taught this, to have worked for this, to have lived and died to promote it, is the one great claim by which that age and those men have earned for themselves a glory which no time can extinguish. Their faults and failings are forgotten or forgiven; the accidents of success or misfortune are as nothing, when we remember the end they wrought for. They have passed away, it is true; their ideas are unrealized; their purposes unfulfilled: but it is by these ideas and these purposes that we must judge them. Their lives and teaching and experience may have been indispensable for our guidance. They have not themselves succeeded, but it may yet be that their failure has made success possible for others.

Such are the several conceptions according to which M. Louis Blanc has interpreted and judged the phases of the French Revolution. In order to judge it fairly, he has been compelled, he tells us, to rid himself of the bias of his own early education, and to forget even the cause of his own family in the greater cause of his country. His relations were Royalists. Horror for the Revolution was his first strong emotion. His grandfather's death by the guillotine; his father's imprisonment and successful escape from prison, which alone saved him from sharing the same death; these were his first associations with the hateful name Revolution. His own convictions and prejudices were not easy to overcome. It is no light matter to shake away the deep faith of our early years; no ready task to approve as citizens what we have reason to hate as men. But if his mature reason has led him to correct the error of his first impression, and to do justice to the acts and men which he had once regarded with detestation, he has never suffered himself so to forget the eternal law of right as to gloss over and excuse the cruelties by which the Revolution was accompanied, and by which, too, its tide of success was checked, and a stain fixed indelibly upon its name and memory. It has been easy for him to hate those crimes, for those whom he loved best were among the sufferers; but he has been careful not to allow his hatred to exceed due bounds, or to render him blind to the real merits of those whom he is compelled partially to condemn. Let us see his judgment of the principal events of that eventful period.

The first decisive scene in the great drama was the meeting of the States-General and the formation of the National Assembly. The benefits which this body conferred were however chiefly negative. They abolished the worst evils under which the people had suffered, and swept away by a series of legislative enactments the most oppressive remains of the old feudal *régime*. The nobles were defeated; the triumph belonged to the *bourgeoisie*, in whose favour the principal changes were brought about. The result was the more praiseworthy as the men who contributed [redacted] it were many of them themselves losers by the change. But they were ready in the enthusiasm of the moment to consent to any sacrifices, and could even vie with one another in the greatness of the offerings they presented to their country.

But the bulk of the people were not yet satisfied. The triumph of the middle-classes they could not share. The poverty and distress they endured could never be removed by such legislation as had as yet been tried. They cared little about the name of liberty, where they could possess only its shadow. *Laissez-faire* was for them equivalent to *laissez-mourir*. The first step into revolution had been taken, and it was now impossible to draw back. There were many who supposed that the goal had been attained already. They were satisfied with what had been done, and they desired nothing further. But there were some in the Assembly itself, and a countless multitude beyond it, who were not so easily to be contented; and their demands were too fiercely urged to allow of their remaining unlistened to. Their time had not yet arrived, but they were conscious of their power, and had full faith in the justice of their cause. They were prepared to insist upon something more than the mere change to a constitutional monarchy, as the result of the Revolution; and when the hour arrived for action they were not slow to avail themselves of it. The *bourgeoisie* were much mistaken if they regarded the victory as already their own.

The next body of representatives, the National Legislative Assembly, are less famous in history than the Chambers which preceded and followed them. Their term of office, lasting barely for a year, was conspicuous chiefly for the vigour of its foreign policy. At home the Revolution had advanced with rapid strides. The King, who had appeared ready to lead it, as far at least as a constitutional monarch could go with safety, and who had even consented to a war against the German Powers, who were threatening the French frontiers, and insisting upon impossible modifications of the new order in France, found himself soon unable to command his subjects' confidence. The enemies of France were professedly at war with her in his interest; their armies were joined by the numerous bodies of refugees who were avowedly most hostile to the recent changes; and, at the first serious reverses which the French arms sustained, the King was accused as the real cause of the misfortunes; the populace of Paris, impatient and suspicious, became more and more estranged from the cause and person of their monarch. The danger from without became more threatening, and the parties at home correspondingly more violent. The names, so famous afterwards, were already prominent. The leaders of the Gironde on the one side composed the [illegible] revolutionary portion of the then elected Assembly; but the real masters of the situation were the clubs and the multitude without, under the guidance of Marat, Danton, Collot d'Herbois, Santerre, Camille Desmoulins, and, better known than any, of Robespierre. Under their influence the prisons were filled with the suspected; the King's office was suspended by the Assembly, and the King himself confined in the Temple, and, when the astounding news reached the capital that Verdun had fallen, and that the allied armies were in full march on Paris, the occasion was taken to perpetrate the first great massacre that disgraced the cause for which it was done. The suspected priests and nobles were tried with a mockery of judicial forms, and executed in prison by a band of three hundred murderers. The character of the Revolution was by this time sufficiently marked. Its direction was in the hands of the people of Paris, in spite of the subsequent opposition of those parts of France which were attached to the former order. The close of the campaign was favourable to the French arms. Valmy, a slight and unimportant success in itself, a cannonade rather than a battle, served to restore the confidence of the soldiers. The season ended with the retreat of the Allies, and the Revolution was free henceforward to pursue its own course: the dread of foreign intervention was over.

The third body of representatives, the ever-memorable Convention, had met on September 21st, 1792. The Girondists, who had formed the *côté gauche* of the previous Assembly, were now on the *côté droit.* Their former place was occupied by the Montagnards, and their leaders, the deputies of Paris, who were to contend for what was now most dear to the hearts of Frenchmen—for that common brotherhood of mankind which appeared no longer as a crotchet of philosophers, or a dream of poets; but as an object, the attainment of which was within the grasp of the immediate future, and for which the advanced guard of the nation were prepared to live, and, if necessary, to die. It was not long before the hostility of these two parties began to display itself in action, but neither had as yet succeeded in overpowering the resistance of the other, when, on the 16th of January, 1793, the question was finally brought forward of the fate of the captive King. The details of the proceedings, which M. Louis Blanc has supplied from various contemporary sources, are of the highest interest. The matter, he tells us, was decided by a very full Assembly. Of the entire body of representatives, fifteen were absent on public business, seven were ill, and one was dead. The remainder, seven hundred and twenty-six in number, were present, and only five of them abstained from voting. The rest, one by one, ascended the tribunal, and gave their voice, not on the King's guilt or innocence—he had already been pronounced guilty; not on the appeal to the pe[illegible]that had already been refused—but on the measure only of his punishment. The night of the 16th passed before the votes had been pronounced; the morning sun rose and set again, and the King's fate was yet undetermined. The sentences of each of the deputies have been preserved in the *Moniteur* of the day. The first summoned were from the Haut-Garonne. The first vote given was that of Jean Mailhe. Amid the breathless silence of the Assembly, he pronounced the words *La Mort.* Fourteen votes had been given for death, seven only for imprisonment, when the great leader of the Girondists, Vergniaud, was called forth in his turn, and pronounced for death. Some of his party voted with him, but the majority were for the milder sentence. Robespierre declared that for oppressors alone he could know no mercy, and that the same sentiment which had led him to demand from the former Assembly the abolition of capital punishment, forced him now to demand that that punishment should be inflicted on the tyrant of his country, and, in his person, on royalty itself.

"I vote," said he, "for death." Danton said, that with tyrants no terms were possible; the blow must be struck at their heads. He too voted for death. Chaillon was for imprisonment. If the King were executed, Rome would add him to her Calendar of Saints. Gentil voted on the same side. He feared, he said, the reign of another Cromwell, and the restoration of another Charles. Paganel was for death. To become subjects for execution was the chief use which he could see in Kings. Milhau pronounced in general against the punishment of death, as a stain on a nation's code; but added, that if it did not exist already, it would be right to invent it for a tyrant. When the votes were added up, it was found that a majority of fifty-three had pronounced for the King's death.

The result of the scrutiny was proclaimed by the President, Vergniaud. "I declare," he said, "in the name of the National Convention, that death is the penalty which it pronounces against Louis Capet."

This done, the king's defenders were introduced, and allowed to speak against the sentence. The House rose at length, after sitting for thirty-seven hours. On the evening of the 19th it sat again, and the final vote was given. It was then decided by a majority of 380 against 310, that the King should be executed within four-and-twenty hours.

It was on the morning of the 21st that the sentence was carried out. It would appear that the King had retained some hope almost up to the last moment. It was not until he found himself upon the scaffold, surrounded by his executioners, and had in vain attempted to address the crowds about him—for the sound of his voice was overpowered by the soldiers' drums—that he saw at last that the hour could be deferred no longer, and that, guilty or innocent, he must die under sentence as a traitor. His death was, beyond all doubt, the act of the French nation. Each vote that condemned him had been received with the approbation of the spectators who had crowded the Hall of the Convention, and even the spectacle of his execution did nothing to change the popular feeling. The scenes that followed it were brutal; we need not repeat them, but they served at least to manifest the fierce resentment that called them forth. The example of England had been present throughout to those who had condemned him; but there was this great difference between the circumstances of the death of Charles the First and of Louis Capet—that in the former case the people had beheld unwillingly, and with horror, the infliction of a sentence which they had had no share in passing; in the latter, the voice of the country, which had been raised loudly to condemn its king, did not shrink from applauding the present sight of his execution.

It had been prophesied that the blood of Louis would be upon their heads, and they pressed about the scaffold, eager that the horrid prediction should be literally fulfilled. They were told that they would be represented to the world as a people savage, and athirst for blood. "Yes," was the answer; "we *do* thirst for the blood of a despot. Let him who will, go and inform the whole earth of it." The gaiety of the great capital was not interrupted for a moment; it seemed, indeed, as if the inhabitants were keeping some especial holiday. We may mention two things as characteristic of the men and times. No cannon were fired, to signify the moment of the execution, for "a king's head should make no more noise when it falls than that of another man." The remains were placed in a wicker basket, and buried with quicklime, in the cemetery of the Madeleine, "that all the gold of the potentates of Europe might be offered in vain as the price of the slightest relic."

"How difficult is it," says M. Louis Blanc, "for the present not to be unjust when it judges the actions of the past." It is easy for us now to make allowances for the faults of which Louis XVI. was guilty; it is easy for us to see that they followed naturally from his birth and circumstances and education. His fate raises our pity; we feel something of indignation against the authors of it; we are only too likely to forget that for them, too, we must make allowances, if we wish to judge them fairly. They cannot but have felt that they lived in no ordinary times; and were engaged, for life or for death, in no ordinary contest. Let us picture to ourselves the forces against which they had to struggle. There was no hesitation on the other side; no attempt or desire to carry matters by half-measures. The old had armed itself against the new. The manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick had been put forth; the French soil had been invaded; all along the frontiers were the emigrants, banded with their country's foes, eager to return and take vengeance for the injuries of their order. To us it may sound ridiculous to call Louis XVI. a tyrant; but we should remember not only what he was, but what he had consented to be the representative of. The old order was to pass away; it was condemned already by the hatred of the country that had suffered from it too deeply and too long. It was the misfortune of the King, but it was his fault too, that he seemed to stand forth as the impersonation of the hated system. His private virtues had not availed to prevent him from being his country's worst enemy; they should not now be pleaded to mislead our sympathies about the death to which his antecedents, not unnaturally, conducted him. He was deservedly held responsible for the evil deeds of the nobles, and for the unaided sufferings of the poor.

He had protected the clergy—he must be the victim therefore of the changes which had cast them down. He must suffer as a traitor, for it was in his name that the enemies of France had unfurled their standards and drawn their swords against her. He may well have seemed to his indignant subjects as the cause, more than any other man, of all that had been most hateful in the past—as allied with all that threatened most danger to the future. His execution may well have seemed to confirm most solemnly the new league of brotherhood, and to declare most plainly to the world, that no terms between the old and new were henceforward possible. It is easy for us to think of him only as an amiable fool, placed in a false position, which he had not had the good sense to abdicate; but the men of his own time must have been more than human in their wise temperance, if they could so easily have excused one who must have been to them the representative of the men and the system against which they had been forced to arms; which they were now either to fall before and be slaves, or to triumph over and be free for ever. To inflict the penalty of death was an error, no doubt, but we dare not call it a crime. The Republic was strong enough to venture to show mercy: it might have left Louis XVI. with his life, after proving that he had deserved to forfeit it; and it has paid the penalty of such an error in the horror and indignation that the deed aroused in Europe, and in the infamy that has attached to the Assembly that decreed the sentence, and to the people that were consenting to it. The cause of monarchy was strengthened, and not weakened, by the French King's death. It is not true to repeat with Barrère, "*Il n'y a que les morts qui ne reviennent pas.*" [illegible], we must say rather, "*Il n'y a que les morts qui reviennent.*"

We have no space to add in detail the judgment which M. Louis Blanc passes upon the great events which so soon followed. The two leading parties of the Convention, the Montagnards and Girondins, were followers, the former of Rousseau's doctrine, the latter of Voltaire's; and there was a third party, best represented in Danton, which belonged to neither, and included in its ranks all that was wisest and noblest among the representatives. It was the period during which these men were in power that forms, in truth, the most brilliant epoch of all French history. Under their presidence the nation adopted a provisional form of Government, centralized, as the traditions of the past demanded, and displaying the military zeal and energy which the occasion called for. The fall of these men ushered in the fatal triumphs of fanatical folly which has, however unjustly, done so much to discredit the Revolution and its heroes, and which appeared at the time so nearly to endanger its ultimate success. Of the long years that followed, during which the power of France, exerted mainly to achieve military glory, was directed by so successful an ambition, that its triumphs eclipsed the fabled exploits of the heroes of old romance, until the world seemed prostrate at the feet of her Emperor; and of the change of fortune which brought about so speedy and so irrecoverable a ruin; of these it does not fall within our present purpose to speak. We need only remark that this vast misdirection of her national resources, this degradation of a whole people by the pursuit of an unworthy end, admits of the same excuse as the earlier excesses which have stained her revolutionary career. Both alike resulted, naturally, from the position in which her enemies had placed her. Men are never more cruel than when their fears are thoroughly aroused. It had become necessary to make the enemies of the Revolution tremble; and it is indeed a rare thing for a multitude which has once begun to shed blood, to cease as soon as the necessity has passed. The attacks on the frontiers had transformed every Frenchman into a soldier; and, having so unfitted him for the peaceful duties of civil life, had left him only a military career to follow, a military ambition to gratify. The evil deeds of both periods must be charged, not only on those who committed them, but on those who first provoked them. "Men's thoughts are much according to their inclination; their discourse and speeches according to their learning and infused opinions; but their deeds are after as they have been accustomed."

M. Louis Blanc does not carry his history down beyond the last days of the Convention. The judgment he passes upon that Assembly is more favourable than most Englishmen would be prepared to receive as true. He admits indeed that its office was merely provisional, but such is the necessary fate of all human institutions. He praises it therefore for the principles it recognised, and for the general tendency of its decrees and acts. It endeavoured, in a word, to render individual rights subordinate to social duties; it held that it was the office of the State, not only to protect its members, but to watch over them, and develop their faculties to the uttermost. It knew no distinction of high and low, of rich and poor; all were equally the objects of its care and forethought. The present generation may revile its memory; but they have none the less profited by its labours. French civilization has followed, on the whole, the course which was then marked out for it. Frenchmen have been taught to disregard the distinctions of birth and fortune. They have established, or nearly so, a real social equality, under the protecting care of a centralized and paternal Government. Their ideal is not the same as ours. We need not compare the merits of each, or venture to pronounce between them. The comparison is rather between France herself, before and after the period of her great Revolution; between the ancient system of organized oppression, which existed for the benefit of the few and for the real misery of the multitude; and a system which has flung down the old feudal barriers, and redressed, with no hesitating hand, the wrongs of centuries. England has chosen liberty; France has preferred equality; and either system might very well be intolerable to those who have grown up under the contrary one. At least, we must thank M. Louis Blanc for the zeal and courage he has displayed in putting forward the favourable side of an Assembly and of a period which have hitherto been too unreservedly condemned. The facts he has collected will always be of the deepest interest. His verdict, though sometimes that of a partisan, is always that of a man of learning and honesty. As each year in its course develops more and more the immense resources and the immense influence of his native country, the more necessary does it become for Englishmen to form, as they have not done hitherto, a fair judgment of the Revolution he has undertaken to describe.

It is not easy to gather, from M. Louis Blanc's treatment of the period, the precise causes which he assigns for the fact that the Revolution, after all, was not permanently successful; that the principles which it represented have seemed rather to lose than gain ground since their public and authoritative exposition. Something must, of course, be assigned to the clearer vision which the Retrograde party throughout Europe have attained as to the real tendency of each Popular movement. If the friends of mankind have gained in wisdom and in breadth of experience, so, too, have their enemies. They have learned, at least, that their position is uncertain, and that the events of an hour may fling them down. Their dangerous eminence is not to be retained without effort and without sacrifice. They must not again be caught sleeping at their post; and, to do them justice, they are not likely to be. They have displayed no lack of energy, no unwillingness to do all that they can to hold the prizes which the order of events has tossed into their hands.

But this is, of course, a reason, not indeed without its force, but quite insufficient to account for the delay which has attended the working-out in action of the opposite programme; and in France herself it has had less weight than in other parts of Europe. The French people have more than once had the reality of power within their grasp, and more than once have failed to grasp it. We see that some other and deeper causes must have been at work than the very superficial one of mere material repression. There must have been some weakness, some fault among themselves, which has served to postpone their triumph. Again and again has the same scene been repeated. Institutions that have been abolished have risen up once more; beliefs that have been rejected have again prevailed; habits that have been abandoned have asserted their old power. The will of the Past has proved too strong for the spirit of Revolution. The same order seems ever to recur; the same great outbursts of popular vigour to be still followed by the same reaction. As it was in the first Revolution, so has it been, too, in our own days, and within our own memory. The ideas of the past bear, as it were, a charmed life: the power that is to slay them finally has not yet been put forth.

These are thoughts which force us to consider in what the revolutionary leaders of the past have been deficient, and what peculiar strength their opponents have possessed. The first requisite to enable any one to modify the existing order of things in politics must surely be a precise and available knowledge of the subject with which he has to deal; he must possess a rational theory of the past, and must deal with the present by the aid of such a theory. Generous instincts, self-devotion, courage, the willingness even to die for a good cause, must here be wholly unavailing. Knowledge is the first thing needful; not the only thing. The mere "dry light" of speculative science needs some higher stimulus to quicken it. But we may say, safely, that the politician who relies only upon his wish to do good, and neglects to inquire into the conditions and laws of the subject with which he undertakes to deal, is no more likely to succeed in his wild enterprise than the physician who attempts to cure disease by the aid only of uninstructed benevolence, or, (to take a humbler instance) than the *cuisinier*, whose only art is the wish to gratify his master's palate.

It is scarcely unjust to say that the leaders of the Convention were not fitted for the task they attempted by any better qualifications than the above. We must make a special exception in favour of the period during which Danton's influence was predominant. The Assembly was then contented to provide chiefly for the necessities of a defensive war, and to institute a form of Government which was felt, even by its supporters, to be nothing more than provisional. It is greatly to their honour that they were contented with this humbler aim, and were not led on to attempt a work for which they were as yet unqualified, and which could therefore result only in a shameful and pernicious failure. And such, in truth, was its result in the hands of others. The partisans of the Gironde and of the Montagne were alike deficient in the essential qualities of statesmen. The former, advocates as they were of civil and religious freedom, and possessing among them men gifted with the highest powers of eloquence, and with almost every talent except the one they needed, had no system that deserved the name, no programme which they could have carried out, even if the supreme power had fallen into their hands. The Montagnists, unfortunately for their own reputation, and still more unfortunately for the cause they wished to serve, were enabled, by the full possession of power, to show to the world their fitness or unfitness to govern. The result is known only too well. Their absurdities and cruelties have thrown discredit not only on their party but on their cause. There are two things, especially, which have thenceforth been associated in men's minds with the triumph of a revolution in France;—a burlesque alike of religion and of justice—the worship of the goddess of Reason and "the Reign of Terror."

It is quite evident that M. Louis Blanc's sympathies are, on the whole, in favour of the Montagnists. He palliates their excesses, but it is only doing him justice to add that he does not defend their crimes. The *culte du sentiment et fraternité* which they sought contrasts favourably in his eyes with the *Rationalisme et Individualisme* of the Girondists. Robespierre, the most honest, the most uncompromising, and the most mischievous of them all, stands out on his pages in the proportions of a moral hero. We forget his acts, and learn only to admire his intentions. His love for God and for man was alike pure and unselfish; and yet few have done more to discredit the one and destroy the happiness of the other. That his career was something worse than a failure is but too evident. M. Blanc is as far as any one could be from denying it; and yet he deals with him throughout with a tenderness which we can scarcely understand; and quotes his most foolish and fanatical speeches and projects as though they were masterpieces of political and moral wisdom. If we ask the question, how it happened that Robespierre and his fellows, starting with the best intentions, animated by the most earnest benevolence, and ready to act with the promptness and energy which a cause like theirs demands, yet succeeded only in inaugurating a system which will be remembered for ever as a most senseless and horrible parody of Republican government, a commonwealth in which every man's hand was against his neighbour, and in which suspicion and fear augmented a hundred-fold the sufferings of the period;—if we ask how it could have been that such antecedents were followed by such results, and why in this case wisdom and goodness combined failed so strangely to produce their natural and necessary fruits, we shall meet no satisfactory answer, scarcely indeed any answer at all. Allowing most fully for the difficulties of the situation, for the dangers from within and from without with which the Republican France of those days was threatened by her avowed enemies, we shall yet find them insufficient to explain the problem before us.

We must ask rather in what qualities the leaders of the time were most peculiarly deficient, and whether they were of importance enough to ensure their failure.

We have said that the two leading parties of the Convention were followers respectively of Voltaire and Rousseau. Now, as Rousseau's followers, the Montagnards, eventually gained the day, it is of interest to ask what was the nature of the principles which then triumphed. The political philosophy of the Montagnards was the simplest conceivable. The sum of all their wisdom is to be found in the *Contrat Social.* A few vague generalities about the equality and brotherhood of mankind; a theory (for it was little more) that most crimes ought to be avoided, and a man's finer feelings excited and cultivated to the suppression of his lower nature; these, with the added notion that one's neighbour's conduct was the first thing to be looked after, and next to that one's own, formed the staple of their speculative views. It was not to be expected that much uniformity of aim or doctrine could be attained from such premises; and its absence became the more dangerous, since, along with the necessity which was felt for a change of some kind to fit the new requirements of the age, it was assumed that society would be a mere passive instrument in the hands of those who were to re-fashion it, and that the past might be safely put aside, inasmuch as the course of history recorded little but the perverse aberrations of mankind from their original state of equality and brotherhood. Not only, therefore, were the leaders of that age totally ignorant of the very rudiments of social science, but they were ready with a theory of their own, which they were prepared to enforce, if necessary, by any method that seemed likely to secure agreement,—a theory [illegible] wild and impracticable that its application would have been sufficient to destroy society altogether, if it had not been that the despised past was too strong to be so easily uprooted, and the effort too absurd to be proceeded with, after an experience of its failure, and of the consequences which that failure only too speedily entailed. Then, as ever, it was proved true that one must supplant in order effectually to destroy; and that, in social as in every other science, those only can control nature who have learned to work with her, and to obey her necessary laws.

It appears to us the great defect of M. Louis Blanc's admirable history, that he never points out precisely the reasons of the failure he so touchingly deplores. We are quite ready to admit that his favourite heroes acted, in the main, from the purest and most unselfish motives, that their first desire was to benefit their native country and their fellow-men. The fact remains unaltered, that they were the sources to both of the greatest possible misery. We have no right to condemn them morally any more than we should have to condemn a sentimental lunatic, whose fancy led him to run a muck at mankind in periodically recurring fits of spasmodic benevolence; but we should not, therefore, feel it the less necessary, in either case, to deprive a madman of the means of doing further mischief.

It is impossible to read carefully the history of the Convention without seeing how entirely its character was determined by the pressure from without; how entirely it was the mob of Paris that, in fact, guided its policy. There was then the grandest opportunity that, perhaps, the world has ever seen for the preeminence of an individual hero. It was within the power of Danton to seize a position such as Cæsar and Cromwell had once seized and to direct his country's councils with the authority, if not with the name, of Emperor. But this he failed to do. It may have been from mere inaction, or from an excusable shrinking from a risk and responsibility that might well have alarmed the boldest. Anyhow, he suffered the great occasion to go by, and gave place to Robespierre and his fanatical crew, to be succeeded in due time by Napoleon Bonaparte. That he expiated his negligence with his own life was, perhaps, his least punishment. He lived long enough to see and to deplore the miseries which a greater courage and a greater firmness on his part might have averted; and to know that a cause for which he would willingly have died was already ruined. We would not judge him too harshly, as one "who made through cowardice the great refusal;" we will only say that now, through two generations, the Republic of the West has paid the penalty of his omission to assert his right to govern. It is seldom enough that an individual, however powerful he may appear, has much real influence for good or evil. In the long chapter of accidents, virtues and vices pretty nearly counterbalance one another, and the course of history evolves itself without much regard to them. But there are some crises at which the conduct of a single man becomes of quite infinite importance. The ultimate goal, indeed, to which we are tending may be unchanged, whatever happens to us on the way; but the happiness of millions may depend on whether that way can be made shorter and more direct, and its rough places smoothed by the wise intervention of a real human providence. We are as far as any from adopting what has been happily termed "the backstairs view of history." We do not wish to exaggerate unduly the consequences of single acts, or to regard the intrigues of statesmen and mistresses as of any real importance, or indeed as worth telling at all; but we must remember that, in the last analysis, it is from the thoughts and actions of individuals that the order of events must spring, and that Nature is not wont to be lavish in the number of those whom she qualifies to guide a crisis.

It would be impossible to praise too highly the charm of style and manner which distinguishes M. Louis Blanc's History of the French Revolution. The events of each year are told with a fullness of detail which leaves little more to be desired; and, although the personal bias of the author can be seen very clearly throughout, there can be seen, too, an evident wish to do justice to all alike, whether friends or enemies. A history written without a bias must be written without a theory. Right and wrong can never be objects of indifference to a historian who is qualified to write at all; and whether we accept the clue offered us or not, we feel that the work is the more valuable for proposing one. There is no reading more truly unprofitable than a series of unexplained facts, passing before us in succession, as little connected with each other as the dissolving views of the kaleidoscope, and fading away from the mind as quickly and as certainly as the gossip of every-day conversation, and with no better result for the pains which their acquisition may have cost us. A theory of history must sink almost to the level of Dr. Cumming's explanation of the past and present and future by the aid of the prophetical writings of the Old and New Testament, before we can say seriously that the facts would have been better told without it. History has not yet been embraced, fully, within the circle of the exact sciences, and our efforts in many directions must long continue to be tentative.

Least of all could the French Revolution be described fittingly without some higher guidance than a mere knowledge of the succession of its strange phenomena. The one point, which more than any other marked it, was the prevalence—the predominance—as M. Louis Blanc terms it, "the fanaticism of ideas. The leaders of the multitude were forced on by an enthusiasm stronger and more violent than the most energetic of the ordinary passions of men. The intoxication of glory, the madness of conquest, the distraction of love, have been less potent than the devotion then inspired by a few abstract formulæ.

And it was not only the leaders, but the multitude itself that felt the impulse of this strange enthusiasm. Napoleon could never pardon the *idéologues* the real power they had possessed—a power greater and more complete than the genius of Cæsar himself could have dared to grasp at.

It is a mournful thought that all this enthusiasm was spent in vain; the purpose for which the struggle was carried through is not yet fulfilled. The attempt at fraternity has failed; and what recompence are we to consider as attaching to its authors? The experience they have gained has become the inheritance of others. Their sufferings have been their own. Are the creatures of yesterday to have lived only for the benefit of the present? Is the present itself to be sacrificed in its turn to the necessities of the future? Must not progress itself appear a hateful thing to the wretches whom it dooms to suffer? Were it not better for them never to have heard the name of freedom, and never to have fought for the blessings that the future seemed to promise, if they can suffer only for the prospective good of others, and never themselves enjoy the satisfaction of a noble purpose nobly fulfilled, but must pass away before the triumph has been won,—after, it may be, a long life of self-denial and heroism, earning nothing for themselves but the pain and wounds of the battle, and unrewarded by the crown of victory?

These questions, and such as these, would be terrible, says M. Louis Blanc, if we did not believe in the solidarity of races, and in the immortality of the human species. *L'humanité est un homme qui vit toujours et qui apprend sans cesse.* We must learn to identify ourselves with the future, and merge our individual in our social existence, if we are to act worthily here, and with whatever further result to ourselves, at least to fulfil the promptings of our noblest instincts. And that they did really act and suffer in this spirit is the chief claim of the leaders of the Convention to our respect and gratitude. We may allow all that their enemies have urged against them. We may grant that some of them were mistaken alike in the objects they sought and in the means which they employed to compass them. But if they wrought only in the spirit of genuine self-sacrifice; if they were willing to toil in order that others might enter in and reap the fruits of their labours; if their love for man extended beyond the narrow limits of time and place, and embraced other lands and other ages than their own,—we may not then refuse them an honour greater far than mere success could have deserved. *Que mon nom soit flétri, que la France soit libre,* is indeed conceived in the "grand style" of heroism. It is more than a modern counterpart to the *non sibi sed toti genitum se credere mundo* of the Roman poet. It rises to the impassioned earnestness of Saint Paul, who was willing even to become Anathema for his brethren. If that thought were all that remained to us from the Revolution, the great drama would not have been commenced in vain.

ART. IX.—POLAND.

1. *Russia for the Russians, and Poland for the Poles.* By S. SULIMA. Leipzig and London. 1863.
2. *La Question Polonaise au point de vue de la Pologne, de la Russie, et de l'Europe.* Par M. SCHÉDO-FERROTTI. Bruxelles. 1863.
3. *Voyages en Turquie (Appendix).* Par M. VIQUESNEL. Paris. 1863.
4. *The Polish Captivity.* By SUTHERLAND EDWARDS. London. 1863.
5. *Correspondence respecting the Insurrection in Poland.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1863.

THE insurrection in Poland has given birth to a new class of writings hitherto unknown to our literature. The object of these productions may be shortly stated as the defence of a case which has been condemned by the unanimous voice of Europe. The conduct of Russia towards Poland, which for nearly a century has been used by the most eloquent of our writers as a theme for indignant denunciation, and which has always been the one subject on which people were agreed who differed on every other, has at length found its apologists, and even its defenders. Their bias in favour of Russia is evident and natural; but we are none the less bound to give them a fair hearing. As ~~yet~~ we have only listened to the speakers on the Polish side. It is not only just, but necessary, in a question which is every day assuming greater importance and magnitude, that we should also be in possession of the arguments on the side of Russia. We purpose to lay these arguments before our readers, and after examining them in an impartial spirit, to inquire whether, by the new light thus thrown upon the question, any error or misapprehension is to be detected in the view which has hitherto been universally adopted as the correct one.

This is an age for patching up damaged reputations. Our old notions with regard to the black characters of history are being exploded one by one. Men whose career has for centuries been held up to the world by grave historians and moralists as an example and a warning, are now shewn to have been atrociously libelled, and to have borne characters almost stainless. Richard III., we are told, was a wise and liberal politician; Henry VIII., a conscientious supporter of religion; Lord Bacon, a man as pure in deeds as in words. And really the thing is so well done that we are half disposed to credit the new dogmas, and to acknowledge that for hundreds of years the popular notions on these subjects were all wrong. Let us not, then, be astonished at the proposition with which the writers on the Russian side generally begin their attacks upon the respectable fabric of the popular opinion of nearly a century with regard to Poland. The partition, whose denomination of "the great crime of the age" has become so common as almost to have passed into a household word, was not, say they, a crime at all. The seizure of the greater part of Poland by Russia in 1772-1795 was not an act of political robbery; it was a re-conquest. The Empress Catherine was not an ambitious intriguer; she was the worthy scion of an ancient race, recovering the long-lost heritage of her ancestors. These somewhat startling assertions are not, of course, made without proofs. History is traced back to the year A.D. 1000, when there were two states, lying side by side, in the north of Europe. One was the kingdom of Poland, under Boleslaus the Brave; the other, the Grand Duchy of Kiew, under Wladimir the Great. The subjects of Boleslaus were called Poles; those of Wladimir, Russians. The frontier between the two states was, as nearly as possible, a straight line, extending southward from a point fifty miles east of Memel to the mountain range of the Carpathians. At the death of Wladimir, his dominions were divided into petty dukedoms, which were subsequently attacked from the north by the Lithuanians, a people living on the coast of the Baltic, and from the east by Mongol hordes following in the track of Genghis Khan. After being in turns under the dominion of these two invading races, the Russians in 1320 were finally united to Lithuania. In 1386 the crowns of Lithuania and of Poland were united by the marriage of the Grand Duke of the former to the Queen of the latter country; and thus the Russians became subjects of the kingdom of Poland. But there was a Russian state still remaining under the dominion of the Mongols. This was the principality of Moscow. In 1481 this small state contrived to shake off the yoke of its Asiatic invader, and by degrees annexed to itself a considerable share of the Russian territory which had been united to Poland. Gradually it grew up into the state now known as Russia; and Catherine, the empress of that state, by the partitions of Poland in 1772-95, recovered nearly the whole of the territory which had been, eight hundred years ago, under the rule of Wladimir.

The above are the facts usually alleged in support of the "re-conquest" theory; and we see no reason to doubt their accuracy. But those who are accustomed to historical investigations will perceive that a suspicious care has been used in their selection.

They will probably ask what was the origin and rise of the two states which are so abruptly introduced as existing, in an already organized form, in the year A.D. 1000. They will, perhaps, remember that, in September last, Russia celebrated the thousandth anniversary of the foundation of her empire by Rurik, and feel a not unnatural curiosity as to who Rurik was. And, even granting that the above is a fair statement of the case, they may be disposed to doubt whether the treacherous abstraction from Poland of a large slice of its territory, inhabited by a people who then, as now, were as good Poles as the inhabitants of Warsaw, is any the less deserving of the denomination of "the greatest crime of modern times," because eight hundred years ago that territory formed part of a Russian state.

Before pronouncing any opinion on an alleged right to the recovery of lost property, it is above all important that we should have accurate information as to who was the original owner. Fortunately the materials for obtaining this information are in the present case pretty abundant. Herodotus has devoted a whole book ("Melpomene") to the country under dispute; and beginning with the year 550 A.D., Jornandes, Procopius, the emperors Maurice, Leo VI., and Constantine Porphyrogeneta, and finally the Kiovian monk Nestor, whose chronicle is accepted by the Russians as an authentic record of the history of the time, form an uninterrupted chain of writers on Sclavonian history up to the eleventh century.

In all these writers we find a great Indo-European people, called by Herodotus *Νευροί*, by Jornandes and the other Latin historians Sclaveni or Sclavi, and by Nestor Slowiene, described as the original occupants of the country between the Baltic and the Black Sea. They are represented as a homely, agricultural people, fond of their country, and never leaving it except when forced to do so by the invasion of Asiatic races from the east. Their frontier on the west was, therefore, subject to constant variation; but on the east it was distinctly marked, and they do not appear ever to have penetrated beyond it. A straight line drawn from a point a little east of Nowgorod to the mouth of the Dnieper would give a tolerably accurate representation of their eastern frontier. On the other side of this frontier were various Turanian races—the Tchoudes, the Ves, the Meras, the Bulgarians, &c.—but no Indo-Europeans.* Among the Sclavonians the most ancient and powerful tribe was that of the Lechs, Polane, or

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* "Certum quidem est, ista loca" (Nowgorod on the north, the Dnieper on the east, and the Dniester on the south) "recte a Jornande pro terminis Sclavicæ gentis haberi, cum ulterius Fennicæ solum gentes, Nestore ipso teste, sederint." Uphagen, Parerga.

Poles. In the eighth century we find this tribe forming itself into a state on the Vistula, and establishing a colony at Kiew, on the Dnieper, which Nestor calls Polish territory. There were no Russians in the country now occupied by Russia and Poland until the middle of the ninth century, when occurred the event celebrated by the Russians last year as the foundation of their empire. In 863 there was a Norman invasion of Sclavonia, similar in many respects to the Danish invasion of England, and the Norman invasion of France, about the same period. The Normans under Rurik, called Russians,† crossed from the opposite coast of Sweden, penetrated the country as far as Nowgorod, and established themselves there, after subduing the Sclavonian inhabitants. Two years after, another body of Russo-Normans, under Dyr and Oskold, landed in the country of the Sclavonians, seized the Polish city of Kiew, and founded a new state there under the name of the Duchy of Kiew. The Sclavonians strove hard to shake off the yoke of their invaders, but without success. Fresh bands of Russo-Normans poured into their country, and in the year 1000 A.D., Wladimir, great-grandson of Rurik, became the Russo-Norman ruler of the Sclavonian Grand Duchy of Kiew, a country originally Polish, but which was extended under the new dynasty from the Gulf of Finland to beyond the confluence of the Dnieper and the Desna.

We have now arrived at the starting-point of the advocates of the "re-conquest" theory. The past history of the country teaches us that the kingdoms of Boleslaus and Wladimir were both Sclavonian states, the only difference between them being that the former was independent, and the latter enslaved. Both consisted of a large number of various tribes, all belonging to the same great Sclavonian race, and in both there were Poles. In the kingdom of Wladimir the obedience of the Sclavonians to the Russo-Norman government was enforced with even more difficulty than that of the Poles is now to the Russian government in Poland. We learn from the best Russian historians that, for the first two centuries of the Norman occupation, there were constant wars between the Sclavonians and their Scandinavian invaders, and that the separation between the two races was so marked that each preserved its laws and language.‡ The Russo-Sclavonians were, in fact, never anything more than tributaries to the Russo-Normans, who eventually adopted the Sclavonic language and

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* Karamsyn, Surowietzki, Schafaryk; also *Slavische Alterthümer.* Leipzig, 1842.

† The Swedes are called Russians (Rouossi) by the inhabitants of Finland to this day.

‡ Karamsyn, vol. i., note 102. Pogodyn, "Recherches et Leçons." Moscow, 1846. "Prawda Ruska," § 1, 28, 30.

religion, and gradually disappeared from the country. It may be doubted, therefore, whether the territory ruled by Wladimir was a state at all, in the usual sense of the term. But, even granting that it was so, on what ground is it alleged to be the cradle of the Russian Empire? The state now known as the Russian Empire is admitted by all to have grown up from the duchy of Muscovy; and in the time of Wladimir the territory constituting that duchy was not only far beyond the limits of Wladimir's empire, but the duchy itself was not in existence. It was not until 1155, when the kingdom of Wladimir had long been split up into a number of small states, that Andrew Bogolubski, one of the Russo-Norman chiefs, finding that the power wielded for two centuries by his race over the Sclavonic populations they had conquered was fast departing from them, crossed the Dnieper with a few Scandinavian followers into the country inhabited by the Finnish tribes, and founded the state which was the cradle of the Russian Empire, at Wladimir on the Klasma. The warlike Normans soon subdued the Fins and Ouralians in their vicinity; the new state rapidly increased in size, and, under the name of the duchy of Muscovy, comprised the territory now occupied by the governments of Jaroslaw, Kostrom, Moscow, and Wladimir, and a part of those of Twer, Nisgorod, Tulsk, and Kalouga. A glance at the map will show that all these territories are on the right-hand side of the old eastern frontier of the Sclavonic races. They were occupied by Fins and Ouralians, who were perpetually at war with the Sclavonians on the other side of the frontier, who spoke a Finnish language (the Emmanski) which is still spoken by the peasants in many parts of Russia, and who obstinately clung to their pagan rites long after the Sclavonians had become Christians.*

Thus the duchy of Muscovy, when it was established in 1155 on the eastern side of the Dnieper, was inhabited by Finnish and Ouralian tribes, ruled by Russo-Norman chiefs; while the kingdom of Wladimir, on the western side of the Dnieper, was, in the year 1000, inhabited by Sclavonic tribes tributary to a Russo-Norman dynasty. The only connexion between these two states is, that they were ruled by people of the same race; which is the same connexion as exists between all the other numerous states that were founded about the same period in Europe by the Normans. As time wore on, however, even this connexion was lost; the Russo-Normans on the eastern side of the Dnieper were absorbed by the Fins they had conquered, and afterwards by the Mongols who invaded them, and those on the western side disappeared in the ruins of the kingdom of Wladimir, which, after being divided into several small states (of which the Sclavonian Grand Duchy of Ruthenia or Rus was one), was overrun by the Lithuanians, who finally occupied the whole of its central and southern portion, the Sclavonian republics of Nowgorod and Pskow remaining independent in the north. The duchy of Muscovy, afterwards the Empire of Russia, continued to be a country inhabited by Turanian races, and has gradually obtained a Tartar ruling class;* the Sclavonian state of Wladimir, by the voluntary union of Poland and Lithuania in the fourteenth century, became part of Poland, in the same way as Scotland, by its voluntary union with England, became part of Great Britain; and although neither the nobles nor the peasants of Lithuania are Poles by race any more than those of Scotland are English, history has proved that they are as much attached to Poland as Scotchmen are to England.

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* "Istoria Rossiïskoi Tsierkwi. Moscow, 1848, p. 35, note 55. "Lectures of the Imperial Hist. Soc. of Moscow," 1847, No. 1, part i. p. 7. "Journal des Écoles Militaires." St. Pétersbourg, 1847, No. 280.

It will be thus seen that the only ground on which the "re-conquest" theory is based is the fact that Rurik conquered the Sclavonians on the right bank of the Dnieper, and one of his descendants subdued the Fins on its left bank. The half-German, half-Mongol dynasty which now rules on the left bank is, we are told, therefore entitled to rule the peoples on the right bank. There is really no end to the absurdities into which the adoption of such a mode of reasoning would lead us. Let us take a single case: that of the Scandinavian conquest of Normandy, which is in many respects similar to that of Sclavonia. The Scandinavians under Rollo seize Normandy, and adopt the language of the Frenchmen whom they have vanquished; the Scandinavians under Rurik establish themselves in the provinces of the Baltic and the Dnieper, and adopt the language of the Sclavonians whom they have made their tributaries. The descendants of Rollo conquer England and introduce the French language into that country; the descendants of Rurik conquer the duchy of Moscovy and bring the Sclavonian language with them. The rights of England to Normandy are therefore precisely the same as those of Russia to the Polish provinces; and if the Muscovites choose to call themselves Russians because they descend from Rurik and his followers, the English might with equal reason call themselves Normans because they descend from William and his followers. To justify the seizure by Muscovy of the Polish provinces that were formerly under the rule of the Scandinavian Grand Duke Wladimir, as a re-conquest, is therefore as palpable an absurdity as to say that the seizure by England of the French province of Normandy, formerly under the rule of the Scandinavian Duke Robert, would be a re-conquest.

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* Tourgenieff, "La Russie et les Russes," vol. ii. p. 136. Bruxelles, 1847.

On the other hand, we doubt whether any state has stronger rights to territory under its rule than Poland had to the provinces wrested from her by Catherine in 1772-95. Putting out of the question the fact, already alluded to, of the Poles having been the original occupiers of the country watered by the Dnieper—the *Polskoja Ziemleja* of Nestor—they have on their side an undisturbed possession of three hundred years, a complete identification of manners, customs, and political organization with the sister country, and an evident and oft-expressed desire on the part of the latter for the union which existed before the partition. The "re-conquest" theory is, in truth, simply an ingenious device adopted by the Empress Catherine to justify her designs upon the Polish provinces. The first manifestation of these designs was her adoption of the title of "Empress of all the Russias." As the only Russias which then existed belonged to Poland, whose eastern provinces, formerly part of the kingdom of Wladimir, were called White Russia, Black Russia, and Red Russia, this step on the part of Catherine excited just alarms among the Poles; and to appease these alarms Catherine solemnly declared that in assuming her new title "she did not mean to assert any right, either for herself, her successors, or her empire, to the countries or lands which under the name of Russia or Ruthenia, belong to Poland;" and further, "that she would always maintain and protect them against any one who would attempt to disturb Poland's possession of them."* It is well known how these promises were kept; but it is not perhaps so generally known that the theory of the re-conquest was first broached at the time when Catherine, by assuming the title of Empress of all the Russias, paved the way for her annexations of 1772-95. So long as the Tzarat of Muscovy did not assert any pretensions to the Ruthenian territories of Poland, Muscovite historians did not dream of tracing any connexion between the free Sclavonian states on the right bank of the Dnieper and the Ouralian populations under the Tartar oppression of Muscovy; the new theory was originated by the Government of the new Empire of all the Russias; and though its promulgation in the schools of Russia and Poland has since been ordered by numberless official decrees, no eminent Russian historian has ever completely adopted it. One of them, the well-known Müller, was bitterly persecuted by Catherine for attempting to refute it;† and latterly its fallacy has been triumphantly exposed by a learned Russian historian and ethnologist,

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* D'Augeberg, "Archives Dipl. Pologne,"—p. 24.

† Karamsyn.

M. Duchinski.* It appears, therefore, that the writers who adopt the view that the partition of Poland by Russia was a re-conquest, do not even represent the opinion of educated Russians on the subject. They are merely the exponents of a theory which, in Russia itself, has been forced upon unwilling historians by the Government, and whose fallacy has been fully recognised by learned Russians who have dared to say what they thought.

On a review of all the facts of the case, it is impossible for us to agree with the writers who pretend that the appellation of "the great crime of the age," by which the partition of Poland is stigmatized, is undeserved, or to admit that it is the result of perverted views of history, invented by Polish emigrants in order to give them a historical claim upon the sympathies to which they appeal. We have seen that the perversions of history are all on the side of Russia, and have been deliberately invented and promulgated by her ever since the partition made it necessary for her to find an excuse for a crime which exposed her to universal reprobation. That excuse once proved valueless, the crime stands out in all its naked blackness, unrelieved by a single redeeming point, as it appeared to all those statesmen and historians who have given it the name of "the greatest crime of modern times."

The defence set up in favour of the partition having thus lost its main foundation, few will see the force or point of the ingenious disquisitions on political morality with which a writer in a well-known *Review* has endeavoured to prop up a tottering cause, or recognise in the conquest of Granada by the Spaniards, an example or a justification of the partition of Poland. Many, we think, will be rather disposed to wonder at the lengths to which a love of paradox may carry a writer of indisputable talent, when they see him gravely assert that an act of ordinary, unpremeditated violence, like the seizure of Alsatia by Louis XIV., is the very blackest of political crimes, while, though admitting that the partition of Poland was accomplished by means of the basest treachery and plotting, he holds, that if not quite justifiable, it was at least a sin of a very venial character. As for the statement that the three partitioning Powers were exposed to danger from their proximity to a country which they had themselves weakened to such a degree by their intrigues that it was incapable of defending itself when attacked, that is the usual argument of the wolf to the lamb, and does not deserve serious notice. Nor can we see any validity in the plea that Catherine was forced in self-defence to seize the Ruthenian provinces, when Prussia and Austria prepared to advance their frontiers over Polish ground to the neighbourhood of Russia. It is admitted that Catherine's power extended over the whole of Poland, and if it was a question of self-defence, we should rather have imagined that she would have defended Poland, and the power it gave her, against any attempt at encroachment on the part of Prussia and Austria, than have sought compensation for the diminution of the territory over which her influence extended, by annexing a portion of it. At any rate she can hardly be said to have adopted an effectual means of defending herself against those two Powers by thus making herself mistress of territories inhabited by a race which is alien to that of Russia, and which has ever since fought and petitioned for reunion with Poland. The truth is, she did not act from fear of Prussia and Austria, but from a desire to obtain a footing in Europe. This has notoriously been the darling object of Russian sovereigns since Peter the Great, and Poland was both the only obstacle that could prevent, and the only instrument that could ensure, its satisfactory attainment. The plottings of the court of Russia, and its constant interference in the elections of the Polish kings for nearly a century before the partition, were only so many preparatory steps to the fulfilment of the same object; and it is far more probable that the share taken in the partition of Poland by Prussia and Austria was caused by a fear of the results of Russia's aggressive policy, than that Russia seized the greater part of Poland to protect herself against the consequences of an aggrandisement of Austria and Prussia. We have alluded to the interference of Russia in the elections of the Polish kings, and we cannot refrain here from expressing our surprise at Russia's conduct in this respect being defended by the writers on her side as an act [redacted]ation. Because, in 1610, the King of Poland seated his son on the throne of Russia, and in a religious war conquered two of her provinces, Russia was justified, we are told, in seizing a large piece of Poland, after a long course of treachery and intrigue, in 1772-95. If such a principle were once admitted among the nations of Europe, there is scarcely any ambitious and aggressive power which would not have a *casus belli* ready to its hand. The invasion of England or of Prussia by France would be justified by Waterloo; Napoleon's campaign of 1812 would give Russia a right to invade France; and if France were desirous of another pretext for declaring war against England, she would only have to take the case of the invasion of her country, and the occupation of Paris, by the English Henry V., who gave his son the crown of France in much the same way as the Polish Sigismund gave his that of Russia.

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* See his pamphlet, "La Moscovie et la Pologne," published at Constantinople in 1855; and other works since published in Paris.

But there is yet another plea which has been advanced in defence of Catherine. We are told that the maltreatment of the dissidents by the Catholics in Poland called for the interference of Catherine in their behalf; and the natural objection that such interference by an empress of known profligacy and a Government which has always proceeded on a system of despotic intolerance could not have been sincere, but was evidently meant to shield deeper political aims, is attempted to be cast aside by a reference to the defence of the rights of the Latin monks in the Holy Places, and of the independence of the Pope, by the Emperor Napoleon. A vicious prince, it is said, will act as a religious champion if the feelings of his people incite him to do so, none the less because he is vicious. Granted: but was this the case when Catherine interfered in favour of the dissidents in Poland? Nay, was it the case, to adopt the parallel above suggested, when the Emperor Napoleon fought against Russia in the Crimea? Every one knows that the Crimean war was fought, not to defend the rights of the Latin monks, but to preserve Turkey against the aggression of Russia; and if Catherine's interference in favour of the Polish dissidents had assumed as peaceful a form as that of Napoleon in favour of the Latin monks, there would have been no partition. As for the preservation of the independence of the Pope, the cases are not at all parallel, the policy of Napoleon in this question being influenced by a variety of considerations, in which the will of the French people, who care nothing at all about the matter, plays but a very small part. But to return to Catherine and the Polish dissidents. In the sixteenth century Poland was the most tolerant country in Europe. It was the refuge of sects that had been driven with threats and ignominy from one state to another by the fever of religious persecution which was at that time raging on the Continent. Although the established religion of the country was the Roman Catholic, the majority of its Parliament consisted of Protestants; and the only protest made by any nation against the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the massacre of St. Bartholomew came from Poland. It was but natural, indeed, that a country whose people were fond of political liberty to a fault, should also be the home of religious liberty. But a bigoted Swedish king, an irruption of Jesuits, and the interference of foreign Powers,* soon introduced the poison of religious dissension among the Poles. In Lithuania and Poland proper the quarrels between the Catholics and the dissidents, as they were called, who mostly consisted of Cavinists, Lutherans, and members of the United Greek Church, were generally of a very mild character, seldom exhibiting more animosity than was shown in England towards the Catholics in the reign of George III. But the Cossacks of the Ukraine, who had, under Russian influence, abandoned the united faith, and adopted that of Russia, soon became so exasperated at their real and fancied grievances, that they rose in a body against their Government. Russia came to their assistance; and after many bloody wars, they succeeded in severing themselves from Poland and joining Russia.* This, however, occurred long before the partition. The provinces which Catherine seized from Poland at the partition did not profess the Greek religion, but were of the United Faith; and ever since they have belonged to Russia their inhabitants have been compelled to adopt the Greek religion at the point of the bayonet. In this sense they may, perhaps, be said to have been seized with a religious motive; but in these days we are not accustomed to call persecution religious championship, and we cannot admit that a despot like Catherine could have been compelled by the religious enthusiasm of her people to convert, by main force, four millions of their enemies to the Greek religion.

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* "The Poles, as a nation, have never been given to persecution; and when, towards the close of their history as a republic, the quarrels about the dissidents began, the dissidents' demands were chiefly resisted because Russia and Prussia supported them; just as we should have objected, more than ever, to grant equal political rights to the Catholics, had we at any time been recommended to do so in a threatening tone by France and Austria." Edwards, vol. i. p. 248.

Let us now sum up the results of our examination of the arguments which the advocates of Russia have advanced in defence of the partition. To the plea of ancient possession and a common nationality, history replies that the provinces Russia seized at the partition never belonged to her, and that they were separate states, inhabited by a race different from [redacted], a hundred years before Russia was founded. The plea of necessity is disposed of by the abundant evidence we find in history of the danger which the extension of the Russian empire brought to Germany, and of the helpless position of Poland, torn by internal dissensions, and threatened on all sides by powerful monarchies, any one of which could easily have crushed her if she attempted to attack it. Finally, history proves to us that Catherine used the Polish dissidents only as a tool for working out her aggressive policy, by the fact that so soon as she had attained her object in possessing herself of the Polish provinces, she became their bitterest persecutor; and the plea of a common religion, which, moreover, starts on false premises, for the religion of the Polish provinces was different from that of Russia, is thus shown to have been a mere pretext for territorial aggression. With these facts before us, it is impossible to come to any other conclusion than that the writers on the Russian side have not shown any reasons whatever for altering the verdict which Europe has so often pronounced upon the partition of Poland.

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* They have since made several attempts to be reunited to Poland.

We have now to meet these writers on a new ground. Their defence of Russia is usually followed, if not very generously, at least with far more force of reasoning, by charges against the Poles. These charges suggest themselves at once to any one at all conversant with Polish history. The quarrelsomeness of the Polish character, the weakness of her Government when Poland was a nation, and the ill-treatment of the Polish peasants by their masters, are faults which have been repeatedly acknowledged and deplored both by Polish and foreign historians. These faults are placed by the advocates of Russia in a strong light, and are used as evidence that the Poles would be unable to govern themselves, even should they succeed in recovering their independence. The question thus raised is important, and the *primâ facie* case against the Poles is indisputably strong. If we look only at the history of Poland for the last century before the partition, we must admit the worst that the enemies of Poland have said against her. A turbulent and dissolute nobility; an elected king; a diet which, when it met, was almost immediately dissolved by the *veto* of a single dissentient member; and an oppressed peasantry, destitute of all political privileges, are certainly not the elements which should compose a country fit for constitutional government. But we have already seen the danger of drawing inferences from the history of a single period of a nation's existence. Poland has now lived upwards of a thousand years; and to take a single century out of that period of her history as a criterion of the rest, would be as unfair as to conclude that a man must be naturally unhealthy because during six years of his life he was ill. Poland fell, not only because she was internally feeble, but because her neighbours were at the same time more powerful than they ever have been before or since. Foreign intrigue had at least as much to do with her destruction as internal decay. During the first seven centuries of her existence, before the aggressive policy of Peter and Frederic sapped her foundations, she was a strong constitutional Power, resembling in many respects the England of those days. As in England, the monarchy, though nominally elective, was really hereditary; there was no standing army; and the sovereigns were held in check, at first by a powerful class of military chiefs, jealous of their liberties and averse to foreign wars, and afterwards by an independent and intelligent Parliament, consisting of delegates from all the freeholders of the country, which exercised an effectual control over the Government. The nobles, as they were called, comprised all who, either by their merit or the possession of land, were entitled to a vote in the representation; and their patriotism and public spirit were such, that many of them ruined themselves in the service of the state. As for the unrepresented classes, which did not constitute a greater majority of the population in Poland than in any other country, they were treated, if not by the law, at least by their masters, as well as in England, and better than in most other countries. Unfortunately foreign intrigues and the want of a good political organization changed all this in the seventeenth century, about which time the poison of faction first displayed itself in the state. The great Lithuanian princes, who, though nominally in possession of no greater privileges than the poorest elector, naturally had immense influence at their command, began to form political parties. The right of *veto*, which has from the earliest ages existed among all Sclavonian nations, but which had never before been exercised in Poland, was now first used for factious purposes, and thus paralysed the action of the Polish diets. Finally, the monarchy was no longer hereditary, and instead of the sovereign being formally elected, as heretofore, by the senate, the candidate for royalty depended for his success on the votes of the whole body of freemen or nobles. The dissensions and anarchy which this combination of abuses tended to create were carefully fostered by Russia and the other neighbouring Powers. In 1764 Russia and Prussia signed a treaty binding themselves to oppose, by every means in their power, any attempt on the part of the Poles to alter the mode of election of their kings; and both the *veto* and the elective sovereignty were imposed on the Poles by the same two Powers in the constitution of 1768. Besides being thus weakened by intrigue from without and anarchy within, the unfortunate Poles saw their country devastated [redacted] passage through it of numerous Swedish, Russian, and Turkish armies, during the wars of Charles XII. and Peter the Great. To the horrors of war were added those of the plague; and the confederations, which were got up by the dissidents, under foreign encouragement, with the object of wresting their rights from the Government by the sword, completed the exhaustion of the country. These terrible disasters brought the usual abuses in their train; a spirit of luxury and venality hitherto unknown spread among the Poles; they abandoned the patriarchal life and ancient virtues of their fathers, and in defiance of all law and justice, powerful landowners plundered each other's estates, persecuted the poor, and ill-treated the peasants. It was when Poland was in this condition that the three Powers stepped in, and seized each of them a large slice of her territory. This brought the Poles to their senses. Too much exhausted to attempt any opposition to the robbery which was being committed upon them, they did their best to secure what was left.

Agriculture and commerce began to be assiduously cultivated, and every effort was made to improve the moral and material condition of the people. Many of the great landowners turned their peasants into freeholders with the best results; the education of the country reached a pitch of elevation it had never hitherto attained, and the wisest Polish statesmen applied themselves to the task of removing the abuses which had crept into the state. The result of their labours was the famous Constitution of the 3rd of May, 1791, which has deservedly obtained the warmest eulogies from all true friends of political and religious liberty. Its chief provisions were, a hereditary monarchy—emancipation of the peasants—abolition of the *liberum veto* and confederations—and complete toleration to all religions. This Constitution was immediately adopted both by the king and the two chambers, and was received with the greatest satisfaction by the people. Its adoption, as is well known, was the signal for the second partition; and Russia and Prussia in their manifestoes declared that the new Constitution was full of extravagant and anti-social ideas. A last relic of the old disunions now made its appearance in the confederation of Targowica, which sided with Russia in opposing the Constitution. But here the long catalogue of the sins of Poland ends: all that they have since done has been worthy of the best days of their ancient glories and freedom. Their insurrections of 1791, of 1812, and of 1830, were admirable efforts to recover an independence of which they had been basely and unjustly deprived; and to say, with an English writer already quoted, that Russia, in suppressing these risings, obtained Poland by right of conquest, is to admit that you lose your right to property that has been stolen from you by the failure of any attempt you may make to recover it. The brilliant bravery and heroic self-sacrifice of which the Poles gave evidence in these insurrections show that the flame of patriotism, which is after all the best guarantee of the stability of a nation, burns in their breasts as high as ever:

> "Et cuncta terrarum subacta
> Præter atrocem animum."

Their political development, of course, came to a complete stand-still under three foreign governments whose only object was to crush their nationality; but under the enlightened supervision of Czartoryski, Czacki, and others, considerable progress was made in education, and commerce and manufactures began to be steadily cultivated. For a short time after the Revolution of 1830, the Poles seemed to be paralyzed by the exhaustion and the bitter disappointment of that desperate struggle; but their last resurrection has shown itself more glorious and full of hope than any of those that preceded it. The calm protests against atrocious wrong, the unanimous petitions from all classes and all parts of the country—from landowner and peasant, from Warsaw and from Podolia—for what every nation has a right to demand, a tolerable government; and the wonderful self-restraint, under the most barbarous provocation, which marked the conduct of the Poles in 1861-2, displayed qualities in this people, accused of being impatient and quarrelsome, of which Englishmen might well be proud. And if we look at what is now going on in Poland—a secret National Government, whose members are unknown, but whose decrees are scrupulously obeyed throughout the length and breadth of the land, establishing a complete national organization in the face of a foreign military despotism, whose action it paralyses and whose power it defies—we cannot but acknowledge that Poland must possess in an eminent degree the faculties of self-government and of political organization.

But, we shall be told, all this applies only to the nobles of Poland. To quote a writer whom we have already several times alluded to in the course of this article: "The Poland that contrived by weakness or corruption to lose its independence was a Poland of a hundred and fifty thousand souls. . . . The Polish nobility was the Polish nation. Beneath them lay a vast population of millions of serfs who had never for a century expressed, except upon questions of religion, the slightest feeling or opinion upon any political subject whatsoever." The serfs, it is added, were in fact slaves. In 1496 was passed the Magna Charta of the Polish slaveowner. Fugitive Slave Laws succeeded, and the serf became *ascriptus glebæ*. Other statutes legalized the ill-treatment of the serfs by their masters, and placed them in the same position as the slave of ancient Rome. A st[redacted]588, actually sanctioned the killing of slaves by fixing the amount of fine to be imposed as a penalty for so doing. Finally, we are told, "what fell in 1793 was the inhuman domination of a few noblemen over the Polish people." Before inquiring into the truth or relevancy of these allegations, we must protest against the doctrine that because, during the century which preceded the first partition, the Polish peasants did not openly express any feeling or opinion on political subjects, they were indifferent to the fate of their country. Where shall we find a Continental state of that day whose peasants openly expressed their feelings or opinions on political subjects? And yet, judging by subsequent events, it will be hard to deny that the peasantry of France or Italy took no interest in the fate of their country. When the great struggles for independence were fought in Poland, the peasant scythemen fought in the ranks by the side of the nobles; and the present insurrection, begun by the middle class, has the heartiest sympathies both of the nobles and the great majority of the peasants. The question thus becomes purely one of history.

Whatever may have been the persecutions that the Polish peasants endured at the hands of their masters in times gone by, the feeling of patriotism has not been thereby stifled in their breasts, and they are now more desirous than ever to shake off the yoke of Russia. Let us now consider how the case actually stood in former times between the peasant and the noble in Poland. We have already pointed out that in Poland the word "noble" or "szlachcic" bore a different meaning to what it does in England. The Polish nobles were the educated classes of Poland; there need, therefore, be nothing shocking, at all events to the Conservative mind, in the fact that "the Polish nobility was the Polish nation." All freeholders, descendants of freeholders, and persons admitted to the upper class by reason of their personal merit, were nobles, and, like the corresponding classes of the people in England, alone enjoyed the higher species of political privileges. As for the number of the nobles, it was not 150,000, but a million.[*] The restriction of electoral privileges to the educated classes is, in truth, much more defensible in Poland, where the peasants were at that time plunged in ignorance and superstition, than in England, where the lower classes are educated and intelligent. But, it will be argued, if the peasants were ignorant and superstitious, it was because the nobles shut out from them the means of enlightenment, and treated them like inferior beings. The fact is indisputable, and we do not pretend to deny it. The peasants were often barbarously ill-treated by their masters, and both their social and their civil *status* was bad. But was the condition of the peasantry in other countries any better? In Russia the peasant was a slave; in Germany he was little more; in ~~France his~~ oppression was such that it gave rise to the bloody Revolution of 1793; and even in free England the lower classes were anything but satisfied, and popular riots were not quite unknown. In Poland the peasant was never a slave. "He could not be sold by auction, staked on a card, or exchanged for a dog, as happened in Russia at least as late as the reign of Alexander I."[†] The statutes relative to the peasants were mostly framed on the old Roman model, but like the *veto* and other impracticable Roman institutions which had crept into the legislature of ancient Poland, were seldom acted upon. Even the republican historian Lelewel, who is the declared enemy of the nobles, admits this, and adds that the peasants, when they came under Russian rule, looked back with regret to the days when they were under Polish masters. That the condition of the Polish peasant was very bad there can be no doubt. He was not allowed to possess land; he was exposed to the caprice and bad temper of his master; and he was regarded by the law as an inferior being. But he was not worse off than most persons of his class in the rest of the European continent; and we have no right to quarrel with the Polish nobles because they were not in this respect in advance of their age. As it was, they were the first on the Continent to admit the equality of all classes before the law. The abandonment by some of the most wealthy of the Polish nobles of all control over their peasants in 1778, was, by the Constitution of 1791, made compulsory on all Polish landowners. On the other hand, while Poland was under the three partitioning Powers, serfdom was everywhere maintained, and in Samogitia and the Ukraine it was first introduced by Russia. Soon after the accession of Alexander II., the question of serf emancipation was again started by the Poles, and would have been successfully solved by them had not their Agricultural Society been dissolved by the Government in 1861. In a word, if the Poles in their treatment of the peasants were not in advance of the age, neither were they behind it; and there is every reason to believe that if Poland had been left unhampered in the development of her political institutions, her peasants would at this moment have enjoyed the same privileges as those of England.

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[*] Mickiewicz, apud Edwards, vol. i. p. 146.

[†] Edwards, vol. i. p. 145.

Whatever may be the result of the present insurrection, it has at least borne one remarkable fruit. The conduct of Russia in Poland since 1815 is acknowledged by all parties to have been, if not a crime, at least a mistake. Half-a-century's chronic discontent, breaking out in two formidable risings, of which the first was only crushed by the whole military force of Russia when she was the strongest power in Europe, and the second[redacted]ing her in a moment of weakness, is threatening her [redacted] existence, is not to be explained away by the natural turbulence of a people or the agitation of a faction. It has become evident to every one that, so long as there is a Russian administration in Poland, the Poles will remain discontented, and be a constant source of disturbance to Europe. A national Government is, therefore, indispensable. But how is this to be obtained for Poland? Is the Charter of 1815 to be revived? Are the Poles to remain, as at present, under the rule of Russia, with a Russian viceroy and a Russian army, but with a national diet and Polish ministers enjoying the confidence of the people? Are the kingdom of Poland and parts of Posen and Galicia to form a confederacy of small states? Is the kingdom of Poland to be made a separate state, with a Russian king? Finally, is the whole of the Poland of 1772 to be restored to its independence? Before considering these questions, it is necessary to lay down the principle, which is so often lost sight of, that whatever remedy may be adopted, it should, to be effectual, extend over the whole of the territory which has been wrested from Poland by Russia since 1772. It is over this territory that all the insurrections of Poland since that date have spread; and a concession to the Poles of the kingdom of Poland alone would evidently be no satisfaction to the Poles of Lithuania or Volhynia. Whatever may be the historical pretensions of Russia to these provinces (and we have shown that they have no foundation), it is impossible to ignore the fact that their inhabitants, both nobles and peasants, are bitterly hostile to Russia, and evidently desire union with Poland. This consideration at once disposes of the proposition to re-establish the Charter of 1815, which applied only to the kingdom of Poland, and which, moreover, was a signal failure. The proposals to detach the kingdom from Russia, and to form a Polish confederacy, are open to the same insuperable objection. It is, in fact, easier to suggest ingenious, but impracticable solutions of this kind, than to look the real question at issue steadily in the face. There remains but one plan, except, indeed, to cut the knot by restoring the whole of Poland to her ancient independence. Last year the Poles petitioned for a national representation for the kingdom and the provinces, and were refused. If they were offered it now, would they accept the offer? We doubt it. Since then Russia has rendered reconciliation between her and Poland impossible. The barbarous conscription and its attendant horrors, the terrible insurrection which is its consequence, have established between Russia and Poland a barrier of blood and tears which it will take many long years to efface. And after the dreary series of deceptions which they have endured at the hands of Russia, especially since the accession of the present Emperor—the reforms introduced only to be withdrawn, the [redacted] never to be fulfilled, the pretences of liberality and the terrible realities of uncompromising tyranny—can the Poles, strong in their patriotism and their successes, accept the risk of a fresh and more bitter disappointment? Last year, while they yet hoped something from the reputed benevolence of the Emperor, and were powerless except in the justice of their cause, they were prepared to accept even a restricted degree of political existence under Russian rule. But now with the blood of thousands of their slaughtered brethren dyeing their soil, with arms in their hands and the public opinion of Europe at their backs, nothing but complete independence can repay them for their sacrifices. The advocates of Russia tell us that this independence is a chimera. We have already given our reasons for thinking that, if it were once established, it would be a permanent reality. To compare a young and vigorous country like Poland, full of patriotism and political aspirations, to the effete and enslaved despotism of Turkey, is simply an absurdity. There is no reason why Poland, when re-established, should become "the nursling of domineering embassies," any more than either

Belgium or Italy. But how is she to be re-established? If left to herself, it seems only too certain that she will not succeed. The guerilla war which she has now for nearly six months carried on with such bravery and success may yet last a few years, but it must in the end die out before disciplined armies and resources almost unlimited. The results of such a struggle are terrible to anticipate. Poland would be a desert, and the best and bravest of her sons lie under her soil, or die a living death in the mines of the Oural, or the mysterious *oubliettes* of the Siberian fortresses. Her towns would be in ruins, her villages in ashes, her women and children dying of famine and the plague. Such are a few of the horrors which can alone be prevented by a strong Power coming forward to aid the Poles in the contest which they are evidently determined to fight out to the last. There are but three Powers that could give this assistance; England, France, and Austria. The first is unwilling to take the initiative, because, apart from a natural aversion to war, she knows that she could not refuse the alliance which France would be sure to propose to her, and she fears that a war on the continent in which the Emperor Napoleon would be engaged, would lead to complications in which the original question at issue would vanish, and which would result in the aggrandizement of France. The French Emperor, on the other hand, is unwilling to move, because he fears England would not support him. We think that the fears of our Government are but too well founded, and that it would be extremely impolitic were England either to go to war for Poland, or allow France to do so. But if Austria were to assist the Poles, there would be no ground for the apprehension of a European war. The position of Austria with regard to Poland has always been a peculiar one. Since Maria Theresa signed the first act of partition under protest, both the sovereigns and the statesmen of Austria have expressed in various ways their regret at the dismemberment of Poland, and their desire to give up Galicia, provided they had the assurance that a strong and independent Poland would be interposed between Austria and Russia. The advantages which such an arrangement would bring not only to Austria, but to the whole of Germany, by closing what Lord Ellenborough has called Russia's door to Europe, are sufficiently obvious. The paralysing effect which Russian influence has had upon the action of Austria and Germany in European affairs is well known, and has been often felt. Galicia, part of which in old times was called "Red Russia," forms a portion of the old kingdom of Wladimir which Russia has not yet "re-conquered," and which, it is well known, Russia is intriguing to obtain for herself. Russia's pretensions to be a Sclavonic Power, and her efforts to spread her influence over the Sclavonic provinces of Austria, constitute another danger which threatens Austria's very existence. But so long as these dangers are at her door, Austria is compelled, though very unwillingly, to pursue a very timid policy with regard to Poland. She sees, as she did during the Crimean war and on other occasions, that if she takes any decisive step in favour of Poland without the open support of France and England, she will expose herself to the risk of having to bear the brunt of a Russian war, whose result might be the advancement of the Russian frontier far into Austrian territory, thus bringing still nearer to Austria the dangers it is her greatest object to avoid. If, therefore, England and France are to do anything for Poland, they should endeavour to give such open support to Austria as would enable her to move fearlessly in the direction of her most vital interests. The means for giving her this support are ready at hand. The only sanction which has been given by England and France to the sovereignty of Russia over the Polish possessions she acquired since 1772 is that involved in the Treaty of Vienna. By that treaty conditions relative to her government of those possessions were imposed upon Russia. These conditions have been, over and over again, declared both by England and France to have been completely and systematically violated. Both of these countries have now ample ground for withdrawing the recognition of Russia's dominion in Poland given in the treaty, Russia having for half a century proved herself unwilling or unable to comply with the conditions on which such recognition was given.* The declaration, by the same two powers, of Poland's right to recover her independence, is the logical consequence of their denial of Russia's right to govern her. The course of Austria will then be clear. By making Galicia a distinct state, with a national representation, an Austrian sovereign, and an army of 80,000 men, consisting of Poles now in the Austrian army, she would at once establish a basis of operations for the Poles, where they might organize their troops, develop their administration, and communicate freely with the friendly powers of Europe, whose aid, in the shape of supplies, volunteers, and moral support, would not be wanting. Russia, weak and disorganized as she is, could not long resist so formidable a combination. Thus would Poland recover her independence by her own efforts, the fear of a European war be removed, and Europe be freed from the shame and disgrace of her tacit complicity in "the greatest crime of modern times."

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* The Treaty of Vienna does not, as is commonly supposed, relate to the kingdom of Poland *alone*. It gives the kingdom "a constitution," the provinces "a national representation and national institutions," and commercial privileges to the whole of "Poland as it existed in 1772."

ART. X.—LANCASHIRE.

Reports of Central Executive Relief Committee of Manchester, 1862-1863. John Wm. Maclure, Hon. Sec.

THE Distress of the Cotton Districts is precisely one of those questions which most severely try our habits of social action. Public opinion, with admirable spirit, took up the tale of suffering, and worthily responded to the call upon its liberality. The ramifications of the press stirred the English heart to its depths. Politicians and the public set themselves to their task. The result was a great effort of public relief, skilfully organized and actively administered, which accomplished a great and pressing task that could have been dealt with perhaps in no other way so well. The public asked only to be told the truth, to know all, to act promptly and to give freely. The distress of Lancashire was the subject of the day, as it well needed to be. But in course of time a year and a half has passed; the prospect had been faced, and looked less dark than our first apprehensions had drawn it. The subject had been discussed to satiety, and little fresh way was made in it. The public felt that, on the whole, it had done its duty, and things were going on pretty well. Accordingly the Lancashire difficulty fell into the routine department, which is the fate of most public questions which do not come home very closely to us. It became more the standing bore than the standing subject of the day. [redacted] the public done its duty, and was it not the turn of some one else? Were not things going on pretty well? Besides, what was to be done? And, then, was not some one doing it?

Let us ask ourselves if this temper is right—the natural temper as it is of public opinion, not continually moved by a responsible and far-seeing guide. Hitherto we have all been waiting to see what the Government was going to do. But Government, we all know, especially in home matters, and still more in complex social questions, never does anything till it is forced. We do not expect it, we do not desire it, to undertake the task of a "social providence," as they say in France. The State has now done its part in giving facilities; they must be used by the public themselves. The case of Lancashire, if it is to be treated at all, must be treated through the action of public opinion. Now the problem before us can be very simply stated. By the last returns nearly 300,000 of the best workpeople in England are still, after sixteen months of idleness, without their ordinary employment. Their numbers have been slowly diminishing; but the causes of that diminution are not increasing. They are now weary and restless from the effects of prolonged destitution and inaction. The funds from which they have been supported will suffice to keep them, perhaps, for six or eight months. There is no reasonable prospect of work for them at the end of that time. *What then is to be done?*

The very worst mistake which could befall the public mind would be the blind trust in something turning up, or the confused notion of things mending by themselves. The official returns have now shown for months a gradual, of late a rapid diminution in the distress. They also show a gradual increase in the cotton-mills at work. But these facts must not lead us to imagine, either that the cotton operatives have found work elsewhere, or that the cotton manufacture is on the point of recovering its former activity. As to the first suggestion, nothing is more certain than that the cotton districts have not been depopulated in any degree which can account for any part of the diminution in the numbers of the distressed. Those who mix with them find a strange inability and unwillingness in them to carry their labour to other markets. The best proof of this is that the Yorkshire woollen trade, which is able to absorb a considerable number in a kindred labour, has not attracted any very great numbers. Again, the cottage-owners and shopkeepers, to whom the operatives are *largely* in debt for rent and provisions, have not extensively suffered by the removal of their debtors, and of course have done nothing to make it easy. Indeed, taking all the outlets together, the scanty effects of emigration and dispersion of all kinds, the population of the cotton districts has not been reduced five per cent. Cottages are empty in some places, rather from the practice of packing two families into one to economize in rent, than from any large abandonment of their homes. We may, in fact, treat it as undoubted truth that the great bulk of the cotton operatives are still in the cotton districts.

To turn to the second alternative suggested,—that the cotton trade must be returning to its original proportions, we have, in the first place, the official estimate, that out of more than half a million of cotton operatives more than 200,000 are at work full time, and another 100,000 are at work at least half time, and that the numbers of those having relief have fallen in the month of May nearly 70,000. The figures are as follows:—

	Working full time.	**4 or 5 days.**	**3 days.**	**2 and under.**	**Entirely out of work.**	**Total No. of operatives.**
May	205,978	57,982	57,016	14,773	191,199	526,948
April	192,527	56,152	57,155	16,434	215,512	537,780

The numbers in receipt of relief at the end of May were :—

	In receipt of parish relief.		Relieved by committees only.		Total.
April 25th. . . .	184,172	……	177,904	……	362,076
May 30th . . .	160,890	……	129,085	……	289,975

The *Times*, and some other persons occasionally, in estimating the numbers out of employment, state one or other of these figures *separately*, and quote the authority of Mr. Farnall or Mr. Maclure, as the case may be. (*Vide Times*, June 18.) But we must not deceive ourselves as to the real importance of this improvement. During the long continuance of a commercial crisis like this there will be from time to time an ebb and flow in production, and of course a rise in price of the product will be speedily followed by a larger manufacture; but it needs no argument to convince us that the vast cotton trade of England is virtually dependent on the low price of the manufactured article. Every penny added to the cost of the raw material or the production represents a great reduction in the consumption. That which has enabled our cotton fabrics to compete with the native products in all parts of the world, to supersede so many other materials, and to be consumed in such enormous quantities, is the fabulous cheapness of the piece complete. Destroy that, raise the price of calico 10, 20, or 30 per cent., and the Indian, the Chinaman, the African, the dwellers on a thousand coasts and islands, will no longer be clothed from Manchester. But the price of calico is now raised far above this point. It follows inevitably from this, that the recent vast consumption is for the present arrested.*

But if it be true that the cotton trade cannot resume its proportions till the price of the manufactured piece has fallen immensely, it seems equally certain that the price of the manufactured piece cannot descend to its former level except by an enormous and steady increase in the supply of the raw material. But the raw material, which used to vary in price from 6*d.* to 7*d.* per lb., now fluctuates at from 20*d.* to 23*d.* per lb. We all know why this is, and we are none of us ignorant that whilst in ordinary times there are some million and a half of bales in stock, there are now only 385,000 or so. After talking and scheming for two years, the supply of foreign cotton from all sources is still very inconsiderable. Contrary to the views of a certain

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* Plain cotton goods were exported to China as follows :—

1861	. . . .	160 million yards.
1862	. . . .	54 „ „
1863	. . . .	16 „ „

order of economists, cotton has not flowed in with the same regularity that its price has risen; for whereas this time last year cotton averaged little more than half its present price, the estimated stock in Liverpool is only 100,000 bales in advance of last year. The total import of cotton, again, during this year is only one-third higher than that of last year, whilst in neither year do the imports amount to more than a quarter of those of 1861. As a natural consequence of the high prices, the sales this year are lower than those of the last, whilst the quantity re-exported considerably exceeds that of last year. Indeed, this last item of re-exported cotton has risen to something like a third of the total imported. Great things have been promised and hoped from India; but no serious man can look for the settlement of the difficulty from thence. Indian cotton has yet to be grown.* At present we have the assurance that less Indian cotton is now afloat than there was this time last year, and that it does not cover the amount we export to other countries in six months. At the time we write, the estimates from Liverpool in bales are as follows:—

	Imports.	Stock.	Exports.	Afloat from India.
Jan. to June, 1862 .	462,000 ...	284,000 ...	171,000 ...	220,000
Jan. to June, 1863 .	689,000 ...	385,000 ...	205,000 ...	190,000

During 1860 the average consumption of cotton by the spinners was about 50,000 bales per week, at which rate our existing stock would be used up in about eight weeks, and the total quantity of cotton imported this year (less that re-exported) would be used up in about ten weeks. It is plain from this calculation that the present improvement in the manufacture has reached the furthest ~~limit~~ which the stock of cotton can warrant, and has, no doubt, far exceeded the limit which it can maintain.

In the face of these figures no reasonable man can feel the least security that any supply of cotton to equal that of recent years is, on the wildest anticipation, likely to be forthcoming from non-American sources for two years at the very least. But unless the supply reaches and steadily promises to remain at its recent level, the price, which is the principal object to be considered, must remain high, and whilst the price of cotton remains high the production must remain restricted. It is perfectly notorious that the enormous production of the years 1859 and 1860 far exceeded the demand of our customers all over the world, and that cotton goods have been bought cheaper at Bombay than at Manchester. If, in addition to this glut, twenty or thirty per cent. be added to the price of the goods, it would be madness to suppose that the production would not suffer to at least an equivalent amount. Cotton from India and Queensland is a matter which concerns the future. The question, so far as it relates to this and the ensuing year, concerns American cotton alone. For *unless the supply of the raw material is practically unlimited, the manufacture of cotton must inevitably be vastly reduced.*

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* That India has enormous powers of producing cotton, and would repay any outlay, is now abundantly clear. It is also as clear that however profitable to the speculator, the supply will not for this and the next year meet our wants. Roads, gins, contractors, harbours, &c., are as yet necessary. See pamphlets by F. C. Brown, of Tellicherry (King, Cornhill), and another by A. C. Brice, Director of the East India Cotton Agency (Smith and Elder).

As to the issue of the war in America (for to that it practically comes), we are all of us able to judge as well as, and perhaps rather better than, cotton-spinners. Fifty times from the issue of a battle which may be a mere drop in that ocean of blood, the partisans of North and of South have predicted the approach of peace; fifty times they have been proved utterly mistaken. Every fresh turn in this vast struggle shows us only the people of the South more resolutely set to their infernal project of founding a modern State on slavery, and the people of the North more resolutely set to purge this stigma from mankind. At the moment these lines are penned, all late events have tended to show the Republican party still more completely in the ascendant in the State, and the Union flag still more distinctly in the ascendant on the real key of the position—the Mississippi. But such successes of the Unionists, whilst they guarantee the continuance of their efforts, can blind no sober friend of their cause to the impossibility of their crushing for years and years to come the nefarious energy of the South. Certain it is that this dark contest must drag on for years. And no less certain that if it were to end by a miracle, its effects would be to leave the Cotton States exhausted, depopulated, disorganized, changed in character, and broken in credit. Cotton would again be grown, but slowly, precariously, and under new conditions. The first consequence of a peace succeeding a long war is commercial panic and agricultural distress. The peculiar features of this war would greatly increase both these results. The conclusion is irresistible, that come peace or come war to America, American cotton would be furnished in a vastly inferior supply.

With a moral certainty before us of a diminution in the cotton manufacture for some years, it would be almost trifling or insincere to point to the improved returns as indicating its speedy revival. There are causes enough to account for all the improvement that has taken place, and to make us treat it as of very minor and temporary importance. The increased high price of the product evidently makes production again for a time profitable. But whilst that price continues so high as to check consumption, production must soon again reach its limit. The moment it begins to increase, the price of the raw material necessarily rises and soon begins to check the increased production. Half the mills in Lancashire could no doubt supply all the manufactured goods that are demanded at the present high price, and half the mills of Lancashire are also able to work up more than all the cotton with which at present they could be supplied. The recent improvement in the manufacture is due only in part to the demand of the market, and we can see distinctly that that demand can be only a limited and precarious one. And in the peculiar circumstances of the case, the increased demand for the raw material of the manufacture does far more to raise its price, or in other words reduce its available amount, than it does to stimulate its supply.

The fact is, there are certain special reasons which account for the improved figures in the official returns. It is now some three or four months since the necessity for a large measure of emigration has been forced on public attention. It would be affectation to deny that the interests of the millowners on any revival of their trade would be seriously affected by any great diminution in the number of their workmen, and they have never even disguised their fear of such a result. Emigration has been even used towards them as a stimulus and threat, and though hardly ever openly opposed, has grown to be a sort of suppressed bugbear. It has thus become the manifest interest of the millowners to meet the growing tendency towards emigration by an improved condition of employment. It appears that by that tacit consent by which the operations of a great trade are frequently affected, a combined effort has been made since the opening of the year to put the best face on things and revive the drooping prospects of the "hands." Indeed, ~~we have~~ heard of cases in which some pressure has been put upon employers to re-open their mills for a time in the common interest of "keeping their hands together." It must also be remembered that during the same time systematic and gradual means have been adopted to remove from the lists of the relieving committees all those not directly affected by the cotton dearth, and thus large numbers have been struck off the roll of those dependent on the subscribed funds. As these were in many cases at the same time dependent on the Guardians of the Poor, they have not swelled the numbers of those dependent on the rates. There are some minor details of administration which tend to reduce the official lists of the distressed without in a corresponding degree reducing the distress. Of course the return of warm weather and the opening of spring employments have largely contributed to a favourable result. But all these circumstances amount only to this—that since Christmas a variety of causes have combined to reduce the numbers of the distressed, which do not represent any permanent provision for them for the future.

There is, unfortunately, another side to the case. Hitherto the other trades and manufactures of Lancashire have suffered singularly less than we might have expected. Occasion has even been taken of the forced inaction to build and prepare for fresh operations. Mr. Baker, the Inspector of Factories, in his official letter to the Secretary of State, speaks of new mills being erected at Bolton, Colne, Padiham, Burnley, and other places. Indeed, no one can pass through the cotton districts without remarking the same thing. But this incredible infatuation exists only on a very small scale: special circumstances, such as old contracts, explain the rest. It is perfectly impossible, that if the cotton manufacture is practically suspended for years, the other industry of the county should not be affected. Almost the whole activity of Lancashire depends on, and contributes to, the cotton production. Machine-making of all kinds, building of all kinds, the provision trade of all kinds, must stand or fall with it. Those giant young towns of the north have risen up like an exhalation from the ground solely at the call of the cotton manufacture. The cotton manufacture suspended, they have neither object nor reason of existence. It is obvious that it would not be immediately that this result would appear. The body is not dead because the heart has for a moment ceased to beat; but long-suspended animation must soon begin to affect the extremities; and another year or two of a stagnant trade in cotton must add to the distressed cotton operatives thousands of distressed operatives in all the other trades, and again swell the diminishing numbers of the unemployed. These are causes which will not begin to operate until after the close of the summer; but the prospect now before us is this—that during the course of the ensuing winter we shall be burdened with not merely a formidable proportion of the cotton operatives alone, but a heavy contingent also promiscuously drawn from the rest of the industry of Lancashire. We have, therefore, something like an absolute certainty that destitution on a large scale will exist for a long period yet in the cotton districts. What are the resources with which it is to be met? The last monthly returns of the Central Executive at Manchester show that a sum of 74,900*l.* was expended by them during the month of May. Supposing that this expenditure is very much reduced, and calculating the Mansion House and all other relief funds together, the relief could be carried on at the present scale for about seven or eight months longer. Carefully husbanded—that is to say, severely trying the exhausted strength of the sufferers—these sources combined would probably suffice to carry on the system of relief until the spring. When that period is reached, we have something like the certainty of having a vast concentrated population on our hands, the means by which they have been hitherto supplied drained dry, and a variety of causes again most probably increasing the numbers of the unemployed.

Whilst we freely admit the system of relief to have effected a very difficult task, and to have been administered on the whole with a great deal of skill, it is impossible to shut our eyes to the consequences of its long duration. That in every town and village of Lancashire men should have been found spontaneously to form themselves into committees, to give their time for months continuously to a very difficult and thankless task, to have had the skill and patience to organize the machinery by which about a million and a quarter sterling has been distributed by one hundred and seventy local committees in shillings and sixpences, for a period of sixteen or eighteen months, to have provided for the existence of vast bodies of people, 20,000 to 30,000 in a mass, without more than one serious breakdown—even if we could say nothing more than this of the local committees of relief, it would prove them to have a degree of public spirit and good sense which does high honour to the district which they have served. However great may have been the mistakes committed, whatever the disorders which have crept in, however mixed the motives of their action, the country will recognise a deep debt of gratitude to the men who have spontaneously taken on themselves so great a burden. As to the Central Executive Committee at Manchester, its whole administrative system, from the commencement of its duties to the present time, has been a model of successful work, which any public department of the State might study with advantage. Its operations have been expeditious, energetic, and uniform. The vast funds at its disposal have been economically administered, the accounts kept with the utmost clearness and completeness, and the cost of administration singularly small.* Manchester may well be proud of being able to improvise what amounts to an important department of State, charged with the care of our most populous district. But whilst doing full justice to that which has been done, we must not be blind to the very great evils attached to the permanence of this as of any system of relief; nor ought we to shut our eyes to the dangers we run in instituting a purely exceptional and unnatural state of industry.

This is not the place, if it would serve any good purpose, to point out the false position in which the relief committees are unavoidably but emphatically placed. But we must always remember that they stand on a precipice. Local and party jealousies there were, of course, sure to be. It is obvious that in towns and villages such as those of the northern counties, in which the struggles of the Church and other Dissenting congregations run very high, religious dissensions are inevitable. Now, of at least three or four of the town-committees not a single clergyman is a member. As they are, *cæteris paribus*, the most natural distributors of national gifts, it is clear that their absence is the effect of direct exclusion. It is also obvious that bodies formed mainly of manufacturers and those dependent on them cannot possibly undertake the virtual control of vast bodies of their own workpeople, with whom for generations they have, in the competition of the market, carried on a continued struggle, without giving rise to suspicion, discontent, and agitation. Unfortunately, it was also impossible, where the Guardians of the Poor have found themselves severely burdened and a concomitant relief beside them, that they should not attempt to throw as much as possible of the weight on the shoulders of the amateur board; nor was it in human nature that the latter should be slow to suspect the parish of a device to ease the rates at their expense. The consequence is, that in many places all confidence and joint action between the parishes and the relief committees is at an end. The very rules which the committees gradually adopted as measures of precaution led them into an embarrassing situation. Thus they made it a fundamental principle that no person should be relieved who had refused the offer of employment. In itself this rule, adopted from the Poor Law, seems most reasonable and salutary; but in the disturbed state of the cotton trade its results have been most important. The wages of the workman have practically suffered a great fall, not so much from the alteration of the price (all labour, with trifling exceptions, in the cotton manufacture is paid as [redacted]) as from the inferior quality of the material. The wages obtained by working Surat cotton vary immensely according to the quality of the material, the number of the thread spun (*i.e.* its coarseness or fineness), and the degree to which the machinery is adapted to the work. This variation may extend from a loss of 70 per cent. to a loss of 10 per cent. upon the total wages. There are, probably, few cases where the loss is not at least as great as the latter; and there are probably many cases in which the loss is even greater than the former per-centage. Nothing is more difficult than to establish such an average. In one mill, where a good quality of cotton is in use, the machinery has been adapted, and low counts are spun, as in some large mills at Oldham, the work done in the same number of hours may nearly reach what is the usual standard, and consequently the loss on wages will be small: in a neighbouring mill, from some special circumstance in the material, the manufacture, or the machinery, wages may be in some departments almost nominal. But it is our belief that, on the average, the loss of wages is about 30 or 40 per cent. There is no question that the labour is many times more severe, the loss of wages simply representing the extra work required to produce the same quantity of goods. Mr. Baker, in his letter to Sir G. Grey, tells us that a spinner showed him, from his books, that where he could spin 15,000 lbs. weight of yarn a week with American, he could only spin 7000 lbs. with Indian cotton. But there are plenty of cases to be met with (the *Times* has published several receipts for wages, showing a merely nominal price, 2*s.* or 1*s.* 6*d.*, &c., for the week's work,) in which, from extreme rottenness in the raw material, or some special circumstance, wages have been not merely below subsistence-point, but almost a mockery. But the committees once starting with the rule that they will not relieve any who refuse work, soon come to send the hands to work themselves, and become as it were middle-men of labour, and a system has gradually sprung up by which a manufacturer in need of labour simply sends to the nearest "school"—that is, relief authority—to send him so many "hands," named by himself or not, as the case may be. The "schoolmaster," or the relief committee, by their agents, send off the required number, whatever may be the conditions of the labour, whatever the wages they may receive, even though the wages might amount to less than the sum paid in relief. With such a machine at hand, it is of course inevitable that the relief fund should become a substitute for wages, and virtually act to reduce wages, by forcing men to take wages which in the ordinary competition of the market they would not accept (as being below subsistence point), and then artificially supporting them when in receipt of wages. The Central Executive have striven against the difficulty, but in vain. Local committees, either from want of care or intentionally, will insist on continuing the practice. Nothing is easier than to keep the exact facts from them, if they wish to know; as it is the apparent interest, both of the manufacturer and the operative, that the latter should be continued on the fund. What is and what is not a virtual supplementing of wages is so difficult a matter to ascertain, that it would involve a far greater extra labour than the local committees, if they desired to suppress the practice, are willing or able to give. There are said in the official returns to be some 526,000 operatives in all. Of these 320,000 are said to be working full or half time; yet the total numbers receiving relief are not 206,000, as we might expect, but 289,975. A large number of the unemployed are not reckoned as cotton workers at all, but so enormous a disproportion is very significant.

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* The total cost of administration, including advertising, has been less than one-half per cent. The monthly returns of Mr. Maclure, the able and energetic secretary of the Executive, are types of clear and trustworthy reports, affording us all the necessary data, and showing the state and working of the funds with entire truth and precision.

We have here all the evils of the old Poor Law. We are unhappily so familiar with what these were, and so well know the infinite ramifications in which they corrupt the whole industrial system, that there is no need to follow them out in detail. Suffice it to say that the public is taxed for the benefit of a certain class of employers; that production is carried on on a fictitious basis, which the natural prices of the market do not justify, by labour being *pro tanto* gratuitously supplied by the community; that the rates of wages cease to be determined by the ordinary laws of supply and demand; that the employer loses character and the employed loses self-respect, energy, and prudence. In a word, pauperism advances, and in the long run production is proportionately checked. This is a serious calamity, but far from an imaginary danger; for if the Lancashire cotton-spinners systematically pay their workpeople at rates at which they cannot live (it is obviously of no importance whether those rates are the old rates for piecework or not), and at the same time these people are supported out of a public purse, it is as certain that the cotton trade must become disorganized and decay, as it is that the systematic employment of farm labourers who are dependent on the rates is the surest sign of agricultural degradation.

There are other evils to contend with which have arisen out of the extension of the system of the Poor Law to a state of things it never was designed to meet. The first of these is what has been called the Labour Test. That the principle of requiring work in return for relief should be necessary in dealing with incorrigible vagrants is intelligible. To apply it rigorously to men whose whole life has been one of the noblest industry and independence is an utter perversion of sense. It could only have been ventured on by men to whom the relief of the poor had become a mere system of routine. Men at least as proud, as honourable, and as well cultivated as the average of the Guardians of the Poor have been systematically set to the vilest, roughest, and most irksome of all work—crank-work, as it were—alongside the worst ruffians and vagrants in the country, and driven in gangs to labour, which with them, as with us, is synonymous with prison discipline. Which of us, reduced to sudden bankruptcy by a paramount calamity, could patiently endure to be harnessed to a truck or to break stones with gaol-birds as a condition of receiving 2*s.* 6*d.* a week? The Poor Law regarding paupers as so much stagnant labour to be forced back into the labour market, acts like a force-pump to screw the idle into industry. As a safeguard against imposition in ordinary times, it has its place; but to put such a screw upon high-minded and thrifty men is a cruel piece of pedantry which no platitude can justify. As a matter of fact the exaction of a degrading form of labour has caused, and is destined to cause, wide and general irritation. The committees of relief have not had the power nor, we may hope, the will to venture directly on this stupid outrage; but their own imitation of the Poor-law principle, the "school-system," has quite worked all the good it can possibly effect. During the winter, the warm school-room in an empty mill may have been a well-devised retreat for the men. But it has now become an irksome form. Nothing whatever is learned. The men look on it solely as a confinement. They are brought together irritated and jaded, and any consequences from their frequently meeting in bodies, which it was hoped the system would avert, it now directly tends to produce.

Nor must we forget the serious dangers that exist where such immense control over bodies of men is assumed by men casually chosen, or almost self-elected, for the task. The power of the committees is necessarily enormous. With 20,000 or 30,000 human beings who have lived with the highest notions of their own independence suddenly cast on their hands, dependent on them for the barest food, the simplest clothing, and every act and detail of life, their functions are unlike any but those of the governor of a besieged town or the head of a vast prison. The stroke of their pens fixes the amount, the time, the place, the conditions of the daily dole. They fix the school which they are to attend, the hour, the mode and the nature of their employment. A trifling order as to the distribution of food or the occupation of their day may cause above 1000 weary and despondent men a long walk or an extra fast. The Sepoy revolt was said to have been occasioned by the serving out of greased cartridges. Certainly a power so immense, so liable to abuse, and so artificial, ought not to be permitted to harden into a system.

But even if these special evils were absent, even if the relief funds [redacted] be again renewed, which is really out of the question, it requires little reflection to tell us what must be the inevitable consequences of a long continuance of the present system. We have been told that the people have been kept in health. Certainly the death-rate has not been in any sensible degree increased; and even by the cessation of the employment of women, it has been in the most striking manner reduced. But if the great mass of the people have been sustained in life, there have been, from whatever cause, fearful instances of destitution. From reluctance to accept relief in the first instance, from the working of special rules, from isolated cases of oppression and mal-administration, there have been, perhaps unavoidably, in every locality, cases of families or individuals undergoing the extremities of hunger. But even without this, we are not to suppose that the condition of the rest has been one of comfort. The average rates of relief from all sources, including wages (where wages have been received), is, as the official reports tell us, rather more than 2*s.* a head per week. In the case of individuals or small families it is somewhat higher. This is sufficiently small in itself, even as a bare support of life. Few who read these pages would know how to live, month after month, upon 2*s.* 6*d.* a week; or how to keep three adults on 6*s.* 6*d.* Still, in the main, it has been done. We must remember that from this sum all consideration of rent is excluded. This is a leading feature of the Poor-law system, of which it may possibly be a necessary part. An industrious artisan, who comes upon the parish in ordinary times, will usually succeed in getting credit for his rent. The incorrigible pauper may possibly be turned out of the parish by his landlord. Thus, in either alternative, there is something to be said for the Poor-law rule in ordinary cases. But the Lancashire crisis is not an ordinary case, and the rule loses all meaning and value when applied to it. The per-centage of incorrigible paupers is extremely small; and the industrious class have no future prospect of repaying their rent. But it is invariably repeated, rents are not paid at all. Unfortunately, this is not true. Rents in a large number of cases (probably a quarter) are paid. It is clear that they must be paid in many. It would be a very great calamity to the district if they were not. Rents are, to a great extent (generally, at least, one half in every large town), owned by very small tradesmen, overlookers, and workmen who have invested in them the savings of years. To stop these altogether would at once reduce a meritorious class of men to destitution. Again, where the occupiers are in the employment of their own landlord, a frequent case, rents have been uniformly deducted from the wages, so long as any have been paid, to whatever those wages may have amounted. Employers have uniformly foregone rents where the tenant was out of work; but directly he resumes work they have demanded rent. Beside this, nothing is more common than for single persons and small families to occupy part of the cottage of the operative as a lodger. In these cases rent has been paid in whole or in part, or has produced much suffering if it has not been paid.

We ought therefore for a considerable per-centage of the cases to deduct from the 2*s.* per head the rent, which is actually, if not theoretically paid. But where this is not the case the scale of support simply implies a diet of soup and bread. Solid meat forms no part of the relief maintenance. Tea, sugar, milk, butter, or cheese can obviously be added only in small quantities. Clothes have been distributed in addition to the allowance, but it is plain they cannot be supplied so regularly and equally as food. There would of course be washing, and many smaller articles of clothing also to come out of the weekly dole. Then soap, candles, thread, and fifty small necessaries of the humblest cottage, must be added to the list. All of these, then, together with food, have to be supplied out of the weekly allowance of 2*s.* This, it must be remembered, has been the lot of that dense population not for a few weeks and months, but for more than a year. Nor has it befallen men who have been accustomed to great privations. It comes upon men who have for two generations lived in something like luxury, where the weekly earnings of a man average 22*s.* to 25*s.*, and are equivalent to 28*s.* in London, and where families have frequently been earning 3*l.* and even 4*l.* a week.

To compare a class of this kind to the condition of agricultural labourers, and to tell us that in Dorsetshire a family of six can live on 10*s.* a week, and therefore the cotton spinners of Lancashire can do the same, is simply sophistry. Prices, the standard of comfort, the circumstances, are totally different. Possibly a family in an Irish cabin can live upon much less. There is a nominal rent, a bit of garden ground, a pig, and a kettle of potatoes. True it is that life may be supported on these terms, and yet prove a very doubtful boon. To subject the prosperous workmen of Lancashire to years of an existence like this, is to expose them to a pressure which crushes out everything but the animal craving for food. Such a system, if prolonged, would possibly preserve the "hands" alive. But the real Lancashire workman it would not preserve. The intelligence, energy, and thrift which have made the country what it is, would hardly survive the ordeal of reducing so large a part of its population to the condition of Dorsetshire or Tipperary.

Unhappily, these calculations as to the necessary support of life are based on a much too confident and ready use of that convenient statistical instrument—the average. An average in social matters (as all who speculate on them know) is most valuable as a suggestion—but most dangerous as a rule of action. Unfortunately, practical administrators who are forced to use figures largely, are too apt to overlook the extreme imperfection of the instrument. The average calculation for the minimum of food may be most useful as a guide in the economical distribution of relief, but it may be the intensest suffering to all who happen to be at one of the extremes. An average incidence of taxation is most valuable to a financier, but hard cases of taxation are inconvenient, not fatal. But the present is a matter of life and death. To such the use of an average as a rule should be accompanied with the most thorough system of exceptions and qualifications. To say that 300,000 persons can be maintained on an average upon 2*s.* a head per week, means simply that a certain proportion could be maintained on less, and that a certain proportion can only be maintained on more. But to limit all to this rate (and no exception is made except the slight increase of the allowance to a single individual) is to subject a certain class to severe privations, and to leave them below the standard requisite for health. Now every district visitor, every clergyman in the distressed districts, can at once point to many cases where this rule implies the acutest form of destitution. Such a Procrustean system may be unavoidable and partial, but the sufferings it inflicts must warn us against allowing it to become permanent.

But even if it were strictly true that the population has been supported in health without destitution, we must not forget what even this implies. It of course involves the suspension of all the institutions and habits which give their character to the operatives of the North. The associations in which their savings were invested, their social intercourse promoted, education extended, building societies, co-operative stores, mechanics' institutes, musical meetings, friendly and provident societies, clubs, classes, and libraries cannot long exist in the midst of widespread destitution. These things cannot be supported out of 2*s.* a week. That they have not already disappeared is proof of their uncommon vigour, and the hold they have on the people. But though they have hitherto maintained a struggling existence, they cannot continue indefinitely. Those who have paid little attention to the working of these societies can have little notion of their amazing number, extent, and activity, and how very large a part they play in the social development of the higher class of our artisans. They supply a means of general cultivation quite as varied and attractive as that of any other class of society, and one which is, moreover, far more social in its action, and exercises a stronger influence over their life.

This being the problem to be solved, it remains for us to ask what are the means of meeting it. Two principal ones are before us—emigration and local employment. Now we are persuaded that the truth of the matter is that *both* are needed. These do not form an alternative. They supply and aid each other. Emigration is needed, because for years to come the cotton manufacture must fall short of its recent limit. Local employment is needed, because emigration can give very slight relief. The very best preparation for emigration is the employment of the operatives on outdoor labour. The best stimulus to urge the local authorities into applying the scheme before them would be a large measure of emigration. Thus the two measures do not clash, but co-operate. Emigration at first met with tacit but general disfavour amongst the manufacturing class. But the most timid and most shortsighted of them must now perceive that no possible limit to which emigration could be carried would remove anything like that surplus population which must for years continue to be a burden on their property. It must strike the yellow eye of avarice itself that the presence of a great surplus population would by no means compensate the permanent increase of the rates and the degradation of the workers. In a word, emigration may be, and ought to be, stimulated to the farthest point; for the utmost that can be done will only just suffice to give any adequate relief.

There is not, happily, the least ground for assuming that the mill-owners, as a class, are preparing to give any illiberal opposition to emigration. On the contrary, many of them have conspicuously promoted it, and most of the leading members of the relief committees are active supporters of emigration. But more than this is needed of them. Every far-sighted employer of labour must see that under circumstances the most conceivably favourable, the cotton districts for many years will contain a surplus population of 10 or 20 per cent. at the least. That surplus will do a great deal more than render labour cheap and bring down wages. It will harden into a settled pauper body which will not be reduced for a generation; it will permanently affect the value of property; it will demoralize the labouring population, and injure the character of the whole class. The east end of London, Manchester, Liverpool, and Glasgow, all have such a class, and show how inveterate a plague it becomes. The towns and villages of Lancashire, hitherto singularly free from this formidable social gangrene, are now threatened with it in an acute form. Nothing can save them from it but a considerable measure of depletion. There is a certain section of the operatives, especially among women and single men, very fit and willing to emigrate. The local employers ought, if they follow at once their duty and their interest, to feel that the removal of this class under conditions as promising as can be obtained, is as much their business as that of administering relief to the rest. But the most effectual way in which they can promote this result, is by freely giving facilities to all who desire to accept it. If they neglect to do this heartily, seriously, and systematically, they will be responsible for a great deterioration in the whole character of the cotton manufacture.

But if we hear little now of those short-sighted fears which discouraged emigration at the outset, it is to be hoped that we have heard the last of the idle talk about settling the cotton difficulty by the depopulation of Lancashire. To remove the 300,000 unemployed operatives to Australia would cost (at 15*l*. per head, the official estimate) about three millions sterling, to provide adequately for their reception and establishment in the colony would cost about as much more.* All our colonies over the world are in no position to take such a sudden increase of immigrants. If that were done, supposing it could be done, the cotton manufacture of the country would never be able, even under favourable conditions, to revive. Besides this, the people as a body are not anxious, and often not willing, to go. The best of them are men of as strong interest in their country, county, and town as any of their wealthier fellow-citizens. Nothing but absolute famine would drive them as a body to leave all that they have known at home, and to face the unknown risks of a new world, with which they are peculiarly unfitted to contend. After all the talking about the facilities for emigration, the numbers of genuine factory operatives who have as yet actually started may be numbered by hundreds rather than thousands. In a word, wholesale emigration is no specific for the cotton crisis, firstly, because it would be fatal to capitalist and workman; secondly, because it is repugnant to both; lastly, if it were not, because it is impossible.

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* The total numbers of emigrants in 1861 amounted only to 91,770, of whom 49,764 were received by America.

We turn then to the second alternative, which is, after all, the only one which meets the whole case—that of employment at wages upon public improvements. After long consideration and delay, a plan has been devised by the Government, by which local bodies of any description, corporations, boards of health, vestries, elected committees, or overseers of the poor, may employ the operatives upon works of a public character at money lent by the State, at a low rate of interest, on the security of the rates. The principal questions to consider with regard to this scheme are these:—What are the works to be done?—Where are the labourers fit to do it?—And what machinery and resources do the towns and places possess to carry them out?—As to the first of these questions—What are the public works to be done? The question should rather be—What is not to be done? Every one who has visited the cotton districts even cursorily knows that those great and wealthy towns are in all the outward signs of civilization far below the rest of the country. The meanest and poorest country town is often better paved, better drained, and better provided as a habitation of civilized man than the great centres of industry which constitute so large a part of the wealth, influence, and energy of England. These great towns have all been greatly expanded and often wholly created within this century by the single impetus of the cotton manufacture.

A mill has been built, and a swarm of cottages have clustered round it. More mills and more cottages have been added. So have they gone on being crowded more and more closely, without attention to convenience, health, or comfort. Such is the history of the formation of one of these new cities. Towns of 30,000 or

40,000 inhabitants, of an annual value of half-a-million, may be seen to be almost without streets, without water-supply, without a public place or walk, with an unbanked river, half watercourse half drain, winding through them, with open spaces piled with rubbish or cinders, broken roads, unpaved alleys, and open sewers. Nothing so wretched, unclean, and unsightly is to be found in civilized Europe. A Londoner might get some idea of them if he were to conceive some of the worst parts of Bethnal Green, Wapping, and Lambeth swept up by a whirlwind and shaken down at random in the midst of a forest of factory chimneys. Nor is it merely a sentimental dislike of dismal ugliness that we are expressing, though even this is something; for it is impossible that any common feeling or civic spirit whatever can spring up in the midst of a chaos of brick walls, or that they could even form what we call a town, any more than the huts of so many Californian gold-diggers. But apart from all æsthetic considerations, the state of these towns is injurious to human life and to every sort of improvement. In spite of its enormous size, and the special circumstances which affect great capitals, the death-rate of London is considerably below that of most of these manufacturing towns, whilst that of the villages within a few miles of them is 20 or 30 per cent. less.* Of course this high death-rate represents its due proportion of disease, low physical condition, and debility. The whole of this must be charged against the system which has thrown up these vast hives, without a single consideration of the commonest of human wants. The rapidity of their growth, the high price of labour, and the general struggle of competition, account for, but do not excuse, this state of things. But to continue it when an opportunity occurs to remove it would be unjustifiable. If they cannot now make an effort to place themselves on a level with the rest of the community, they must cease hereafter to lay claim to any position or influence in the country. Neither wealth nor numbers in this country will secure any sort of political weight to bodies or persons who prove to be flagrantly devoid of public spirit and self-respect.

So far as to the great cities of the district; but, it must always be remembered, that it may be divided into the urban and the semi-rural portions. About one-half of the cotton population is occupied in the latter. There the conditions are different. The crowding is not so excessive; the causes of disease fewer; the death-rate very much lower; and instead of a corporation or elected local board, the management of affairs is in the hands of a few great employers and landowners. The same public works are not required there as in great towns, and the rates would not justify or bear the burden of executing them. Something, however, is to be done there. In most of these places roads are absolutely essential, and where they are developing into towns much is needed to give them shape. But the principal directions in which in these districts labour could be applied, is on the surrounding country. The populous villages and scattered factories touch, in most cases, on the edge of large tracts of moor and undrained unproductive land. Within reach of their homes the men could be most profitably employed in permanent agricultural improvement, which has only been not undertaken before because labour was too dear to repay the outlay of capital. By the clauses of the new Act this will be possible. Local bodies are empowered to make agreements with landowners for the improvement of the lands, the cost of which is to be placed on the inheritance. The extent of land capable of cultivation, the various works to be done, and the facilities given for undertaking them are so great, that not a single semi-rural district in Lancashire need find any difficulty in disposing of the whole of its unemployed men. But there is another, and perhaps a more important opening at their disposal. By the provisions of the new Act, local bodies and boards may, for its purposes, unite or agree to execute works in common. Thus a large proportion of the rural operatives can be brought in to execute the works needed in the towns. They form, of course, the part of the unemployed population most fit in every way for out-door labour; and the facilities for access to the principal towns by railway are so great, that no great displacement would be needed to put them to work away from their homes.

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* The death-rate per 1000 is: England, 22; Dorking, 16; London, 24; Manchester, 30.

The report of Mr. Rawlinson, the engineer sent down by the Government to report on the works which the district requires, will give us the best idea of the way in which the scheme might be applied. Thus he says, as to Ashton-under-Lyne:—

"Additional works may, with advantage, be undertaken, viz.:—

	Estimated at
Main sewage	£5,000
Additional water supply	10,000
Road and street improvements . . .	10,000
Lowering Queen-street, &c.	5,000
Public park	10,000
	£40,000

"A new cemetery is also said to be required.

"Under the powers of the Local Government Act, there may be borrowed an additional sum of 89,620*l.*"

For Blackburn Mr. Rawlinson's estimate is :—

Existing debt	£107,800
Sum which might be borrowed under Local Government Act .	182,200

	Lineal yards.
Streets neither sewered nor paved	3310
Streets sewered, but not formed and paved . .	3985
	7295

"To sewer, form, pave, and complete these streets will cost about 20,000*l*. Some twelve miles of streets are only partially completed, and about twelve miles of main sewers are required in addition to the work done. A sum of 50,000*l*. may be expended on these streets or sewers, or 70,000*l*. in the whole may be profitably expended in Blackburn, on public and on private account.

"In Oldham main sewers are required, street improvements and a public park. Some 100,000*l*. may be advantageously expended in Oldham, if work required to be done can be legally undertaken at once.

"At Glossop there is no general system of main sewerage nor drainage.

"At Rochdale main sewers are required. Streets and roads may be improved.

"At Stockport main sewers require to be completed. Streets and roads require to be formed, improved, and paved. The river requires to be cleansed.

"In the several towns of Accrington, Burnley, Bolton, Bacup, Chorlton, Croxton, Denton, Over Darwen, and Wigan, works of improvement are required, and will be undertaken if legal and financial difficulties can be removed."

So far as to the question of the work requisite to be done. How far the cotton operatives are capable of being thus employed is another question. But no one who knows them and their habits can doubt that a large proportion of them are. There are still some 50,000 or 60,000 able-bodied men out of employment. Of these, a large proportion—at least half—belong to the semi-rural districts, have been from time to time engaged in outdoor work, possess and cultivate gardens, and are of the average health and strength. No doubt in the large towns a large percentage are unfit for severe manual labour; but the best proof of the fitness of the majority is the fact that work has been practically introduced, and they have proved quite competent workers. Wherever legitimate wages have been paid, it has been found that they have earned in a few weeks' practice very nearly the ordinary wages of a labourer estimated by piece-work. At a great many places men have been set to work on a small scale by neighbouring proprietors, and have proved to have performed the task efficiently. Competent engineers, who have watched them at work, report that their superior intelligence and adaptability more than made up any deficiency in manual strength. The opinion of Mr. Rawlinson is equally strong. He says, "The best of the cotton operatives both can and will do a fair day's work for a fair day's wages. This I know by past and by present experience." "Much of the money required will necessarily be expended on skilled labour and on materials. But within one month after commencing fairly to work, the best of the distressed cotton operatives will have become, in a degree, 'skilled labourers' in excavating, in trenching, and in street and road-forming. There are difficulties to be overcome; but most of these difficulties rest with the local authorities. But a vast amount of useful work may be beneficially undertaken, and be executed by the best of the distressed men out of employment." Any one who knows the persevering character and the energy of the Lancashire operative will feel little doubt of his seizing the opportunity of work. To give him the means of learning skill as a labourer, will be the best step towards fitting him for emigration, should the future of the cotton trade induce him hereafter to emigrate; and will be the best means also of enabling him to carry his labour to a better market in this country if his own prove permanently overcrowded.

One of the first of the popular impressions respecting Lancashire which it is desirable to expel, is that which treats it and views it as a uniform whole. There is a vague idea in the south of the county forming a separate community with a peculiar but common mode of life, every member of which lives under precisely similar conditions, and has precisely similar ideas. Even persons who have passed over Lancashire in railways, and spent a few hours in Manchester, have only a dim recollection of blackened towns, chimneys, and sickly-looking people. To this is added the coloured pictures of a few novels "with a purpose;" and the result is the popular belief that the whole cotton industry of the country is carried on in dense and deadly towns by an emaciated population in the worst condition of squalor and suffering. These things unquestionably exist to a degree most painful to contemplate; but so do their exact opposites exist. The real fact is, that Lancashire, being simply a considerable piece of England, combines most of the features and characters which England itself presents; and the cotton manufacture itself exhibits almost every known mode of existence, rural as well as urban; every possible gradation of comfort, from luxury and cultivation down to bestial indigence; every quality, which is the honour as well as the stigma of industry. There are, indeed, vast and hideous cities like Ashton and Oldham, where the cotton-workers are massed in ill-drained alleys, where the standard of health and strength is strikingly low, and there is a large element of a brutalized and indigent population—the offscourings of Ireland and the agricultural counties. But it is no less true, that far more than half the cotton-workers are scattered in small towns, villages, and even isolated factories, spread over the face of what is, in part, one of the finest, healthiest, and richest districts in England. Their condition of life approaches far nearer to that of a rural than a town population. They live often in pure air, with pure water and abundant room. They came from and easily return to agricultural labour. For the most part they cultivate a piece of land, or attend a garden with a few flowers and vegetables. Such, for the most part, are of genuine English breed, chiefly from Lancashire itself, or the adjoining counties. They have lived there for generations, and have taken root on the spot, which they not unfrequently regard more with the feelings of the country yeoman than with the dull eye of the dweller in towns. The standard of health is high, and it would not be difficult to find amongst them models of physical power. Their language, names, looks, and the aspect of their homes, at once show the indigenous race in strong contrast to the imported and foreign element which in most of the cities the factory system has introduced. They are the children of those yeomen and labourers who lived on the moors of Lancashire and Yorkshire when they were as yet mere grazing grounds. The factory system has slowly followed up the banks of the hill-streams, into the waste woodlands, climbed the hill-sides, and penetrated into wooded valleys—has drawn these people from agricultural life into its sphere, but has not altogether absorbed them. The facilities for emigrating have not been in such districts very great; the demand for labour has far exceeded the supply, and the wages of labour have been very high. Under the influence of all these causes combined, there has thus grown up a healthy, industrious native population, strongly attached to their own locality, and far from averse to outdoor labour; and at the same time brought up with habits of comfort, and even cultivation, exceeding anything else which is obtained by working people in this, or perhaps any European country. Those who know the manufacturing villages which are spread along the glens and moors in the uplands of Lancashire and the West Riding, have seen the operatives of the better class well housed in solid stone two-storied houses, well furnished and stocked; families well fed and well clothed; music almost universally cultivated; excellent choral singing; a horn, violin, or even a piano in the house; no small store of books; highly developed habits of social and intellectual co-operation, and a general standard of comfort and cultivation, decidedly exceeding that of the smaller shopkeepers of the south. This is the condition of life largely intermingled with the stunted and stricken population, the wretchedness and vice, and the helpless degradation which the larger cities show. In every part of the Lancashire difficulty we must remember both. Emigration, dispersion, public labour, relief, and pauperism, are questions which are entirely inverted as we regard them from the one side or the other. Lancashire is a little England, and must not be dealt with as a special order.

There being, indeed, no lack of works to be done, and no lack of workers to complete them, it only remains to consider the facilities which the local bodies now possess. A series of Acts, the Public Health Act, 11 and 12 Vict. c. 63, the Local Government Act, 21 and 22 Vict. c. 98, and others, have already given ample powers to corporations or an elected board representing the ratepayers of any district, whether forming a place with a recognised boundary or not, and either by joining with other places or separately, to resolve by a majority to levy a rate on the district for the purpose of executing a variety of public works, including almost every conceivable requirement for a town or a rural district. By another series of Acts, of which 24 and 25 Vict. c. 80 is the most important, power is given to the Commissioners of the Treasury to advance certain sums on loan out of the Consolidated Fund, for the completion of specified works of public benefit. The purport of the Act before the House of Commons at the time these pages are written, and which, before they are printed, will probably be virtually, with some modifications, law, is to enlarge and consolidate the powers given to local bodies to rate the district they represent for public purposes; to give facilities for the exercise of these powers, and add to them still further range, and at the same time to extend the objects for which advances are authorized out of the Consolidated Fund. The objects now are the sewerage, drainage, lighting, and water supply, scavenging and cleansing, regulation of new streets, widening and improving old streets, removing of obstructions and nuisances, creating public walks, parks, and grounds, widening, cleansing, and improving any river or watercourse. The bodies capable of undertaking these works are corporations in corporate boroughs; elsewhere, commissioners elected to form a local board, or a board elected by ratepayers and owners of any existing or artificial district whatever, or the overseers of the poor. These bodies are empowered to unite with any person or authority interested in property adjoining, or by agreement, to execute, for the owners of property, improvements on private estates. The sums are to be advanced by the Treasury Commissioners by instalments, all to bear interest at 3½ per cent., and are to be secured by a charge upon the rates. In order to facilitate the adoption of the Act, the periods required for notice, appeal, and confirmation, are reduced, so that practically not a month need elapse before the Act can be tested in practice. The effect of the Act, taken with the series of Acts which it extends, is this—that every town, every district, even any aggregate of houses, in the cotton districts, can obtain grants at low interest to execute public works of almost any kind which their local circumstances require.

It is at once difficult and useless to discuss an Act still under modification; but the principle involved in it appears to us a sound and a safe one, and to strike at the root of the matter. We have little criticism to make, except one which may seem ungracious—that it ought to have been done long ago. The necessity existed six months back as strongly as it does now. It was just as obvious then as now that something must be done. It would have been far better had not the valuable springtime been wasted between the State and the corporations haggling as to the easiest terms on which they could obtain the result both wished. If the Government intended to lend money for the purpose of public works, they should have distinctly stated so when they suggested them to be begun. The point, however, which now concerns us is, that they now propose to do so. It rests with the local bodies frankly to accept the proposal. The most jealous horror of State interference can hardly suspect a plan which carries to the extreme the spirit of local administration. The whole of the works to be done must be voted, selected, carried on, and paid for by the ratepayers and owners of the district which undertakes them. The part of the State is confined to supplying the funds at a rate of interest at least 1 per cent. below the market rate. If the scheme be adopted, the bulk of the able-bodied men amongst the factory operatives will be at once restored to their natural condition. They might be employed, with profit perhaps; for two years; at the end of that time the supply of cotton will no doubt gradually and steadily improve; if it does not, the operatives will have been gradually prepared for other employment in this country or the colonies. The relief funds will have been eased too, and can be devoted chiefly to maintain the women and children. It will be also possible, with the new facilities in the hands of the committees, to find some remunerative and useful employment for the women, by enabling them, on a far larger scale than has been done, to work up materials for clothing. Nothing but a return, however partial, to a payment of wages, can restore the tone of the cotton-workers. Every man receiving legitimate wages is at once able to draw, on the average, three others off the relief fund, and support them in independence. Thus, 1000*l.* paid in wages to the heads of families would go very nearly as far as 1000*l.* paid to them and their families in relief, and the moral effect of it would be incalculably greater. In a word, the rusting machinery of our great cotton-producing system would be called into action, and its ramifications again work in harmony together.

To the men themselves the plan of giving them employment in the open air would come as a great boon. They are eager for it: it is an idea which originally can be traced back to them and to their leaders. Months ago, we heard the scheme of the State enabling the operatives to be placed upon useful outdoor work, urged at public meetings of the men themselves. The men speak with ridicule of the notion that they are not fit and willing to undertake it. They would feel that every stroke of work done was a worthy memorial of a time of suffering nobly endured and met, and that it was adding permanent advantage to their own homes and towns. Men take a pride in toiling in that which they are personally to enjoy or use, and every month would render them more like skilled workmen, and give them a fresh chance of occupation. No doubt much of the sum expended would be consumed in skilled labour; and in the precarious condition of the market for every class of industry through the cotton district, no more desirable end could be aimed at.

It may be worth while to turn to the way in which this crisis has been met in Franc[illegible] and for that purpose we shall use some information supplied us by one of the most eminent of the manufacturers of Normandy. The proportionate loss of employment there is as great, or even greater, than in Lan[illegible]; for we are told that in the country two-thirds, in the towns one-half, of the workpeople are unemployed. In Normandy, indeed, no less than 40,000 heads of families are out of work. In France, we have been often assured, no public subscriptions to any great extent have been made, but they have amounted to 2,000,000 francs, or 80,000*l.* But the mode in which the distress has been dealt with in France is eminently characteristic. In the first place, private charity in the towns, the manufactories to a small extent, and other local bodies, have answered the purposes of our Poor-law and relief fund. Then the greater versatility of the French workmen, and the smaller extent of the towns, and their late growth and formation, has enabled numbers to be drained into the country who have returned to agricultural labour, which they have only lately or partially left; a certain number have found work in private houses, and others in various trades. Thus in themselves the special arrangements of industry in France, and the facilities for temporary agricultural employment, have removed the principal burden of the distress.

But the characteristic mode of relief which has been thus applied is that of Government intervention. The State, acting through the "Corps Législatif," has voted a subvention of 7,000,000 francs (280,000*l.*) for the execution of public works. This sum has been devoted to the employment of the operatives in making roads, which are under the direction of the Inspector of Roads. All those who are able to work receive pay amounting to one-and-a-half francs per diem (about half the pay in the cotton mills, two francs being the day's pay of the ordinary labourer in the district). The work has been well received, and is popular. The open-air exercise has strengthened the men, and made them willing and competent to continue outdoor labour if it become necessary, and the cotton dearth still continue. We have the assurance of local authority that the works executed by these operatives are in general well carried out. Such is a sketch of the machinery by which in a neighbouring country a great crisis has been met. We are accustomed to say with truth that their rigid municipal centralization, and their loss of political freedom, has crushed out the local energy by which material and social results are obtained. They have no system of parish relief —they have neither the energy nor the wealth to subscribe the vast sums we have collected. But in spite of this they have met a difficulty, whilst we have only talked about it. We have kept our people at the dreary ebb of pauperism; they have retained them in productive industry.

This, and this only, can save us from a great national calamity —the ultimate pauperization of a noble part of our people. Only those who have mixed with the true Lancashire operative in his home, seen his patience, courage, sense, and dignity in distress, his sagacity, energy, and social spirit in prosperity, who have known and welcomed the shrewd, homely phrase, the serious and manly look, the instinct of justice and union, can form a true estimate of the loss this country would sustain were the tone of that society permanently brought low. There are lower interests and more obvious dangers to be considered. Those 300,000 men, women, and children by law must not starve. They must be fed—they have this right by reason and by statute. Slowly and sadly the weight of pauperism must, if it be not dealt with at once, settle down upon and blight that country. Property will be saddled indefinitely. Houses will be unoccupied or valueless, shops will close, mills will fail, one after another each trade there will feel the plague, and the whole framework of its industry will be tainted. Those who reared that system of industry are bound by every rule of common sense, by honour and by self-interest alike, to maintain it. Those operatives have paramount claims on them. The employer induced them to leave their homes in the country villages around. Their labour was given freely. No wages could really pay the conscientious zeal with which they have toiled in the common work. By their willing and unbought labour those vast masses of capital have been accumulated, which can now contribute to the public good most directly by helping to maintain those who created them.

We know well the steps through which the resolute and struggling artisan sinks down into the mere recipient of relief. They have been kept in health we are assured. Till now, in great measure they have. But let us not forget when we say this, that we mean that they have been living on month after month—we may now say year after year—upon threepence half-penny a day. Human nature can bear a great strain—but how many years can it bear a strain like this? Beneath it all instincts must be crushed but the simple instinct for food. The institutions, habits, and ideas which made the Lancashire workman full of thrift, order, and intelligence, will be absorbed in mere animal want. Clubs, building societies, musical and educational associations, all the ordinary intellectual pursuits, the social gatherings, must end in extinction or suspension. The institutions which fostered industry, and made men careful and peaceful, will die out. The old standard of comfort, the essential element of improvement, is more and more lost. Thus it is that all that calls out action and thought is suspended, the necessities of animal life become all-absorbing. And all that made those men useful to their country, moderate and active citizens, ingeni[illegible] and untiring workmen, all that made the Lancashire operative the type of English skill, endurance, and self-improvement, is being drained out of their veins. We all know what settled pauperism means. We know the apathy and recklessness it implies. It is not impossible to create this loathsome state. Mental, moral, and physical suffering combined will go far to produce it. To keep for twelve months longer hundreds of thousands upon the bare subsistence allowance of bread, gruel, and soup, would do something to crush out of them everything but the brute's craving for food.

Whatever was its original purpose, there has been a gradual assimilation of the Relief Fund to the conditions of parish allowance. The extension of the labour or school test, reduction of the scale, non-allowance for rent, mark the process by which the sums subscribed by the nation are becoming a mere supplemental poor-rate. The extension of the system would involve a general discontent which would certainly lead to disorders. Even if the public peace were preserved, it seems to us that the pressure which the poor-law system necessarily exerts would much aggravate the risk of pauperism. To start with the assumption that the great bulk of the unemployed need such a pressure, appears to us a course as unjust as it is dangerous. For the faults of the pauperized minority it would be an evil plan to expose the undegraded majority to sink into a similar condition. Men can endure want without losing self-respect for a time. Can the population of a country be systematically treated as paupers, and long retain the healthy instincts of industry?

If pauperism once sets in, it must spread like typhus. The standard of comfort and industry once lost, a generation may be required to restore it. We all see the chronic misery of parts of Ireland, the hopeless want of Spitalfields, and the settled degradation of the Dorsetshire labourer. The fall of a great English county into anything resembling such a state would be an abiding national calamity. The progress and civilization of a great part of our people would be stopped; vice, idleness, and ignorance would extend their area; a permanent rise in the poor-rates would affect all property; the demoralization of the workers would affect the whole character of our manufactures. In place of a most intelligent, thrifty, and orderly community whose prosperity was the best security for peace, we should have one of a lower tone, less capable of intelligent labour, less easy to guide and improve, prone to riot, sedition, and extravagance. Whence would come those able and trustworthy men who, as overlookers, foremen, engineers, and managers, are the very life of the higher manufactures? Where would be those habits of self-control and self-reliance which have done so much to soften the struggles of capital and labour? We know what Lancashire once, was half a century ago; when property was destroyed, conspiracies were hatched, general discontent, ignorance, and misery abounded. The manufacturers are men not too shortsighted to see that in the long run to return to such a state of things would be virtually to paralyse their trade. To England it would prove a calamity worse than a disastrous war.

What we have then before us is this. " The facilities granted by the various Acts give to the local bodies themselves ample powers to give employment to the people in a manner which is beneficial to all. It remains with them to take or to refuse this signal opportunity. Last winter, much was said about Lancashire having or not having done its duty. The question has virtually been answered with credit to the district. Men saw that, on the whole, the employers of labour had made great sacrifices individually and as a body. None know or ever will know how much they did do. We believe rather than know that there have been grand instances of public spirit amongst the manufacturers. But if this occasion is allowed to escape, there will be no question that Lancashire will have neglected its duty, flagrantly, deliberately, and inexcusably. Local difficulties, petty jealousies, and private interests may create some obstacles, but if the great mass of the ratepayers seriously intend to face the position they are in, no sensible hindrance need exist. The country will now watch the result. To save an important section of its people from pauperism, it has given an exceptional aid. If, in spite of this, the public find its attempts to meet a national calamity frustrated by the local indifference or jealousy—if they find that prolonged inaction and support leads to destitution and pauperism, and these to disturbance and irritation—if they find that the Lancashire workman, instead of being the pride, has become the difficulty of our day—they will fix the responsibility on the class or the community who have suffered these things to be, and they will be disposed to consider the means of permanently protecting those whose interests have been put out of sight in the struggle of unlimited competition.

Contemporary Literature.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

THE third volume of Dr. Davidson's "Introduction to the Old Testament"[1] is, perhaps, more important than either of its predecessors. It treats two very arduous topics, 1, the Prophetical; 2, the Apocryphal books. It is marked by the same general characteristics we have before noticed in reviewing Dr. Davidson's previous volumes (*Westminster Review*, July, 1862; October, 1862); the same fulness of citation and discussion, and by an increasing freedom from the bias of traditional gloss.

The basis of Dr. Davidson's treatment of Isaiah is the great and patent division of the book into two parts; chaps. i.—xxxix. forming the first portion; chaps. xl.—lxvi. the second. About this separation there can be little doubt. On the unity of the first portion, chaps. i.—xxxix. there is less agreement among critics. Dr. Davidson assigns the following sections of the first half to various periods later than B.C. 703, the date he assigns to Isaiah's death. Chaps. xiii.—xiv., xxiii. This prediction of the ruin of the Babylonian Empire he dates B.C. 556. Chap. xxi. 1—10. This oracle relating to the conquest of Babylon by the Medes and Persians under Cyrus, is referred to an unknown author living towards the close of the Captivity, probably about B.C. 538. Chapter xxiii. on the "Burden of Tyre" he would refer, but with hesitation, to the siege of Tyre, by Nebuchadnezzar, in the 4th year of the reign of Jehoiakim. Chaps xxiv.—xxvii. a very general, and consequently obscure prophecy, is most likely to be placed in B.C. 588. Chaps. xxxiv. and xxxv., the "Burden of Edom," may be dated B.C. 555, and appear to have been written by a prophet whose mind was full of the ideas of the Deutero-Isaiah. The historical appendix to the Proto-Isaiah, which forms our chapters xxxvi.—xxxix., is probably a later working up of a part of the "Vision of Isaiah." Besides these sections of the Proto-Isaiah to which a later date must be assigned, there is a section which contains our chapters xv. and xvi. to which Dr. Davidson assigns an earlier date than Isaiah, though following De Wette in supposing its incorporation into Isaiah's prophecy to have been the act of Isaiah himself.

The second half of Isaiah, or Deutero-Isaiah, is a wholly distinct book from the first portion. The writer, whoever he was—Dr. Davidson follows Ewald in calling him "the Unknown"—may claim the first place in the Hebrew prophetic literature. No other prophet has exhibited his marvellous elevation of spirit. None has announced in such strains the downfall of all earthly powers, or unfolded to the view of the afflicted the transcendant glory of Jehovah's salvation, which should arise upon the remnant of Israel forsaken and persecuted. None has penetrated so far into the essence of the new dispensation. Isaiah himself is energetic, dignified, sublime; but he is not so copious or so polished as "the great Unknown." Ewald has subdivided the Deutero-Isaiah into five or six distinct sections as to date and authorship. But Dr. Davidson adheres to Gesenius, who maintained the unity of the book, though he contradicts himself afterwards by allowing chapter lvi. 9—lvii. 11, to date before the captivity of Judah, and to proceed from a different hand.

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[1] "An Introduction to the Old Testament, Critical, Historical, and Theological." By Samuel Davidson, D.D. Vol. iii. London: Williams and Norgate. pp. 492.

After a full analysis of the contents and epochs of the book, we have a rather brief examination of some of the exegetical difficulties. The Messianic symbolism of "The Servant of Jehovah" (Chapter liii.) is rejected as unsustainable. Dr. Davidson adopts Ewald's reference to idealized Israel, and sets aside, without discussion, Bunsen's hypothesis of Jeremiah, a course in which it may be doubted if many future critics will follow him.

No book of the Old Testament canon has tested the resources of criticism more than Daniel. Its unique character, its imaginative contents, conveyed in a prosaic style, its detailed historical allusions, and its position as the archetypal point of Christian apocalyptic literature, invest it with a peculiar interest; not merely for the Oriental, but for the Christian philologian. Dr. Davidson devotes seventy pages to Daniel, of which more than half are occupied with the question of Authorship. That the book, or at least the prophetic portion of it, belongs to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (*circ.* B.C. 168), is probably as well ascertained as any historical fact, which has to be rested on internal evidence solely, can be. Yet it deserves consideration that not only the host of orthodox writers, who must be put out of count in a question of criticism, but a candid critic like Mr. Westcott can maintain on critical grounds the sixth century date. Mr. Westcott, however, admits a revision and subsequent arrangement of the facts of the book, probably by the men of the Great Synagogue. Dr. Davidson falls in with the opinion of the great majority of recent critics who place the book towards the close of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, probably in 168 B.C. The author was a Palestinian Jew, living at Jerusalem. His object was to strengthen the faithful among the Jewish people under the tyranny of Antiochus Epiphanes, and to confirm them in their hopes of deliverance. Dr. Davidson also pronounces for the unity of the book, which he says is now no longer denied by any one. Having followed De Wette so far, he departs from him in denying that Nebuchadnezzar or Belshazzar were intended to suggest Antiochus. In his interpretation of the historical visions, Dr. Davidson is short and not very clear. The four monarchies are, of course, the Babylonian, Median, Persian, and Greek, and Antiochus is the little horn. The prophecy of the seventy weeks is the gloss which the Jews, in the time of Antiochus, put upon Jeremiah's prophecy. Jeremiah had predicted the restoration of the splendour of the Jewish monarchy in seventy years. This had now been fulfilled to the extent which the patriotism of the Jews required and expected. They accordingly looked for some explanation of Jeremiah's words. Instead of *seventy years*, they now began to count seventy hebdomads, or weeks of years. "Seventy hebdomads are determined upon thy people and thy holy city to accomplish the apostacy." This is the whole period from the destruction of Jerusalem to the death of Antiochus. These are divided in the prophecy into three parts. The first division consists of seven weeks, *i.e.*, forty-nine years. This, allowing for round numbers, is the interval between B.C. 588, the destruction of the Temple, and Cyrus' decree, B.C. 536. Cyrus is the "anointed one," a prince. The second period consists of "three-score and two weeks, till an anointed one shall be cut off and shall have no successor." This 434 years is from Cyrus to Antiochus Epiphanes. But as this is nearly sixty years too much, Dr. Davidson is driven to explain this as "inexact chronology in a matter of no importance." The third period is the "one week" during which "he shall confirm the covenant with many." This is the first invasion of Judæa by Epiphanes, and the support given him by the Hellenising party. His afterwards putting a stop to the sacrifice and oblation, and his death, when "the decreed destruction shall be poured out on the waster," conclude the 70th week.

The general introduction to the apocryphal books is scarcely so complete as could be wished. That there are differences both internal and external between the apocryphal and canonical books, does not require much critical skill to perceive. To state with precision what the difference is, is more difficult. The point to which Dr. Davidson appears most alive, is the exaggeration of this difference by Protestant writers. Perhaps for English readers it is right to make this a prominent feature of an "Introduction." To the Reformers of the sixteenth century, wholly intent upon proving their doctrines, and disproving those of the Catholics, it was all-important what books should be admitted as documentary evidence. The Apocrypha is to them not the "Word of God," but the word of "man." The one is "inspired," the other not; the one is authoritative, the other possesses no authority. Dr. Davidson points out that this distinction owes its importance entirely to the polemics of the sixteenth century. Neither at the period of the formation of the Canon, nor in the subsequent employment of Scripture by the Christian Church, was the idea of using it for proof of doctrine a prominent one. Inspiration admits of degrees; it is, therefore, neither synonymous with infallibility, nor does it include it. The men who wrote the canonical books were inspired in very different degrees, and their writings accordingly are of unequal value. As to the canonical being divine, and the apocryphal human, both are divine and human at the same time, with this distinction, that the divine element in the canonical exceeds the same element in the apocryphal. The definitions of none of the Churches rest on just critical grounds, but have been dictated by party interests. The Roman Catholic definition, which places the Greek books of the Old Testament as *deutero-canonical*, does them least injustice, recognizing an inferiority of rank, without exaggerating it into a difference of kind.

The Lutheran and Anglican churches come next, making a difference of kind, but allowing them some religious value. The Anglican Church "doth read them for example of life and instruction of manners, but yet doth not apply them to establish any doctrine." The dogmatic definition of the Reformed Churches of the Continent and of Scotland, and the prevalent feeling in this country, whether of Churchmen or Nonconformists, are founded upon what is nothing more than an ignorant prejudice, or a temporary controversial expedient.

The diffusion of better information as to the origin of the Hebrew Canon may be one effect of Dr. Davidson's volumes. He reminds his readers again and again that the collectors of the canonical books are unknown. We cannot tell what principles they acted on, if, indeed, they had any to guide them in selecting and rejecting. They did not live at one time, nor were they united into one body. It is a modern view to suppose the Jews in possession of a fixed collection of canonical writings, sacred in its limits, so that no book could be taken into it which reached a certain standard of excellence. The Canon, properly speaking, was never looked upon as *closed.* No precise barrier of inspiration belonged to it in the eyes of the Jews for many ages. Their ideas of books that should or should not be put with the old writings were vague. Language and time were their guides, and not imperious ones. The prevailing spirit of the people determined the point. National taste, tone, and religious perception had some effect. Definite rules of canonisation were unknown. Least of all was a polemical use of the books against dissentients the governing motive of classification.

We conclude with the hearty wish that Dr. Davidson's "Introduction" may become a popular manual. He might, we think, contribute to make it more so, by making it less belligerent. It is natural that one who is himself just emancipating himself from the traditions of orthodoxy, should be eager to make war upon the errors which have so long held him captive. But this controversial tone injures the utility of a manual, which should be concise, clear, disembarrassed of all superfluous matter. De Wette's "Einleitung" is a model in this respect. Where it is necessary to mention the divergent opinions of previous writers, only those should be cited who have supported an opinion on *critical* grounds. The ephemeral effusions of those who write in the interests of a religious party have no claim to notice in a work of Philology. What is the use of filling space with mere contradiction of the views of such writers as Keith, Alexander, Pye Smith, Birks, &c.? When such contradiction is frequently tinged with the acrimony of passion, it disturbs the student's judgment and transports the question out of the arena of criticism in which it ought to be discussed. May we hope that Dr. Davidson will purge his "Introduction" to the New Testament of such impurities? The time saved from the examination of such writers might be usefully spent on attaining more exactitude of definition, and greater clearness of method.

Messrs. Longman send us a reprint of an appendix to Professor Norton's "Genuineness of the Gospels," published more than twenty years ago.[2] The title sufficiently explains its subject. Mr. Tayler reproduces it now in a separate form, because the conclusions respecting the age and authorship of the Pentateuch there advanced are substantially identical with those which the appearance of Bishop Colenso's book has recently made the subject of so much eager discussion and hostile criticism. "Professor Norton," writes the editor,—

> "was by temperament disinclined to rash and daring speculation. His mind was essentially logical, and had been well disciplined by habits of exact philological research. That he was not hasty in giving the results of his inquiries to the world, appears from his own confession that he had committed to writing the substance of his views, and kept them by him without any essential change in his conclusions for more than ten years. The opinions of such a man on a question of criticism which lies remote from the popular apprehensions and judgment, are entitled to a respectful consideration. He has approached this inquiry altogether from the religious side of his nature. His conclusion has been wrung from him, not only by the irresistible demands of critical evidence, but even more by his profound reverence for Christianity, and his desire to free it from the disabling liabilities which an undue estimate of the history of the preceding dispensation had brought upon it."—Preface, pp. iv.

The remainder of Mr. Tayler's preface contains a brief and popular account of the course of critical opinion as to the age and authorship of the Pentateuch. The Marcionite and Gnostic suggestions are briefly alluded to. Their doubts were not critical doubts. Neither the orthodox nor the Manichean at that day tested books by external evidence, but solely by their internal conformity to their respective dogmas. The Reformation set loose opinion upon most subjects, but tied it up more strictly than ever on the subject of the Bible. So the sixteenth century only furnishes two names to Mr. Tayler's catalogue, Carlstadt and Masius. In the seventeenth century, notwithstanding the ventilation of the authorship of the Pentateuch by Spinoza and Le C[illegible] the general opinion even of scholars scarcely admitted any doubt of its Mosaic origin. Perhaps the authority of Carpzovius, which was enlisted on the orthodox side, and which was very high on account of his Rabbinical reading, contributed not a little to this acquiescence in the received belief. Still the idea of a diversity of authorship somehow gained ground, as may be seen by the fact that the popular "Introduction" to the Scriptures was continually more and more occupied in refuting such an idea. Not only the orthodox, but even candid critics like Michaelis and Eichhorn, affirmed the antiquity and authenticity of the whole five books. Astruc, a French physician, is said to have been the first who hit upon the distinction of the Elohistic and Jehovistic constituents of Genesis, and so gave that basis upon which philological criticism now rests. De Wette expanded and popularized the hints of Astruc. Recent opinion, *e.g.*, Bleek in his "Einleitung" and Bunsen in his "Bibelwerk," is much more conservative than De Wette, but the question cannot be said to be finally decided.

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[2] "The Pentateuch, and its Relation to the Jewish and Christian Dispensations." By Andrews Norton, late Professor of Sacred Hist., Harvard University, Mass. Edited by John James Tayler, B.A., Member of the Historico-Theological Soc. of Leipsic, Principal of Manchester New College. London: Longman and Co. pp. 135.

A fuller history of Biblical philology is attempted in Mr. Mackay's "The Tübingen School and its Antecedents."[3] The author aims at something more than the mere history of criticism. He rightly feels that to chronicle the succession of the critics is not enough. What a history of criticism must do is, to show on what principle successive methods of interpretation succeeded each other. From what general conditions of human thought did the various modes of treatment applied to the Bible spring? In short, it is a philosophical and not a technical history of Scripture criticism which Mr. Mackay has here sketched in outline. The succession is that of principles, not of names. Historical criticism is the most delicate and difficult province of the art. In the case of the Bible this difficulty is increased a thousand-fold by the vast interests already engaged in support of a traditional view. Thus it came to pass that the Bible was the last book upon which criticism was turned; and that when it was turned upon it the process took the shape of an attack and a defence. This polemical character has greatly hindered the success of the undertaking. The conservative critics have, as a body, shown the most flagrant disregard of truth. On the other hand, the radical assailant has sometimes allowed himself to be hurried into paradox by the novelty of his own discoveries. The whole of the eighteenth century's theology was wasted in this fruitless war. Not one substantial point was gained by the critics. Nor could any such be gained, because the principle of Scripture criticism was as yet unsettled.

In the Tübingen school Mr. Mackay thinks criticism has entered the positive stage. The wonders that Baur and his disciples have worked have been due to the application of a single principle, that of the literary purpose. The most superficial consideration of the Gospels shows that design must have had some share in their formation. They are not mere mechanical registries of tradition. The Gospels and Acts are literary compositions written with a purpose. The first step in their criticism is then to investigate that purpose. We must ask whether in the whole or any portion of his work the author had an historical interest, or whether he only adopted the narrative form for the purpose of inculcating the doctrines of his party, of claiming for his own ideas the sanction of the life of Christ. By ascertaining the writer's aim in the assortment of his materials we first touch the ground of real history. This fertile principle, in the dexterous hands of F. C. Baur, has revolutionised our ideas of the primitive Christian centuries, and gives the most memorable modern example of philosophical inquiry directed to a peculiar class of subjects. It has put an end to the halting irresolute liberalism forming the ordinary staple of theological compromise during the past and present centuries.

About half the volume is devoted to the "General" and the "Special" antecedents of the Tübingen criticism; the remainder to its "Results." Christianity is a natural development. Two main streams of thought coalesce to form it, which after much controversy and various compromise are adjusted in the "Catholic Church." These two contending principles were Judaic externalism and interior idealism, or as the latent antagonism is dialectically expressed by St. Paul, "grace," and "the law." The teaching of St. Paul, far from triumphant over the Petrine system during his life, seemed nearly obliterated at his death. The book of Revelation, probably about A.D. 68—69, is the culmination of Judaical Christianity. The fall of Jerusalem, and the spread of Christianity among the Gentiles, however, gave a new vitality to the Pauline Universalism. The "Acts" show the Paulo-Petrine syncretism in progress; and, finally, in the fourth Gospel the Jews are made the sons of darkness, his own to whom He came, but who received Him not. This is the historical process which has been minutely analysed by the Tübingen writers in all its intricacies. The key to primitive Christianity once found, each book of the Canon, every uncanonical monument of the early centuries, has fallen into its place, and contributed its quota to the harmonious result.

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[3] "The Tübingen School and its Antecedents: a Review of the History and Present Condition of Modern Theology." By R. W. Mackay, M.A., Author of "The Progress of the Intellect," &c. London: Williams and Norgate. 1863.

Mr. Mackay concludes with a brief notice of the antagonists of the school. Hase sentimentalizes; Ewald wraps his orthodoxy in the obscurity of an inflated verbiage; Bleek, who is generally a fair opponent, has made a noticeable effort to reinstate the fourth Gospel in its former place. Altogether, Mr. Mackay's book will serve to popularise the results of Biblical criticism, though written in style too vague and rhetorical to be a reliable summary for a student. Those who wish to follow up the subject may have recourse to this volume as a guide to the original authorities.

The subject of the composition of the Bible is treated from the practical point of view in Dr. Stanley's three Sermons before the University of Oxford.[4] The diversity of composition which characterizes the Bible as contrasted with the Koran—a diversity of style, of scene, of language, of materials, of effects, of proportions—is drawn out with all the writer's well-known picturesque power. Dr. Stanley abstains from polemic with the just feeling that, as in the University pulpit only one side of every question can be heard, controversy must be one-sided, and therefore resultless. He addresses himself to the devotional and practical use of the Bible. "To be like Christ; this is the one object which the whole New Testament impresses upon us."

It would have been better if Dr. De Burgh had confined himself to the same mode of treatment. Having to preach the Donnellan Lecture for 1862[5] in Trinity College, Dublin, he has entered upon an exposition of the Messianic Prophecies of Isaiah, in which he delivers critical opinions without apparently any principles of criticism to guide him.

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[4] "The Bible: its Form and Substance. Three Sermons preached before the University of Oxford." By A. P. Stanley, D.D., Regius Prof. of Eccles. History. Oxford and London: J. H. and J. Parker. 1863.

[5] "The Messianic Prophecies of Isaiah; the Donnellan Lecture for 1862." By W. De Burgh, D.D., author of "A Commentary on the Book of Psalms," &c. Dublin: Hodges and Smith. 1863.

The only principle we can trace is the wish to interpret in conformity with orthodox opinion, without raising the further, and more difficult, question what the prophetic words really mean.

Dr. Rudolph Kögel's "Sermons on the First Epistle of Peter," notwithstanding their title, contain nothing critical.[6] They are intended for edification, and addressed to the German congregation at the Hague, of which Kögel is pastor. He is a pupil and son-in-law of Julius Müller, to whom he dedicates his volume.

Mr. Higginson's "Spirit of the Bible," addressed "to thoughtful and intelligent, but not learned, readers," has reached a second edition.[7]

> "Of the many books in circulation on the Scriptures," Mr. Higginson says, "there is not one that sets forth in detail the actual claims of the Bible upon the acceptance of reasonable men and scholars; there is not one that attempts to discriminate the very varied contents of the sacred volume as the records and results of Divine Revelation in its Jewish and Christian phases respectively. Those who have newly popularised Biblical subjects have not always distinguished between the false claims which they reject as incumbrances to Christian belief, and the real claims which the Bible cannot part with if it is to remain a Bible to us. The 'free handling' of such subjects by men who are bound to the dogmatic creeds of the English Church is not, nor in the nature of the case can be, thoroughly free on all points."

Mr. Higginson's book has hitherto chiefly found its circulation among Unitarians and their connexions. He hopes that this edition may find a more general circulation among thoughtful students of the Bible. The author, who writes in a reverent and becoming tone, seems fairly acquainted with the results of modern research, of which he adopts as much as suits his purpose and leaves the rest, *e.g.*, he makes the Apostle John the author of the fourth Gospel, and *not* of the Apocalypse. This from no more independent point of view than the desire to take the mean between the ignorant orthodoxy which [illegible]igns *both* to St. John, and the Tübingen view which gives the son of Zebedee the Apocalypse, and refuses him the Gospel.

Mr. Young has translated the New Testament, as an instalment of a translation of the whole Bible.[8] He does not intend his work "to come into competition with the ordinary use of the commonly-received English Version of the Holy Scriptures, but as a strictly literal and idiomatic rendering of the Original Texts." What Mr. Young means by "idiomatic rendering" we do not know. That he does not mean rendering into idiomatic English is apparent upon the face of his version which adopts neither the grammar nor the idiom of the English language.

Professor Volkmar began his "Introduction to the Apocrypha" with Judith, which, by the way, he refers in an elaborate argument to the war of Quietus in the reign of Trajan. This was published in 1860. He now brings out the "Fourth Book of Esra," or as our English Bibles call it, the "Second Book of Esdras."[9] The editing and annotating of this, the most difficult of the apocalyptic books must have been the work of more than two years. And such is the case, for Volkmar has been occupied for many years with apocalyptic literature, and in 1858 published his views on the present most remarkable relic of that literature. These views he now developes and applies in detail, in an exhaustive and lucid commentary. Volkmar's treatment of his materials is a model to commentators, both in its method and its proportions. The whole accumulated exposition of all the Christian centuries is resumed; the chaos of conjecture and gloss is reduced to order; the problems to be solved distinctly proposed, and the rules of criticism applied to their solution. That Volkmar's explanation of all the enigmatical imagery of the Seer will be finally accepted we do not venture to affirm. Perhaps the commentator is a little too positive in his tone when he pronounces it the "certain and only possible" explanation.—p. 394.

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[6] "Der erste Brief Petri, in 20 Predigten ausgelezt durch Dr. Rudolph Kögel." Mainz. London: Nutt. 1863.

[7] "The Spirit of the Bible; or, the Nature and Value of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures discriminated, in an Analysis of their several Books." By Edward Higginson. 2 vols. 2nd edit. revised. Whitfield. 1863.

[8] "The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments literally and idiomatically translated out of the Original Languages." By Robert Young. London: Fullarton and Co.

But it cannot be denied that his hypothesis is the simplest of all those which have yet been proposed. The suggestion that the vision belonged to the age of the Flavii came originally from Corrodi, Semler's ablest pupil, the same who first led the way to the critical unravelling of the Johannine Apocalypse. But though a right perception of the general features of the book led Corrodi to pitch upon this epoch, he stumbled so hopelessly in adapting the imagery to his theory, that subsequent critics (*e.g.* Lücke, ed. 2, Gfrörer) relinquished Corrodi's hypothesis. Volkmar also saw that the epoch of the book *must* be the end of the first century. If this be assumed on general grounds as a certain basis for exegesis, Volkmar's reading of the prophetical enigmas comes forward with a probability which it could not otherwise have. He makes the "twelve wings" represent the six first Cæsars, the "three heads" the three Flavii, and the "eight subalars" the four usurping emperors, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Nerva. The difficulties of this interpretation are, (1) that it makes the "twelve wings" stand for only six kings; (2) that it makes "eight subalars" stand for only four kings; (3) that to make its four kings it is obliged to take in Nerva along with the three usurpers of A.D. 69; (4) that it makes Titus murdered by Domitian. Nos. 1 and 2 the editor partly removes by reading "vivi alæ," instead of "duodecim;" and "iviv subalares" instead of "octo" as in the printed edition of the Vulgate. As he neglects to say whether these are arbitrary corrections of the text, or have manuscript authority, we are in doubt what value to attach to the suggestion. In alleviation of difficulty No. 4, the editor produces a passage of Dio, according to which popular rumour charged Domitian with the death of his brother.

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[9] "Handbuch der Einleitung in die Apokryphen. 2te Abth. Das vierte Buch Esra; zum ersten male vollständig herausgegeben von Dr. Gustav Volkmar, Prof. der Theologie an der Universität Zurich." Tübingen: Fues. 1863.

These and other doubtful points of interpretation may be open to future correction. Meanwhile that in the "Second Book of Esdras" we possess a monument of the Roman-Jew community of the end of the first century, may be considered an established fact. It must be borne in mind, however, that the book which passes in our English Bibles (Apocrypha) under the above title, in reality consists of three parts of totally distinct age and character. The bulk of the book, comprising our chapters iii.-xiv., and beginning with the words "In the thirtieth year after the ruin of the city," is a Jewish Apocalypse, of an Old Testament character, emanating from the bosom of the community of Roman Jews in the year after the death of Domitian, A.D. 37. Prefixed to this Apocalypse are chapters i.-ii. a Christian document, dating from the period of the Christian crisis, or under the Antonines, *circ.* A.D. 160. At the end of the book, chapters xv.-xvi., we have another Christian work of the time of the persecution under Decius and Aurelian, *circ.* A.D. 260. The two last documents are not properly apocryphal books; at least, they do not belong to the cycle of the Old Testament. They became attached to it as late as the fifteenth century from the accident of their having been printed in Fust and Schöffer's Vulgate, mixed up with the apocalyptic Esdras.

The Jewish residuum, when stripped of its Christian appendages, is a very remarkable product of Jewish feeling; the last expiring effort of the prophetic spirit of the old dispensation. Its deeply religious and enthusiastic tone, coupled with an obscure denunciation of evil, which at once excites and baffles curiosity, have made it at all times a favourite book with the mystics of all descriptions. Its critical value to us consists in its relation to the Christian documents of the first period of Christian literature. Prior to the pre-existent theory of the fourth Gospel, and to the compromise of "Acts," and posterior to the Johannine Apocalypse, the second Esdras presents the Messianic expectation in a transition state, which we call semi-Christian. While it rejects the crucified Jesus of Nazareth, it equally resigns the triumphant Messiah, the son of David, of the old prophets; or represents him, and for the first time, as the superhuman representative of the Almighty. For our Esra there dwells in a celestial paradise, among the other great ones of the Old Testament whom God took,—Moses, Enoch, Elijah—a man, a branch of the stem of David, an anointed, a son of God. As yet he is wholly unknown; as unknown as aught sunk in the depth of the sea, till in the consummation he appears with might to overthrow all the powers of the heathen world, and reinstate the faithful in the land of promise. This done, this son of God dies, and time comes to an end. Eternity, the pure super-sensual world of God, begins. Volkmar follows out with much ingenuity the contrasts between this Judaic expectation and the two Christologies, the Catholic and the Rabbinical, of the second century.

It is no part of the plan of Volkmar's Introduction to edit the text of the Apocryphal Books. But in the present instance he thought himself obliged to make an exception, the Latin text of 2nd Esdras being so corrupt as to be often unintelligible. The received text, or Vulgate of the Sistine edition, is nothing more than Fust and

Schöffer's copy from one of the latest and worst MSS. Volkmar has printed for the first time the text of the "Vet. It.," from the oldest MS. known. The "Vet. It." is so important as a monument of the language, that the editor has added a glossary of rare words and usages, which will be of use to the scholar, quite apart from the theological interest of this singular relic.

Professor Volkmar is now almost left alone—the last representative of the critical school. The German press indeed teems with theological productions. But the quality of such a vast quantity of writing is, as must be the case, very ordinary. Like the thinner Bordeaux wines, it will not bear exportation. The principal feature is the continual spread of "Churchmanship." This Church sentiment (*kirchliche Richtung*) which has seized upon the whole of the *noblesse* in North Germany, is becoming every year the general sentiment of the clergy. The theological radicalism of the last period is now quite a thing of the past. The present is an epoch of Restoration. Scientific criticism has no longer any interest; it is, who can be most orthodox, and reproduce more precisely the ideas of the sixteenth century. As the scientific and critical school is defunct, the mediation-theology whose business was to compromise between the results of learning and the principles of orthodoxy, is necessarily in a state of decay. Its occupation is gone. This school of theologians, which numbered in its ranks some of the most respectable names in Germany, and which traces its origin to Schleiermacher, can scarcely be said now to make head against the sweeping current of Pharisaical orthodoxy. Some of its older representatives have been withdrawn from the scene either by age or death; others have followed the multitude, and conformed to the reigning "Churchmanship." It is the old story enacted in the Catholic revival of the end of the sixteenth century, and at other times before and since. The reactionary clergy have succeeded in getting themselves regarded as the Swiss guard of the throne. They stand between Royalty and Revolution. All the places in the gift of the Crown—and all the places are in the gift of the Crown—are filled on party considerations. Learning goes for nothing. Thus inferior men are elevated to a platform from which they deliver their dicta with authority, and ignorance can contradict knowledge at an advantage. The mutual understanding among the party enables them to puff each other's books, and run down their opponents. Only learning can get no hearing.

Professor Rothe would hardly consent to be classed with the Mediation Theologians, and on many accounts may claim a place by himself. (10) As his endeavour is so to restate Christian doctrine as to clear it from the accumulated difficulties which modern thought has collected round it, he might seem to be not unnaturally numbered among the "middle" men. But he is distinguished from them not only by the original cast of all he writes, but by his principle. He does not reproduce, but restate. He does not attempt to reconcile

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[10] "Zur Dogmatik." Von Dr. Richard Rothe. Gotha: Perthes. 1863. pp. 356.

doctrine as it is with science and philosophy, but goes behind the dogma to the Christian religion itself. His recent views have been promulgated chiefly in two periodicals, the *Studien u. Kritiken*, and the *Kirkliche Zeitschrift*. Had Mr. Farrar seen these essays he would not have been reduced to the secondhand account of this theologian he has given in his *Bampton Lectures*.

A portion of these Essays Dr. Rothe now publishes, with enlargements, in a volume. Though it bears the title of "A Contribution to Dogmatic Theology," it is chiefly occupied with one doctrine,—viz. that of "Holy Scripture." Dr. Rothe defines his point of view thus:—

> "The matters I handle in this volume inevitably place me in a most unfavourable position. The question is one in which I find myself in direct conflict with both the leading parties in the theology of the present day. My mode of regarding Holy Scripture runs directly counter to modern orthodoxy. My supernaturalism and firm belief in Revelation are no less opposed to theological liberalism. This very antagonism encourages me to hope that I may be found to have spoken a word in season. On the one hand it is my belief that the consciousness of the age will never thoroughly reassimilate Christianity till it can take courage to believe again in miracle and supernatural influence. I am no less firmly convinced on the other hand, that miracle and supernatural influence will never find their way into the conscious belief of Christians in the form in which Church theology has allowed those ideas to be inoculated into it. That which is past can never be recalled to life, after history has once buried it. But there are not a few persons who long for the reconciliation of the old and the new. These are the persons to whom I would gladly be useful according to my small measure."—Pref. p. vi.

To define the position of Holy Scripture, we must begin by distinguishing it from Revelation. The early Protestant theology did not do this. To it Revelation was co-extensive with the Bible. The terms were almost convertible. Rothe regards them as correlative. The supernatural interference of the Deity in the stream of human history is itself a portion of that history. This portion of history has, like the remainder, or civil history, its original document. It is not enough that the Divine interposition has incorporated itself with the traditions of the race, it must be fixed in a written narrative. Not only must there be a book or writing, but that book must be of a historical character. As the Revelation did not consist in doctrines, so the doctrine we require is not a creed, or compend of doctrines. Besides vouching the facts, the document must represent them in a vivid manner. That is, the writing must be such as can stand to long posterior generations in the place of the original revelation; and place us in immediate personal experience of revelation. It is part of the extraordinary operation of the Deity to provide such a writing. The document itself, as well as the facts it relates, are supernaturally produced. As the divine influences in the world are to its moral and human laws, so is the record of those influences to ordinary narrative. The Bible is therefore what the old Protestant theology styled it, "The Word of God;" but in a very different sense. They meant by the phrase that the books, as we have them, were dictated by God, in such a way that the sacred penmen contributed nothing but the letter-marks upon the paper. This sixteenth century dogma of inspiration, Rothe examines at length, and shows that it is not conformable either to the statements of Scripture about itself, or to enlightened reason. The inspiration he attributes to the Bible is the name by which he explains that peculiar impression which the pious soul receives from its study of the Book. It is the constant experience of the Evangelical Christian that in his Bible he possesses a direct means of grace. Scripture is to him an active medium of the saving work of God in his soul; supernatural forces move within it. The Bible stands alone in all literature, in being this incarnation of a fresh, full, life-giving religious spirit. This is the phenomenon of which the Church dogma of "Inspiration" is a conjectural explanation. Dr. Rothe, while stating the phenomenon with great emphasis, wholly denies the explanation. The theory of "Inspiration" refers Scripture to the exclusive working of the Divine causality. But the peculiar influence the book exercises upon our minds indicates not merely a divine element in its pages, but a whole, complex, and sound human spirit side by side with that divine element; the two not crossing or interfering with each other, but forming together one whole of living truth. The Inspiration-theory reduces the whole of the human element,—the joy or the sorrow, the hymns of praise or the cry of anguish, the exultation or the self-abasement—to an unreal, theatrical representation, a docetic apparition. For, according to this theory, such expressions are not the genuine outpourings of a human heart, but dictated sentences passing only through the pen of the person to whom they are, by a fiction, ascribed. The Inspiration-theory proposes to itself to exclude error from the Bible, but it, in fact, reduces the whole Bible to one great unreality.

Professor Rothe proceeds to show that not only dictation, but inspiration in any sense is incompatible with the act of writing books such as the greater part of the Scripture books are. These books must be regarded as the general product of the minds of their human authors. These authors have had their moments of inspiration. To these moments they owe much of the religious experience they have embalmed in their writings. But inspiration was not the normal condition of their minds; nor were their books written during the moments of such inspiration. Again, not every part of the Bible is an equally full and intense expression of this spiritual mind of the writer. We must assume degrees of inspiration, according with the nature of the contents, and their nearer or remoter bearing on the proper matter of the prophetical utterances.

This Essay on Inspiration deserves the close attention of the theologian who occupies himself with such questions. It must be read in the original. Dr. Rothe's abstract ratiocination will not bear translation. His German, however, is very clear; his sentences not long, or very much involved.

M. Pécaut's little work, which we noticed on its first appearance, (*Westminster Review*, April, 1860, p. 578) has reached a second edition.[11]

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[11] "Le Christ et la Conscience; Lettres à un Pasteur sur l'autorité de la Bible et celle de Jesus Christ." Par Felix Pécaut. 2e édition. Paris: Cherbuliez. 12°, pp. 422.

The principal new feature is a Preface of lxxii pages, in which the author replies to his critics. He thinks, on the whole review of the attacks made upon his first edition, that his book has been serviceable in bringing into relief three leading notions. 1. That the Messianic traditions of the Synagogue occupied in the mind of Jesus a place which had not before been fully appreciated or allowed for. 2. That between the wisdom of the Christian world, and that of the ancient, Jew or Greek, the difference is only one of degree. 3. That there is an absolute incompatibility between the essential conditions of spiritual life and the idea of a mediatorial person or office. This last idea, that viz., of the mediatorship of Christ, M. Pécaut holds to be in direct contradiction to the religious conscience. Our moral experience requires two, and only two, factors—the individual and God. This conviction he thinks is destined to become universal, on the ground that the experience of consciousness must, in the long run, overpower the voice of arbitrary tradition.

The well-known pastor of the Walloon congregation at Rotterdam has prepared a manual for the religious instruction of young people, which he hopes may supersede the unintelligible catechism in use.[12] He avows that his manual contains much which may be above the apprehension of young catechumens. But he insists that such mental pabulum should notwithstanding be placed before them. They will assimilate where they can, and leave the rest. Much of which they may not see the bearing at the time, will remain in the memory, and get into the understanding in riper years. For others, again, the Manual, learnt at school, will perhaps be the only book of philosophical divinity they will ever open. It is very desirable that that one should be conceived in a good spirit, and be calculated to excite the taste and the habit of religious reflection; that it should make its appeal to the understanding, and the consciousness. M. Réville has rejected the old method of question and answer, and wishes the teacher to read a section of the book with the pupil every day, explaining it and ascertaining, by questions, that his explanation has been understood.

Since M. Michel Nicolas published (in 1849) his very crude "Introduction to the History of Philosophy," he has made a great step forwards. His present volume of "Essays in Religious Philosophy," though not the work of an original thinker, presents in an agreeable form the results of criticism.[13] In one direction—that of rabbinical literature—M. Nicolas' studies have almost a special character. To this circumstance the last Essay in the volume, on "The Antecedents of Christianity" owes its firmer and deeper tones. Buddhism M. Nicolas gives up as forming no part of these antecedents, from which he also excludes Essenism and Alexandrian theosophy. That the Alexandrian philosophy exerted a powerful influence over the development of Christian theology in the second century is undeniable. But between this philosophy and the teachings of Christ, there is nothing in common beyond their universalist tendency. There remains, therefore, Pharisaism, or the Orthodoxy of the Synagogue, from which primitive Christianity was evolved. Christ, it is true, never speaks of the Pharisees without reproaching or rebuking them. But it is neither their ideas, nor their principles of morals, which he thus condemns. It is the spirit in which they taught and lived, against which he opposes the true spirit of the Old Law. But it is the Old Law to which both he and they appeal. He accepted the theology of his nation in its substance as the legitimate expression of the revelation of the Old Testament. Christ teaches the divine origin of the Law, and submits himself to its ritual obligations. He recognises the special vocation of the seed of Abraham. He emphatically confirms the national hopes, inasmuch as he announces himself as the promised seed. He emphasises the doctrines of angels, of demoniacal possession, of the Resurrection, of the Last Judgment, and of Hades.

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[12] "Manuèl de l'Instruction Religieuse." Par A. Réville. Paris: Cherbuliez. Rotterdam: Kramers.

[13] "Essais de Philosophie et d'Histoire Religieuse." Par Michel Nicolas. Paris: Michel Lévy. 1863.

The theology of Christ, then, is the theology of the Synagogue, developed, not changed. Was primitive Christianity merely a reproduction of Jewish belief? Were Christianity only a theology, a creed of speculative formulæ, this consequence would be undeniable. The difference between Christianity and Judaism lies not in doctrines, but in this very fact, that Judaism was a system of teaching, and nothing more, while Christianity was a new life. Christ addresses himself to the conscience, and seeks to touch the hidden sentiment of the individual value and eternal destinies of the soul. This view is followed out in detail. It is shown how the preaching of Christ was preceded by a long latent fermentation of moral feeling in the Jewish nation, the continuation of the spiritualist tendency of the old prophets; how Jesus came and proclaimed these moral and spiritual truths, and by restoring conscience to its supremacy spread a new life through the nations. As Christianity was the reactionary progeny of orthodoxy, so Gnosticism, according to M. Nicolas, is descended from Essenism. He maintains against Baur that Gnosis was already working its way in the middle of the first century, at least in that primary form in which it is combated by St. Paul in the Epistle to the Colossians. The Catholic system of the third century is the concrete fusion of the three currents of ideas found in Judaism; the moral renovation of Jesus; the religious philosophy of the Alexandrian Jews; and Essenist Gnosis. Of these three tendencies the first created the Christian life, the second the Christian Church, and the third the Orthodox theology.

A posthumous work of Von Stahl on "Existing Parties in State and Church,"[14] gives in his telling though superficial manner, a review of the political situation of civilized Europe, but with special reference to the condition of Prussia. The author's point of view is sufficiently well known. Though himself an active partisan, he rises in his speeches above the level of the passions and prejudices of the moment, and discusses the remoter and general bearing of questions, always without running into those abstractions of language which run away with the greater part of German thinkers. Stahl had great generalizing power, and the art of making such generalizations interesting, but was without the judgment of the philosophical politician. He was, in the strictest sense of the word, the sophist of his party. It is impossible to read these sketches of the Liberal, the Constitutional, the Democratic, and the Socialist parties, without admiring the many brilliant dashes of truth contained in the portraiture. These are embedded in a general cast of thought, which we can only describe as *perverse*, so distorted is the image which the writer seems, as it were, to persist in holding before himself of the actual state of feeling and parties.

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[14] Die gegenwärtigen Parteien in Staat und Kirche." Neun und zwanzig akademische Vorlesungen, von Stahl. Berlin: Hertz. pp. 393.

About two years ago Leopold Witte gave an account of the Protestant movement in Italy. Prediger Nitzsch now gives us an independent account of the same movement, drawn from his own observation, and continued to the present time.[15] For our part, we have little enough sympathy with so meaningless a propaganda as that driven by Lord Shaftesbury's friends in the South, or by the *Societé evangelique* of Geneva in North Italy. We believe with d'Azeglio that Protestantism has no future in Italy. We are glad, however, to have a narrative of what is going on, from a pious and simple-hearted German who entirely believes in the movement. He admits that, in Naples, *e.g.*, adults are "little accessible to the preaching of the Gospel," (p. 69), and sensibly enough points to the schools as the most hopeful field of enterprise. The Protestant schools are found increasingly attractive to the artisan. "The priests have made asses of us; we don't want the same to happen to our children," they say. When they are reminded that they are sending their children to teachers who are under excommunication, they say: "If it is so, you are at least better than we, and mean well by us."

Mr. Maclear's "History of Christian Missions during the Middle Ages," takes us over much well-beaten ground, but also over some on which accessible information was wanting.[16] We have the oft-told tale of St. Augustine and Paulinus; of St. Patrick, Columba, Columbanus; of Boniface and his disciples. In approaching the tenth century, however, we find ourselves in more remote countries, and among less familiar names. The conversion of Poland, Pomerania, Prussia, Lithuania, and of the Wend race, though mentioned in "Lappenberg," and in most Church Histories, is nowhere narrated at length in any English book as far as we recollect. The missionary labours of Raymond Lullius among the Saracens are probably as little known to most of our readers. Mr. Maclear comes down to the period when coercive propagandism was substituted as a system in place of the mission of persuasion—a substitution which indicated a conscious loss of moral force on the part of the Church. The subject is a good one, but it demands more life in the narrative, and more grasp of character and moral causes than we find in this volume in order to do justice to it.

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[15] "Die evangelische Bewegung in Italien, geschildert von C. Nitzsch, Prediger. Berlin: Hertz. London: Williams and Norgate.

[16] "A History of Christian Missions during the Middle Ages." By G. F. Maclear, M.A., Classical Master at King's College School. Cambridge and London: Macmillan and Co.

Dr. Legge's "Lectures" are a volume of Sermons preached by a religious-minded Independent minister, whose tendencies were as liberal as his creed and his audience would permit them to be.[17] He sought in his preaching "to present the truths of revelation from his own point of view, in harmony with what the age seems to require, in their relation to the facts of science, to a most advanced moral sentiment, and to a most correct and elevated taste." Dr. Legge's preaching is described as very effective. In Craven Chapel he gathered round him a numerous church and an overflowing audience. The Lectures, as printed, are not striking either in substance or expression. The most interesting part of the volume is the Memoir of xcviii pages, in which we have all that can be told of the life of an earnest man, whose life was spent in labours for the good of others as he understood it.

The name of the author, and the singularity of the occasion, have carried Dr. Stanley's "Sermons in the East" over the length and breadth of England, and far beyond it, long before our notice can meet the reader's eye.[18] Dr. Stanley's peculiar skill in applying the scenery and historical associations of the localities to give life and reality to the human characters who lived and acted in them, has never before enjoyed such an opportunity as in these Sermons, written as well as delivered amid the scenes to which they refer,—Jerusalem, Shechem, Joppa, Tiberias, Damascus! After the debasing effect of the vulgar conceptions associated with these names in religious books and popular preaching, it almost requires a pilgrimage to the spots to restore our imagination to the primitive sublimity of our childish impressions.

A mind cultivated by habitual contact with all that is best in literature, a taste polished to elegance, a scholarship refined to an exquisite sensitiveness; when a man possessing these accomplishments retires to a country parish to devote his powers to the instruction and elevation of the ignorant and humble, the sacrifice is as noble as it is little appreciated. Mr. De Teissier brings back to us the parish priest of the old times—the well-read scholar and gentleman—a type almost extinct now, and supplanted in our country parishes by a brawling tribe to whom knowledge is odious, and in whose eyes mental cultivation is heresy. Such "Village Sermons" are sacred from the criticism equally of praise as of censure.[19]

"Stories from the Lips of the Teacher,"[20] consists of twelve of the

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[17] "Lectures on Theology, Science, and Revelation." By the late Rev. George Legge, LL.D.; with a "Memoir." By James Legge, D.D. London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder.

[18] "Sermons preached before H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, during his Tour in the East in the Spring of 1862, with notices of some of the localities visited." By A. P. Stanley, D.D. Published by command. London: Murray.

[19] "Village Sermons." By G. F. De Teissier, B.D., Rector of Brampton. London and Cambridge: Macmillan and Co.

[20] "Stories from the Lips of the Teacher, retold by a Disciple." Reprinted from the American Edition. London: E. T. Whitfield.

Parables in the Gospels rewritten in modern English, with the endeavour "to make them suggest to our minds what they suggested to the minds of their first hearers, to put in the Eastern climate, the sunshine, the atmosphere, the scenery." (Pref. p. vii.)

Madame Swetchine is an interesting person. But we should not have had so many volumes—this is a fifth—about her had she not been a Catholic.[21] The union of spiritualism and modern cultivation in these fragments presents Catholicism under a much more inviting guise than the "Mandemens" of the French Bishops.

The "Lettres Inédites of Voltaire" is a supplementary volume to the memoir of the atrocious murder of Jean Calas, by the same author, which we reviewed at length on its first appearance. (*Westminster Review, Oct.* 1858.)[22]

Mr. Formby, one of the converts who followed Dr. Newman, draws out, dialogue-wise, the usual answers to the usual objections brought by Protestants against the "one true Church."[23]

Mr. Beresford-Hope, who can unite High Church principles with general sympathies, invites the members of a "Young Men's Society" at Hanley, to consider the Prayer-book of the Established Church in its social aspect.[24] He "deals with the book not only as it influences those who habitually use it, but as it acts upon those to whom it is only a literary work."

The hypothesis that there is a peculiar presumption against miracles after the settlement and during the continuance of a course of nature, was a very popular one among the deistical metaphysicians of the beginning of the eighteenth century. This hypothesis Bishop Butler encounters in the "Analogy" with a contradictory hypothesis. But his argument is obscure, and Mr. Napier has undertaken the elucidation of it, calling in Mr. Mansel to his aid.[25] It was hardly worth while. The metaphysicians of that period had too imperfect a conception of either terms of the expression "Laws of Nature," to enable them to state the difficulty as it presents itself to us.

"A Few Words on the Subject of Religion" is a vision dreamed on the summit of Cottington Hill, in Hampshire.[26] The vision is as obscure as those of Piers Ploughman: we cannot unriddle it or catch its drift.

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[21] "Madame Swetchine. Journal de sa Conversion." Publié par le Cte. De Falloux, de l'Académie Française. Paris: Didier. pp. 420.

[22] "Voltaire. Lettres Inédites sur la Tolerance;" publiées avec une Introduction et des Notes, par Athanase Coquerel fils. Paris and Geneva: Cherbuliez. 12mo., pp. 308.

[23] "The Inquiry of a Retired Citizen into the Roman Catholic Religion." Edited by the Rev. Henry Formby. London: Longman. 12mo., pp. 246.

[24] "The Social Influence of the Prayer-book: a Lecture delivered in the Town-hall, Hanley." By A. J. B. Beresford-Hope, Esq. February 26th, 1863. London: Ridgway. 8vo., pp. 43.

[25] "Butler's Argument on Miracles explained and defended. To which is added a Critical Dissertation by Rev. H. L. Mansel, B.D., of St. John's College, Oxford." By the Right Hon. Joseph Napier, LL.D., D.C.L. Dublin: Hodges and Smith. 12mo., pp. 53.

[26] "A Few Words on the Subject of Religion." By an Outsider. London: W. S. How. 8vo., pp. 27.

The monstrous mismanagement of the Ecclesiastical Commission continues to be tolerated after it has been so often exposed. "Ecclesiasticus" endeavours, in a short pamphlet, to popularize some of the evidence taken before the Committee of 1862, of which Mr. Danby Seymour was chairman. But "Ecclesiasticus" does not hit the worst blots or enter into the *principle* of that redistribution of Church property which is being carried out by the Commission.[27]

The Colenso controversy has not produced a single investigation of the authorship of the Pentateuch conducted on the principles of criticism. It has only brought out into clearer light the lamentable fact that the education which the clergy of our endowed Church have received has left them without any idea of what historical evidence is. To judge from the batch of "answers" now before us, one would be inclined to say that the moral temper of the clerical profession ranks as low as its critical skill.[28] But as we know that this is not the case, we must suppose that the wisest and best instructed have held back from the fray. Professor Harold Browne is the only one of the number who appears to have any acquaintance with the subject on which he writes. Consequently, he is the most moderate; and, consequently, will not satisfy the demands of the public religionists. Yet even Professor Harold Browne cannot free himself from the notion that it is a spirit of religious disbelief which has directed criticism towards the books of Holy Scripture (p. 1). Mr. Hoare, however, and "The Layman" both deserve the praise of calmness and good temper. Mr. Russell's "Letter to the Bishop of Oxford" is, we hope, the last of the "Essays and Reviews" controversy. Whatever may have been the logical success of the orthodox champions in these disputes, their moral exhibition of themselves has not raised their cause in the eyes of good men. Mr. Russell's zeal in the cause of his party can hardly make his vulgar ribaldry go down even at Cuddesdon.

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[27] "Notes upon the Evidence taken before the Committee of the Ecclesiastical Commission in the Parliamentary Session of 1862." By Ecclesiasticus. London: Rigdway. pp. 32.

[28] "A Treatise on the Age and Authorship of the Pentateuch." By W. H. Hoare. 2nd edition. London: Rivington. pp. 159.

"The Historic Character of the Pentateuch vindicated." By a Layman of the Church of England. London: Skeffington. 8vo.

"Moses and the Pentateuch: a Reply to Bishop Colenso." By the Rev. W. A. Scott, D.D. London: Freeman. 12mo., pp. 185.

"A full Review and Exposure of Bishop Colenso's Errors and Miscalculations." By the Hon. Judge Marshall, of Nova Scotia. London: Freeman. 12mo., pp. 187.

"A Letter to the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Oxford, upon the Defence of 'Essays and Reviews.'" By Rev. A. T. Russell, B.C.L. London: Saunders, Otley, and Co.

"A Few Words of Exhortation to the Public with Reference to Bishop Colenso's Work on the Pentateuch." By a Layman. London: A. W. Bennett.

"A Vindication of Bishop Colenso." By the Author of the "Eclipse of Faith." Edinburgh: A. and T. Black.

"The Pentateuch and the Elohistic Psalms, in Reply to Bishop Colenso. Five Lectures delivered in the University of Cambridge." By Edward Harold Browne, B.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity, and Canon of Exeter. London: Parker, Son, and Bourn.

Mr. Maurice must not be classed with the answerers of the Bishop of Natal. He does not write a book of criticism, but a book of consolation.[29] He appears to contrast the greatness of God with the insignificance of critical questions. We are to rise above these, and be tolerant of each other in regard to them. "In adversity, churches and sects, like individuals, believe in God. In prosperity they believe in themselves, and sink into atheism. The English Church is now on its trial whether her belief in opinions, which is rampant, or her belief in God, which is certainly not dead, shall prove the stronger." (p. 149.) Mr. Maurice administers a mild—very mild—rebuke to the Bishop of Manchester, who, in an outbreak of brutal self-sufficiency, said at a public meeting, that there was "no language befitting a gentleman and a Christian which he could not use" against his brother Bishop. He protests vigorously against the quackery of answerers by profession, and would call "Aids to Faith" "Hindrances to Faith," if they interfere to prohibit inquiry. "The religious world offers a premium to the scientific inquirer to make his conclusions fit the Bible conclusions. So it produces a race of quacks, who can always prove what they are wanted to prove; men in spirit much like the false prophets of old." (p. 36.)

The magnificent facsimile of the "Codex Sinaiticus" is now followed by an *editio minor* of the New Testament, which follows the original MS. folio by folio, column by column, line for line. It differs from the *editio major* in being in cursive type. It contains the substance of the Prolegomena to the large edition, and a complete conspectus of the marginal corrections.[30] As of the great facsimile only one hundred copies are for sale, at a price of 34*l.* 10*s.*, there is no doubt that a reprint in a cheap form of the text of the Codex would have been well received. The present publication appears to us of no utility. It is neither one thing nor the other. It is not a reproduction of the form of the original, for it has dropped the uncial letter, and ado[redacted]pe of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, its bulk and size, and columnar arrangement will prohibit its general use as a Sinaitic text. Prudent purchasers will wait till they can have a pocket edition, with the ordinary arrangement of the page. It is certainly a naïve idea, that because a fourth century uncial is without accents and breathings, an approximation is made to the same antiquity by printing nineteenth century cursive without accents and breathings. The volume, inside and out, is loaded with that self-laudation of Tischendorf and his friends which have thrown all along an air of quackery over his extraordinary discovery.

In a short pamphlet Tischendorf gives an account of an orthodox attack upon the Sinai Bible.[31] A certain Porphyrius Uspenski, an

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[29] "The Claims of the Bible and of Science. Correspondence between a Layman and the Rev. F. D. Maurice, on some Questions arising out of the Controversy respecting the Pentateuch." London and Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. pp. 183.

[30] "Novum Testamentum Sinaiticum, &c., accurate descripsit." A. F. C. Tischendorf. Lips: Brockhaus.

[31] "Die Anfechtungen der Sinai-Bibel von Constantin Tischendorf." Leipz.: C. F. Fleischer. pp. 24.

Archimandrite, who must be a Russian Dr. Pusey, has found out heresy in the text of the MS. The new Sinai Bible, says this orthodox champion, "makes Christ neither the son of the Virgin Mary, nor the Son of God; he has not what the Father has; he has neither forgiven the sinner, nor ascended into heaven." These representations may probably have weight with the Greek clergy, they scarcely deserved refutation for German readers.

The second edition of Mr. Charles Bray's "Philosophy of Necessity" has been rewritten and enlarged.[32] It will be extremely useful as a book of reference. It is a book of principles, but largely illustrated by modern facts. It is not well written; it is not well arranged; and the practical part is better than the metaphysical. But the author's social views—views evidently acquired by contact with social phenomena rather than in the study—are sober, and free from prejudice. His political economy is that of Mill. He sees, as every one who has to do with the artisan must see in the long run, that the working-class is not qualified for power.

> "I have worked," says Mr. Bray, "with the working-classes at all measures for improving their condition for a quarter of a century, but have never yet found them capable of conducting their own affairs. They were jealous and niggardly of the pay of those who were principally instrumental in making their trading affairs succeed, and what was ordered by a committee one week was too frequently undone the next. If their affairs were of other than trading kinds, they fell out among themselves. The worst feature of ignorance is intolerance, and the worst of the working-classes is that they cannot agree to differ. They are for the utmost freedom of thought, but denounce as knave or fool every one who does not think as they think. They are suspicious of each other's motives, and find it difficult to rise to the comprehension of a disinterested feeling. I have heard the most damning denunciations of aristocrats helping themselves and their relations out of the public purse by the same persons who ordered a larger quantity of tea and sugar for a tea-drinking than could possibly be used, in order that they might divide it among themselves at half-price afterwards." . . . .
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> "The poor," says Mr. Holyoake, "are more intolerant than the rich, because ignorance has less forbearance. An indignant wife will abstract her active husband from a society, and distil animosity through all her kindred and neighbourhood, because she wont sit down with a woman, the colour of whose cap-ribbons she does not like." (pp. 369, 370.)

Though the "New Moral World" is consigned by Mr. Bray to Utopia, yet he gladly recognises the evils of competition, and the rapid progress of the economical principle of labour in the form of Co-operative Societies.

Not the least interesting page in Mr. Bray's volume is Mr. Richard Congreve's neat and terse sketch of the Religion of Positivism placed in a note to p. 174. After tracing the Natural History of the various forms of creed, the Fetish, the Polytheist, the Monotheist—the latter in its Catholic and Protestant variations—Mr. Congreve describes them as so many different attempts to solve the same problem. They all aimed at establishing the harmony of all the faculties of the individual, and at uniting him with his fellow-men. Positivism accepts and solves the same problem; it

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[32] "The Philosophy of Necessity; or, Natural Law as applicable to Moral, Mental, and Social Science." By Charles Bray. 2nd edition, revised. London: Longmans.

> "Offers to man an account of his existence; [illegible]es him an object of fai[illegible] explains the conditions under which he lives, a[illegible] makes him lovingly accept them; unites him in himself by love, and binds him to his fellow-men in the three-fold communion of faith, of worship, and of action. . . . As parts of a whole, we are nothing if detached from that whole. From humanity we have received all. We are her servants and organs. Hence the great Positivist precept 'Live for others,' which is the summary of our practical religion.
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> "But humanity works always by individual organs. This is but the consequence of her organization. These individual organs require for their worship more concrete representatives of the great Being they worship. As the symbol of humanity we adopt with somewhat altered associations the beautiful creation of the mediæval mind—the woman with the child in her arms; and to give life and vividness to this symbol, each positivist adopts as objects of his adoration his mother, his wife, his daughter, allowing the principal place to the mother, but blending the three into one compound influence, representing to him humanity in its past, its present, and its future. Such, apart from all special forms and details of worship, is the general conception of the religion of humanity."

The name of Professor Brandis is venerable for a life of labour steadily devoted to the elucidation of Greek Philosophy. His "Handbuch" of the History of Greco-Roman Philosophy is become a standard book.[33] Many years as that "Handbuch" has been in preparation, it is still unfinished, and it is now nearly three years since the appearance of a Part. Instead of completing this long over-due engagement, Professor Brandis brings out the first Part of a "History of the Developments of Greek Philosophy." The relation of this to the "Handbuch" is not clear. On a cursory examination we should pronounce it an abridgment of the older work. An abridgment of a "Manual," however, which in 580 octavo pages only reaches Theophrastus, must be either too long or too short. Since Brandis' "Handbuch," Zeller has produced his second edition. Professor Brandis disclaims all intention of rivalry with Zeller. Zeller need not fear it. Care, judgment, and a matured opinion founded on protracted study of the originals, must be conceded to Professor Brandis. But in the art of reproducing his knowledge he cannot bear a comparison with Zeller. In that peculiar skill with which the whole of the authorities are marshalled before the reader in such a way as to make his critical faculty go along with that of the historian in drawing each inference, no one is superior to Zeller. Brandis gives us his own judgment—and a very cautious and deliberate judgment it always is—and that is all. His style alone places him at a great disadvantage as an expositor. The reader must often have recourse to the original Greek at the foot of the page to know what the commentator means, so obscure are his statements, so perplexed and entangled many of his sentences. Professor Brandis' type is as old-fashioned as his German.

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[33] "Geschichte der Entwickelungen der griechischen Philosophie und ihrer Nachwirkungen im römischen Reiche." Von Christian August Brandis. 1st. Hälfte. Berlin: Reimer.

He adheres to the Gothic alphabet, a barbarism which ought long ago to have been banished from all books by scholars or men of science.

Mr. Waddington publishes a second series of "Lectures at the Sorbonne.,"[34] The first series, published in 1857, treated Logic. The present volume expounds "the science of the soul by the aid of its history, showing the agreement of the results of consciousness with the views maintained by the greatest philosophers." The lecturer takes his stand on the old ground of "spiritualism." Of the three possible explanations that can be given of the nature of the soul, the materialist, the animist, the spiritualist, only the two last need a serious examination at the present day. (p. 534.) In his hurry to reject materialism, Mr. Waddington appears to throw away all the physiological facts ascertained in recent years, a body of information which has thrown more light on biology than all the metaphysics that have been talked since the time of Aristotle. Mr. Waddington is an adherent of what may be called the French school in psychology—the school of Maine de Biran, Jouffroy, and Cousin, which glories in tracing itself back to Descartes as its founder. Psychology is founded on "consciousness." This point of departure originates two axioms from which the whole of the spiritualist psychology is deduced. 1. The phenomena of consciousness are a set of phenomena wholly distinct from the properties of matter. 2. No phenomena are mental except those given in consciousness. Of these two axioms, the first negatives materialism—the second, animism. "All true psychology is spiritualist. *It requires but a few moments of reflection* to convince oneself that in this study is contained the only scientific remedy for all the false doctrines which we grieve to see revived and propagated around us." (p. 46.)

Schopenhauer has had the singular fate to write a number of books which remained unregarded, almost unknown, for a whole generation, but on a sudden became the object of general attention in philosophical circles. Dying at an advanced age in 1860, the author just lived to see the dawn of his reputation. What must have gratified him still more was, that that reputation was founded on the explosion of the "Hegelian humbug." Though Schopenhauer has not been in his grave quite three years, we have already two rival volumes of memorials. To the first of these, a Life, published by Gwinner in 1862, and which we have noticed before (*Westminster Review,* July, 1862), we have a sort of reply by Lindner and Frauenstädt. Schopenhauer considered Dorguth, Frauenstädt, and Becker the three apostles of his doctrine. But Frauenstädt was in a peculiar manner the "arch-evangelist." He was twenty-five years younger than Schopenhauer, whose personal acquaintance he first made in 1846, on the ground of having become already an enthusiastic disciple of his doctrines. The most interesting part of the present volume are the "Memorabilia" of Schopenhauer, furnished by Frauenstädt. Though, perhaps, more scandal will attach to the publication of Schopenhauer's letters to his disciple, in which he assails his philosophical enemies with the coarsest epithets. These the editor has not always withheld even where the object of them is still living; e.g. what is said of Kuno Fischer (p. 552.) Even the humble Frauenstädt remonstrated occasionally against these outbreaks. (p. 540.) The very unworthy and unphilosophical sensitiveness to criticism betrayed in these letters must perhaps be set down to failure of strength before the approaches of age. Schopenhauer employed his friends in collecting every notice of his works which appeared. Among the rest, our own article (*Westminster Review*, April, 1853) was immediately brought under his notice. He writes to Frauenstädt:—

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[34] "De l'Ame Humaine (Etudes de Psychologie)." Par Charles Waddington, Professeur agrégé de Philosophie à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris. Paris: Ladrange. Strasbourg: Schmidt. pp. 576.

[35] "Arthur Schopenhauer, von ihm, über ihn. Ein Wort der Vertheidigung von E. O. Lindner, und Memorabilien, Briefe und Nachlassstücke von Julius Frauenstädt." Berlin: Hayn.

> "It is long since I heard anything of you except what Lindner told me of your joy at my English glorification. I was hugely delighted with it. One thing you overlook in it—*i.e.*, the care and truthfulness which the Englishman has bestowed on his translation of the passages he quotes from me. They are done *con amore*, without grudging time as a German would have done." (p. 585.)

December, 1854, Schopenhauer writes to the same:—

> "I see in the advertisements that the last number of *The Westminster* has in its 'Contemporary Literature' a heading, 'Theology and Philosophy;' and that the *British Quarterly* for January, is to lead off with an article on 'The Philosophy of Kant.' Could you in the reading-room of the Royal Library (at Berlin) just peep into these numbers and see if there is anything in them about me?"

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, AND TRAVELS.

IT is with great pleasure we observe that Messrs. Parker have published in a small volume the masterly paper on Utilitarianism, sometime since contributed to *Fraser's Magazine* by Mr. J. S. Mill.[1] In depth and importance these papers are surpassed by nothing which has ever issued from their author. The powerful criticism to which the various misconceptions of the theory is subjected cannot fail to have the greatest effect on all who are interested in the high problem discussed. It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of the views which are so admirably set forth in these pages. With many they will prove the deathblow to all the prevalent theories of an absolute and immutable morality. By showing how relative are all our moral conceptions, how much the creatures of our condition and circumstances, the way is opened to indefinite improvement, and every advance in science and practical life is shown to be pregnant with an improved morality. An *à priori* ideal which is substantially but the conception of the day, is exchanged for the possibility of an infinite progress, and our efforts are directed to immediate and permanent ameliorations within our reach, leaving what we may ultimately become in that uncertainty from which no human powers can withdraw it. The effect of these papers on many minds was quaintly illustrated by a friend of ours, who said that after reading them he felt like a jelly-fish getting a backbone. They cannot but give coherence to much of the moral speculation of the day, and few of our readers can be ignorant how great an influence such speculations at present exert on all thinking men. In some shape or other, all the chief controversies of the day run up into moral questions, and the value of a clear note like the one by Mr. Mill cannot be over-estimated. After some general remarks, the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th chapters are concerned with a definition of Utilitarianism, with a proof that it has every sanction which can be claimed for any other principle of morals, and with an account of the nature and kind of proof of which it is susceptible. At this point the Essay might have concluded; but a final chapter has been most judiciously added, in which the idea of justice, which has been by many accepted as a standard, is subjected to an analysis which shows it to be in every reasonable sense identical with utility, and, in fact, as susceptible of change and open to growth as the clearer standard contended for. This little volume alone can contend with the author's Essay on Liberty as the most important English disquisition of the times.

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[1] "Utilitarianism." By J. S. Mill. London: Parker, Son, and Bourn. 1863. In another part of the Review we have subjected this important work to a more detailed examination.

The most valuable part of Sir G. C. Lewis's Dialogues on the best Form of Government is its conclusion that all such inquiries are in their very nature Utopian, and that government is good or bad in proportion to its adaptation to the social condition of the people who are subjected to it.[2] This change of view from an absolute advocacy of any form as most conducive to justice and well-being in every state of society, to a consideration of the relative merits of each particular form, is the result of the progress made in political inquiries since the period, now some time distant, when discussions of this description possessed a popularity they have long since lost—a result of inestimable value, in that it at once calls off attention from unfruitful theories to the practical inquiries of the moment, and gives to the apparently small questions of the day that dignity as a part of the vital movement of the country, which is too apt to be overlooked by hasty enthusiasts impatient of the slow processes of nature, by which alone any true growth is ever accomplished. In the course of this dispute between Monarchicus, Aristocraticus, and Democraticus, though each of the contending parties forgets none of the accepted arguments on their side—the weightiest are put by Sir George into the mouths of Aristocraticus: indeed, his advocacy of an aristocratic body which freely admits others to a share of its power and influence, is but a concealed panegyric on the working of the English Constitution. Virtually a man's advocacy of a particular form of government is but a certain mode of expressing his general opinion of mankind. It was hardly necessary in our opinion for Democraticus to sacrifice so much of that faith in his fellow-men on which his system depends, as to admit his favourite form of government to be more adapted to small communities than to large ones, and to confess that his ideal of human polity was one of numerous democratic communities.

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[2] "A Dialogue on the best Form of Government." By the Right Hon. Sir G. C. Lewis, Bart., M.P. London: Parker, Son, and Bourn. 1863.

In this respect we consider that all the parties to the discussion are in some degree misled by the small dimensions of those republics which have hitherto successfully maintained themselves for any considerable period. The conditions of intercommunication in modern times are so greatly superior to those of the past, that all conclusions which are at all based upon the differences which naturally arise from want of mutual knowledge, are likely to exert but small comparative influence in future ages: whatever may be pleaded by its opponents, democracy is indissolubly associated with every belief in the necessary progress of the race, and every one who pronounces in favour of any particular form of government as absolutely the best, does, in fact, pronounce his judgment on the progress and present stage of civilization.

The only arguments which are to be found against a democratic form of government repose on the incapacity of each man to govern himself. This may be admitted without departing from that faith for which the progress of history affords the surest basis. Let Monarchicus glory in the past and Aristocraticus show his system is not antiquated; but Democraticus has the aspirations of the future on his side, and aspirations of a kind that have never yet failed in converting themselves into facts, unless by the overhasty advocacy of an immediate application of those forms of government for which the governed are not yet ripe.*

Herr Frantz's account of the position and tendencies of the various political sects in Germany is rather an analysis of their party names in the most general signification which can be given to them, than a history of the parties by which the country is divided.[3] The weight and action of the different sections of political opinion in Germany are nowhere to be ascertained from his pages, which rather contain a disquisition on the tendencies of conservatism, liberalism, constitutionalism, democracy, and ultramontanism in the abstract, than in any display of their existing action on each other at the present moment. The central notion which gives coherence to each of these parties is well displayed, and the true character of their aims fully developed; but quite as much in a European sense as in an especially German one.

As a criticism of the political ideas of the time, this volume is not without value, and the more so, as it is written in a remarkably clear and facile manner—a singular merit in German political disquisition; but anything more thoroughly German in its remoteness from a practical application to the political divisions of his country can hardly be imagined. The author thinks that German unity can only be arrived at by the prevalence of federal principles. Hitherto, federal unions have been rather very definite combinations among sovereign States than conventions among political partisans to subordinate their special aims wherever they may be found in disharmony with any interest common to them all. This, indeed, is one of the rarest of political phenomena; one, perhaps, nowhere to be discovered unless supported implicitly or overtly by a common interest of an overwhelming character.

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* These words were written before the great public calamity of the accomplished author's decease.

[3] "Kritik aller Partien." Von C. Frantz. Berlin: J. Schneider. London: Williams and Norgate.

In a volume remarkable for clearness of style and singular aptness of illustration, Mr. Phillipps endeavours to construct a system of general, or as he would prefer to call it, natural jurisprudence.[4] He thinks it practicable to construct a framework which shall not only epitomise all past and existing law, but also exhaust the possible contingencies of the future. Such a system he maintains to be founded not upon the arbitrary decisions of human opinion, but upon the unchanging necessities of human nature. Nothing, however, is so changing as that which in human opinion is considered necessary to the existence of civil society, as is manifest from the history of every age and the description of every form of society existing on the earth. A system of comparative jurisprudence which will show how the various status of mankind have been treated in all times and places, may be fruitful in most useful generalizations, but can exhaust the past only; each generation brings with it new relations between man and man, and, if requisite, new legislation to determine the questions which may arise out of them. Mr. Phillipps declares that the human imagination may be safely defied to conceive any possible opposition of interest between two human beings whose causes and consequences may not, according to his principles of analysis, be classsified with mathematical precision. This appeal to conceivableness is one which has been made in every age with equal confidence, to become the wonder of the following one, that often has only the advantage over its predecessor which is implied by familiarity with the idea [illegible] conceived. It is unnecessary to enumerate how many things inconceivable to our ancestors are, in our opinion, very clear and evident, and we may depend that similar judgments will be passed upon our opinion by our own descendants. The whole basis, however, of the author's system, rests upon his acknowledging himself to be one of those theorists who are unable to consider justice and injustice as the creatures of human law, and his consequent falling back on the conscience as an inherent guide and director to mankind. It would be difficult to show how conscience can be other than the creature of education, being, as it is, nothing but a man's judgment on his own moral condition. Justice is so entirely the creature of human law that, perhaps, no better definition of it can be given than that celebrated one which declares it to be "the interest of the superior power; that rule which in every society the dominant power prescribes as being for its own advantage." The harshness of these terms is exactly fitted to the growth of the idea, and it is only when the dominant power resides in the intelligence and morality of the community that any notion of general utility can find place, which of course includes the advantages of the intelligent and moral, and but little considers the opinions of rogues and vagabonds. A savage in Dahomey looks upon himself as rather unfortunate than oppressed when he is selected to furnish forth the material for the grand ceremony at his sovereign's death. Our moral notions and a portion of our ideas of justice and law are determined by our past history and present circumstances; our existing stock of these can be systematically arranged, but future additions to it cannot be determined until the advent of those new circumstances which shall give them birth. Although we think the fundamental theory of Mr. Phillipps's book erroneous and insufficient, we cannot but recommend it for its fulness of information, and for the great variety of felicitous observations with which its pages abound.

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[4] "Jurisprudence." By Charles Spencer March Phillipps. London: J. Murray. 1863.

Indeed, if any one wishes a complete antidote to the speculative errors of Mr. Phillipps, he will find it in a short pamphlet by the late Mr. Austin,[5] a competent authority, if any ever existed; though by no means laying down any system, he could not recommend the study of jurisprudence without displaying its relations to morality and other branches of human thought and action. The remarkable acuteness and analytical power of the author make every relic of his studies most welcome to all who can appreciate his rare qualities. A few words are added to his pamphlet on codification, in which that question is treated with a clearness and completeness which dispel much of the popular aspiration after a reform which, if not almost ideally perfect, is apt to bring very grave compensating disadvantages in its train.

There are few persons who will not be glad to have the "Letters by Historicus" in a collected form.[6] The great value of these disquisitions in themselves has often been enhanced at the period of their first publication by their extreme opportuneness. It is not too much to say that they have frequently turned the line of argument and strongly affected the tone of remark on these subjects in the paper in which they appeared, and always in the direction of peace, goodwill, and equitable allowance of the rights of others.

They gain greatly in interest in their collected shape, their unity of purpose and coherent principles are thus more fully impressed on the reader. The detailed criticisms on M. Hautefeuille's mendacious work is one of the most thorough and masterly exposures of combined malice and incompetence. The cruel irony with which his mistakes and assumptions are traced to their source, and the constructive proof of his ignorance of the conclusive answers by which his sources have been long since discredited has seldom been surpassed. In the course of his letter the author indicates the possibility that he may take up the whole question of the relation of international to personal morality.

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[5] "On the Uses of the Study of Jurisprudence." By the late John Austin. London: J. Murray. 1863.

[6] "Letters by Historicus on some Questions of International Law, reprinted from the *Times*, with considerable Additions." London: Macmillan and Co. 1863.

He is admirably qualified for so important and useful a work, and we sincerely hope that nothing may prevent the execution of his design.

There are many points in the growth of International Morality which cannot fail to throw a new and clear light on the progress of morality itself.

In treating International Morality those theological considerations which have so strongly influenced ethical discussion have no application. The standard it must conform to is manifestly an earthly one, and its sanctions cannot be more exalted. Such a thorough discussion as we might expect at the hands of Historicus would be most valuable. These letters have been so widely read that any account of their subject is obviously unnecessary; but we cannot refrain from calling attention to the last of them, in which the popular delusion that a ship at sea is a part of the territory of the State from which she sails, is dispersed with a clearness of argument and abundance of authoritative evidence which leaves nothing to be desired.

Under the title of "The Empire," Prof. Goldwin Smith has brought together the letters which he published in the *Daily News* on our colonial system.[7] It would be superfluous to praise their masterly clearness or controversial ability. So much of his argument as is drawn from the effects of our naval and military protection on the colonists themselves is convincing and unanswerable; but the direct purpose of strengthening us at home, that we may act with greater weight in the councils of Europe, as a general policy, requires a more detailed advocacy and discussion than he gives it in his pages. The gigantic effort of our fathers upon the Continent has not left us any peculiar encouragement for a like policy in our own time.

A translation, we observe, has appeared of Dr. Fischel's laborious and comprehensive work on the English Constitution, of which, at its first appearance in German, we had occasion to speak so highly.[8] The translator, in fitting his work for the English public, has subjected it to a few modifications, and has added notes and comments which, as we before remarked, were very necessary as the author approaches cotemporary history.

In the preface to his "Manual," just published,[9] Mr. Fawcett remarks with much truth, that although the principles of Political Economy are more frequently applied to in the discussions of ordinary life than those of any other science, yet there are few sciences which are so imperfectly understood. This cannot be attributed to the want of adequate treatises on the subject—Adam Smith and Mr. J. S. Mill are standing proofs to the contrary. Perhaps the fulness and scientific completeness of Mr. Mill's book still prevent many from taking up those important volumes—and though their doctrines exercise an influence which increases with each year, yet it is but too true that the doctrines rather than the science itself, have become popularized and familiar in men's mouths. This is greatly to be regretted, for in no subject of inquiry is the connexion of the various topics more important for the due appreciation of the importance of each than in Political Economy.

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[7] "The Empire." By Goldwin Smith. Oxford and London: John-Henry and James Parker. 1863.

[8] "The English Constitution." By Dr. Edward Fischel, translated from the Second German Edition by R. J. Shee, of the Inner Temple. London: Bosworth and Harrison. 1863.

[9] "Manual of Political Economy." By Henry Fawcett, M.A., Fellow of rinity-hall College, Cambridge. Macmillan and Co. 1863.

It is with a view to induce those who still shrink from the labour and thought which are requisite to the mastery of Mr. Mill's great book, that Mr. Fawcett issues this more popular and accessible treatise. It is however by no sacrifice of scientific accuracy that the author has endeavoured to carry out his purpose. His treatise is full, complete, and a masterpiece of clear exposition; it covers the whole extent of his subject, and is remarkable for accurate thought and felicity of illustration. The chapter on trades' unions and strikes, a subject with which the author has already connected his name, is, while full of sympathy and intelligent counsel to the working-classes, perfectly free from any delusive expectations. On the theory of value and on the value of money, his views are remarkably clear, many of the fallacies which so pertinaciously surround this part of his subject are exposed without controversy by the lucidity of his statements of the questions which have been raised on those two much debated points. Closely connected with them, and, indeed, not to be dissociated in any clear view of the whole problem, is the influence of credit on price: on this important topic we can most cordially recommend Mr. Fawcett's volume. In a great trading community like ours, there is no point on which it is more important constantly to insist, and every variety of currency delusion is dispersed by adequate notions of the nature and function of credit, and a more simple and satisfactory exposition than Mr. Fawcett's will not easily be found. In a very useful chapter on the influence of the recent gold discoveries, the question is discussed whether, and if so how much, the value of gold has been affected by the recent increased production. The smallness of th[redacted] yet traceable is accounted for by the greatly increased trade of the last ten years, and by the displacement of so great an amount of European silver coin for exportation to the East. Mr. Fawcett seems to think that the development of trade with India and China may diminish this immemorial absorption of silver; but while the population of the East continues so vast, and its social condition so depressed, we think the period when it will cease to absorb the precious metals must be still very remote. In his first book the author has a very excellent chapter on the difficulties connected with the assessment of the income-tax, which will well reward perusal.

It is impossible to leave this excellent volume without reflecting on the enormous disadvantages under which it has been composed, or without surprise at the absence of any trace of the heavy affliction under which its author labours.

The main purpose of Mr. Hamilton's "Resources of a Nation" is to establish the sure relations between Morals and Political Economy.[10] There can be no question that the subject is a great one, and it is the more to be regretted that the author's conceptions of the nature and origin of our moral feelings should so fatally stand in the way of the adequate execution of his design. In introducing his subject, he makes the following remarks :—

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[10] "The Resources of a Nation: a Series of Essays." By Rowland Hamilton. London: Macmillan and Co. 1863.

> "We conceive, then, that the true moral feeling compels the exercise of the intellectual faculties, which are the only means by which it can operate.—We take the moral to stand to the intellectual in a somewhat similar relation as the latter does to the material; and much as we may endeavour to abstract the higher from the lower, they will still be mutually dependent.—We may conceive of the moral part of our nature as dependent in some such manner on the intellectual, yet governed by impulses higher than the mere intellect can impart, which alone can affect the conscience, and make a man truly love and practise the highest moral virtues—patience, faith, courage, fortitude, devotion, charity."

In the last of these extracts the progress of morality is confused with the growth of moral character in an individual, and in the former ones all reasonable theory of the special progress of moral notions among mankind is rendered impossible by the assumption that morals advance by some mysterious law of growth peculiar to themselves. Indeed, a little further on the author "inclines to the belief that the intellect is unable fully to comprehend the springs of action which have their origin in the moral sense, though it can perceive and appreciate the effects resulting from them."

The author's theory of morals is unfortunately in the condition of botany in the time of Linnæus; he arranges the flowers of human thought and action by some arbitrary resemblances, and takes an account of the physiological laws which render any flowers possible. This is the more remarkable, as one should have thought no study was so likely to direct a man's mind to the utilitarian basis of morality with anything like the force which is exercised in that direction by political economy.

The weakness and indecision which this fundamental misconception spreads over the first two chapters of the volume will, we fear, prevent many from progressing to the concluding ones, in which the author enters on the peculiar questions connected with political economy; and this is the more to be regretted, as they are singularly well worth reading, abound in judicious remarks, and are entirely free from any Utopian or exaggerated views—while they display a full and complete mastery of the science, the peculiar relations of which to a consistent system of morals, he so singularly misses.

Another treatise on "Political Economy," by J. Holbrey, is chiefly remarkable for an affectation of discussing its phenomena by means of a new terminology.[11] The importance and influence of received expressions cannot be overrated, and there is no doubt that they are sometimes misleading; but such well understood terms as those of Political Economy, which are the result of the combined criticism and acute investigation of some of the greatest English minds, cannot be relinquished without involving the attempt to dispense with them in an amount of obscurity that brings with it its sure punishment in general disregard and neglect. Let one instance suffice: the author defines a glut as "the disproportionate combination of the elements for the possession of, or the change in a product, or class of products, in relation to the combination of the elements of other products." But the substantial purpose of this volume has need of all the protection which can be thrown round it by such a mode of exposition. His purpose is to establish a new theory of value, and to propose a new system of currency. But we are wrong in calling either of these proposals new. The first is to lay down a means of ascertaining the value of all products by the labour which, as he says, is inherent to them. This has usually been called their cost price, and it is difficult to point out any other means by which value can be estimated: to this standard all value must ultimately be referred, and no amount of ingenuity can keep it from oscillating on either side of it. But the attempt to arrive at a proper estimate of the value of the labour by which any article is produced other than through the action of supply and demand, is wholly chimerical. To assume the time consumed in the production as an adequate measure is to ignore every individual difference in the character and ability of the producers concerned. The author's system of Currency, which again he calls by a new name, "Exchange medium," is nothing more than a proposal too often heard for an issue by the Government of inconvertible notes.

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[11] "Value: its Nature, Kinds, Measurement, and Methods of Transfer," &c. By J. Holbrey. London: E. Wilson. 1863.

With all advocates of this system, he assumes that the amount of currency is daily becoming more and more inadequate to the increasing demands of trade, and that it should be the duty of the Government to proportion its amount to those needs. It is surely sufficient answer to such theorists that the currency is only inadequate at certain periods, when, from the abuse of individual credit, that only of such corporations as the Bank of England is left intact. The proposal to transfer the issue to a Government office has often been discussed, and it may perhaps be admitted is still open to further investigation; but that it should be assumed by the State on the terms proposed in the volume will hardly be admitted by any competent witness. If this transfer ever takes place it will not be for the purpose of an issue based on securities, and inconvertible except for them.

It is very unlikely that we shall ever again lose sight of the principle which is the *bête noire* of the author's school, that the instrument of transfer must in the ultimate appeal be also an equivalent. The derangement which is at times introduced into commercial relations by the abuse of credit can only thus be checked, and it may be expected that there will never be too little consideration for the immediate needs of the commercial community at such periods under the present system; for two precedents unfortunately exist which too much encourage such theorists as would dispense with any metallic basis to our system of currency.

Before leaving these books on economical subjects, we are glad to draw attention to two excellent volumes by M. Le Hardy de Beaulieu, a distinguished member of the Belgian school of economy.[12] The first, a popular handbook of the science, after treating in a very clear and perspicuous manner its general principles, subjects the different systems of social organization which have been popular on the Continent to a severe and destructive criticism, which will well reward the reader's perusal. The second volume, on wages, which has been republished with additions from the "Revue Trimestrielle," while entering into an exposition of the laws which regulate their amount, and of the causes which modify the action of those laws, treats of the principle of competition in a bold and satisfactory manner, and does not shrink, as is too often the case, from insisting on its ultimate justice and beneficence.

The first number of M. Maurice Block's General Political Dictionary promises a really excellent book of reference on the subject.[13] The articles we have read are compact and yet adequately full, while the list of promised contributors, comprising as it does almost every celebrated continental publicist and economist, is full of promise that future numbers will equal the excellence of the first.

On the American question we have not many books to notice this quarter. The public seems somewhat to tire of the ephemeral productions with which the press has swarmed. Dr. Russell's "Diary North and South,"[14] will always remain one of the most lifelike pictures of the first year of the war, and it is greatly to be regretted that American susceptibilities should have prevented his longer stay among them. This diary abounds in characteristic anecdotes, and is remarkable for one rather American feature in the detailed descriptions of the personal appearance and the full particulars of the antecedents of the notabilities with whom he came in contact. It is the more valuable as the author has no pet theories of his own, but allows the events of the day to exert their own influence on his readers; and when giving the strong expressions of opinion among which he lived, he does not stop to discuss, but leaves them to produce such effect as is natural to them. Before the attack on Fort Sumter he had an opportunity of visiting the South. This part of his book is full of suggestive reflections. At the outbreak of the war he was obliged to return to the North, as all regular communication with Europe was soon cut off from the South, which his engagement as correspondent to the *Times* rendered absolutely necessary to him. The description, however, which he sent home of the first defeat of the Northern party, though moderate in comparison with many American ones, led to such an outcry against him, that the Government refused to grant him permission to accompany McClellan on his first expedition against Richmond. His occupation being thus gone, he immediately returned to Europe, and we have to regret the close of one of the most impartial accounts we possess of the American war.

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[12] "Traité Élémentaire d'Économie Politique." Par C. H. Le Hardy de Beaulieu, Professeur à l'École d'Industrie et des Mines du Hainaut. 1861.

"Du Salaire." By the same Author. Bruxelles: Lacroix & Cie. London: D. Nutt. 1862.

[13] "Dictionnaire Général de la Politique." Par M. Maurice Block. Paris: O. Lorenz. London: Williams and Norgate. 1863.

[14] "My Diary North and South." By William H. Russell. 2 vols. London: Bradbury and Evans. 1863.

"The South as it is," by the Rev. T. D. Ozanne, is an elaborate apology for the domestic institution.[15] After acknowledging that slavery is in opposition to the spirit of Christianity, he at once proceeds to bring forward every palliative by which its maintenance can be excused. As a general description of the South, this is a thoroughly untrustworthy book. It is not without a certain feeling of repugnance that one reads long tirades on the religious susceptibilities of the negroes in the South, and of the sighs and suppressed exclamations with which they followed a sermon by the author, on the text "You are not your own, but bought with a price." Its sad physical truth must have so far outweighed its religious significance, that we cannot but suppose that many a sigh must have been prompted by other feelings than those which arise from the conviction of the necessity of a Saviour. This book is full of statements that cannot be reconciled with one another, and is, in fact, nothing but a prolonged flattery of wealthy Southerners in the interest of the Episcopal Church, which, from the author's statements, would be supposed to be the most active in the work of christianizing the negroes. It is needless to say how far this is from being the fact, even where efforts in this direction are allowed by the planters.

Another book, "Nine Months in the United States during the Crisis," is as enthusiastic an advocate of the North as M. Ozanne is of the South.[16] The author, also a clergyman, pastor of the French Evangelical Church in Paris, is so charmed at finding the principles of Church government, for which he contends against an overpowering hierarchy, not only prevalent but dominant in the States, that he can hardly bring himself to criticize those who have carried out his ideal. The good things, and they are neither few nor unimportant, that can be said in favour of the American character, find a ready expression in his mouth; on this ground alone the book deserves high commendation. His account of the origin and early progress of the struggle, though somewhat ill-arranged, is full and satisfactory. Our only objection to the author's treatment of his subject is his constant effort to display the whole movement of the North in the light of a religious revival, or fresh awakening to the enormity of slavery. This is carrying a professional weakness too far, for few such great and important struggles as that now raging in America have been, in our opinion, so little influenced by direct religious impulse.

Mr. Burton, the author of "A Visit to the City of the Saints," has edited the very valuable and practical volume of travellers' lore published some time since by Captain (now General) Marcy, of the

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[15] "The South as it is; or, Twenty-one Years' Experience in the Southern States of America." By the Rev. T. D. Ozanne, M.A. London: Saunders, Otley, and Co. 1863.

[16] "Nine Months in the United States during the Crisis." By the Rev. Georges Fisch, D.D., Pastor of the French Evangelical Church in Paris. London: J. Nisbet and Co. 1863.

United States Army, and of the Staff of the Army of the Potomac, during the command of General McClellan, his son-in-law.[17] This volume not only contains the fullest information of every requisite for a party starting on the adventurous overland journey to California, but abounds in most instructive and amusing accounts of the Indians and their ways. As many as thirty-two different routes are laid down, with the fullest particulars of each day's journey, of the country to be traversed and the halting-place to be selected; with the greatest practical good sense the author shrinks from no detail, however trifling it may appear in itself. An experience of a quarter of a century in the wild countries of the Western territories has made him call as much attention to directions for keeping lucifer-matches dry, as to the best methods of preserving Bison, Red Deer, and Big Horn. Though intended simply as a directory across the American continent, we know of no book which gives a more full and satisfactory picture of the country which lies between the Eastern States and California. Mr. Burton's notes are often very valuable in correcting for European or Indian travellers the general hints of the author, and add greatly to the value of a book that is one of the most appropriate companions of any emigrant to a wild and unsettled country.

Few will have forgotten the pictures of Siberia and Eastern Tartary published some years since by Mr. Atkinson; to the picturesque appearance of the little known country with which he made us for the first time acquainted, is now added by his wife an account of the habits and customs of its inhabitants.[18] Mr. Atkinson was singularly fortunate in the companion he chose for his wanderings: few ladies can tell a more adventurous tale, and still fewer could have exhibited such courage and power of endurance and facility of resource; to travel nearly 7000 miles in a single year, and for the most part *en cavalier*, for side-saddles are an impossibility in the wild and rugged mountain passes—is a feat of which any lady may be proud, and Mrs. Atkinson is not without some consciousness of the strangeness of her achievement which filled the native Cossacks and Kirgis Tartars with as much wonderment as the deference and attention paid her by her husband. The position of women among these nomads is, as it has always been with such tribes, one of such subjection and hardship that Mrs. Atkinson cannot refrain from insinuating she would have headed an Amazon revolt had she stayed among them, as several Kirgis Chiefs were anxious she should do. In these five years' wanderings, this adventurous couple visited all the countries from the Altai to the frontier of China, frequently exposed to great hardships in the matter of food and clothing, while, during the first year of their journey, Mrs. Atkinson gave premature birth to a little boy, whom she called Tamchiboulac, after a dripping well near which he was born, a view of which strange scene will be found in Mrs. Atkinson's volume. The little fellow, however, grew and prospered, and was a source of great interest and wonderment to the people among whom he first saw the light. One chief, indeed, laid claim to him as a native of his country, but his parents preferred a European future for their child to the forest life in the Tartar Steppes. The intimate relations which were established by the travellers with the various tribes with which they came in contact, has enabled Mrs. Atkinson to gather the fullest and most interesting particulars of their daily life and domestic relations. Travelling as they did under the special protection of the late Emperor, their winter sojourns at the different government towns and stations were made pleasant to them by the most friendly receptions. These isolated centres of Western civilization, with their dependent bands of political exiles, are well described and full of interesting anecdotes of the fare and fortunes of those hopeless outcasts from their native country. The particulars of desperate attempts at return are full of sad features, for none of them are successful, and even when the evasion is complete it is but to fall into the hands of some wandering tribe of Kirgis, who either sell the fugitive as a slave, or reduce him to some menial employment round their encampments, often mutilating their captive to prevent his escape. Altogether this volume can have few competitors, either in novelty of subject or interest of detail, while it is written in a cheerful and animated way that gives it an additional charm.

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[17] "The Prairie Traveller: a Hand-book for Overland Expeditions." By Randolph B. Marcy, Captain United States Army. Edited with notes by Richard J. Burton, F.R.C.S. London: Fleetwood and Co. 1863.

[18] "Recollections of Tartar Steppes and their Inhabitants." By Mrs. Atkinson. London: J. Murray. 1863.

Mr. Fortune's account of his visit to Yedo and Peking[19] has a definite interest arising from the restricted purposes of his journey. He visited Japan and China with a view to enlarge our collections of ornamental plants peculiar to those countries, and succeeded in bringing home many specimens of new and interesting shrubs and flowering plants. It is somewhat curious that both the Chinese and Japanese should have developed a taste for horticulture so like our own, that the environs and suburbs of all their great towns are filled with nurseries to supply its demands. One of the most welcome of his acquisitions is the male plant of the Aucuba japonica, so well known in all our gardens. Hitherto the female plant has been the only one introduced into Europe, and though one of the most familiar of our ornamental shrubs, we have been accustomed to see it put forth its flowers every summer in vain, and to miss the highly ornamental clusters of red berries which they would have resulted in had it not been for the absence of that fructification which should have produced them. In a short time we may now expect to see this favourite and useful shrub putting on new and increased attractiveness. Mr. Fortune often complains that at the Japanese nurseries it was easier to procure exotics than the local plants of the country; but he ought to have been the last to forget that an English nursery is the last place in which any one would be likely to find specimens of indigenous wild flowers and shrubs. Among the collection he made in the woods and mountains near Yokuhama are many new and very symmetrical pines. In wandering about the country for these purposes, Mr. Fortune describes the people and villages he lived among, but there are few new or very striking details of this description. His visit was at last cut short by an official difficulty with the British Legation. On his return to Kanagawa, Mr. Fortune found the English ambassador absent, and a report prevalent that no passport for visiting the interior would be granted to any English subject until his return. Under these circumstances he applied to the American minister, who supplied him with the requisite permission. The gentleman, however, who was left in charge of the British Legation, took fire at this irregular proceeding, and in the most lofty tone of offended small dignity, requested him to quit Yedo without delay; a very temperate answer and explanation did nothing to soothe the self-love of the exasperated official, and Mr. Fortune was obliged to accelerate his departure for China. The account he gives of the horticultural devices of the Chinese adds nothing of any importance to the full particulars given in Dr. Gordon's volume, which we noticed last quarter.

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[19] "Yedo and Peking: a Narrative of a Journey to the Capitals of Japan and China," &c. By Robert Fortune. London: J. Murray. 1863.

A not very pleasant picture of the relations between her Majesty's servants and subjects, in a country where both are exposed to daily increasing risks, is furnished in Mr. Moss's account of his seizure by the Japanese, and of his subsequent treatment by the Consul-General.[20] It appears that at the first settlement of the Europeans, after the conclusion of the treaty, they were accustomed, within the limits assigned to them, (a radius of about three miles round Kanagawa,) to amuse themselves by shooting the game with which the district abounded. At first this was not objected to by the natives, but ultimately complaints were lodged at the Consulate which led to an order in the winter of 1859-60, that the Europeans should suspend the practice till further negotiations could be concluded on the subject with the Japanese. This order was of course obeyed, but in the following autumn Mr. Moss, a small trader who had partly freighted a ship to Kanagawa, and was engaged in waiting for profitable opportunities of trade, observing that the officials connected with the Legation had recommenced the prohibited amusement, started one day for some hours' amusement with his gun. After triumphantly bagging one goose, he was, on his return, passing through the streets of Kanagawa, arrested by a party of Japanese police; in the struggle his gun was wrested from him and went off, severely wounding one of the Japanese in the arm. He was then hurried off with great expedition and secresy to a prison, from which it is probable he would never have emerged had it not been for the prompt measures of the English Consul, Captain F. Howard Vyse. By this gentleman's energy and good fortune, he was rescued from Japanese handling, and reserved for the judgment of the English authorities. At first Mr. Alcock, now Sir Rutherford, her Majesty's representative, was inclined to return the prisoner to the Japanese pending the inquiry; but this resolution was not persisted in, or probably we should not have seen the present pamphlet. At last, after a two days' trial at the Consulate, Mr.

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[20] "Seizure by the Japanese of Mr. Moss, and his Treatment by the Consul-General." London: W. Ridgway. 1863.

Alcock pronounced judgment against him, finding him guilty of trespass, of sporting without a licence, and of unlawfully wounding a Japanese official while in the execution of his duty, and sentencing him to pay a fine of a thousand dollars to the wounded man, to be deported from the colony, and imprisoned for three months in her Majesty's prison at Hong Kong. This judgment was protested against by every one of the assessors at the trial, but without avail, on the ground that it was not sufficiently clear that sporting was an infraction of Japanese law, and that as the prisoner was not aware by whom he was attacked he did but exercise a legitimate self-defence, while the wound inflicted on the officer was accidental and not the act of the prisoner. Mr. Moss, however, was put on board the *Pioneer* and conveyed to Hong Kong, where on appeal he succeeded in procuring not only his liberation but also the reversal of Mr. Alcock's judgment against him. Not satisfied, however, with this success, he brought an action against Mr. Alcock, laying his damages at thirty thousand dollars, and his present pamphlet is the detailed account of his unsuccessful pursuit of this sum of money. Before any investigation had been made into his affairs, he appealed to Mr. Alcock to procure him a like amount from the Japanese Government as an indemnity for his false imprisonment. What Mr. Alcock would not urge on the Japanese, Mr. Moss, now that his sentence has been set aside, pursues on Mr. Alcock, totally forgetting that he cannot have a claim on the Consul for consequences of his conduct which he himself had acknowledged to have accrued before Mr. Alcock had heard of him. The minute summary of his sufferings and losses, down to the deprivation of a *sleeve-link*, is carried out with such absurd particularity that his pamphlet, though it shows but little sympathy to exist between the English officers and smaller traders at Kanagawa, will hardly enlist many on his side in the pursuit of his fixed idea of thirty thousand dollars. Mr. Moss may be congratulated that he is safe out of the country, and may congratulate himself that every positive injury he has suffered at the hands of Mr. Alcock has been substantially redressed.

We concur in the opinion expressed by Mr. Hope, that some of his readers will confound Scindea with Scinde, the State which was deprived of its independence by Lord Ellenborough,[21] with the country conquered by Sir Charles Napier, concerning which he cleverly and, as the result proved, very appropriately, communicated his victory by writing "*peccavi.*" The House of Scindea, when still independent, ruled supreme in Central India. It is at the court of Gwalior and not at Hydrabad on the Indus, that the events narrated by Mr. Hope occurred. His story is a very sad, and, as far as we are concerned, a very discreditable one. It thoroughly deserves perusal by all who wish for detailed and trustworthy information concerning the manner in which our Indian empire has been created, is retained and is governed.

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[21] "The House of Scindea: a Sketch." By John Hope, late Superintending Surgeon of Scindea's Contingent, and Surgeon to the Court of Gwalior. London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green. 1863.

Doubtless there are few who will freely credit either the accuracy of Mr. Hope's statements, or the justice of his conclusions. That any of the natives of India have real grievances to complain of, is what only a very small number of Englishmen will frankly admit. Mr. Hope puts the case of the majority in this country with cogency and effect when he remarks:—

> "There is not a more general and certainly not a pleasanter illusion among persons who never resided in India, than that the one hundred and eighty millions who inhabit the immense plains between the Himalayah mountains and Cape Comorin are largely impressed with the conviction that the Government of Great Britain in India is not only paternal and magnanimous, but that it is felt and recognised as the only government, within that wide territory, where every wrong can be redressed; where tortures, such as are alleged to be commonly practised by native rulers, have long ceased; where the peasantry especially is contented; and where 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number' is the chief object of its power. Drawbacks, of course, those enthusiasts say, there must be. Certain clans are, by long habit, intractable. The highest classes have no public service to obtain under English sway. The great landed interest, as we understand the term in England, it is acknowledged, has no particular love to bestow on us: but, despite these exceptional facts as they are called, the untravelled Englishman, unruffled by the lesson which the mutinies of 1857 taught, puts his hands into his pockets and feels proudly conscious that the masses are perfectly satisfied and even charmed with the destiny which placed them under the dominion of Queen Victoria. Nor is this illusion altogether inexplicable. If we turn to France, we find that, in this present day, a large proportion of its people possess the inward sense amounting to absolute certainty, that Napoleon won the battle of Waterloo; and we further know, that a host of persons of the Roman Catholic persuasion believe that the tiny pieces of wood which the priests of Spain and Italy give away unsparingly at Easter are really atoms of the true Cross of our Saviour. The explanation in these instances is the same, and it is that the wish is father to the thought." (pp. 3, 4.)

Mr. Kaye proceeds to express his conviction that if the hundred and eighty millions who inhabit India were "to go to a poll on the choice of governments, an immense majority would prefer a native one, (though, as a matter of course, it preyed extensively upon their industry and wealth), to one which was ever supervising and controlling every act of their public life, and haunting them with the vision of an English court of law. The temperament of the people is not quite understood. If we take up a book on Italy, we are sure to find that it is the 'land of the sun and of ardent imaginations.' India, too, is the 'land of the sun,' but the people are the impersonation of apathy; their entire exemption from passion being, indeed, the secret of our retention of the empire." We are aware it will be answered that our privilege is to give the natives of India, not what they prefer, but what they require; not what pleases, but what will do them good. In truth, we are accustomed to regard every uncivilized race to be in the position of children whose sole duty consists in meekly taking what they get and being thankful; in humbly doing as they are told and being satisfied. That we act justly in this matter, is far from being so certain as is the fact that we thus think and act.

Before proceeding to give an outline of Mr. Hope's narrative, we must mention a very curious circumstance relative to the State which it concerns. "In Scindea's country there are no courts of law; and justice, if it cost anything at all, is, what it ought to be, cheap and at every man's door. Let us suppose that Buxoo has a grievance against Ramkissen. He does not go to a solicitor to get him to file a bill and to lodge a retainer for the services of a Malins or a Cairns of the native bar. He proceeds to the *Potail*, or head man of his village, with his complaint, who directs a *punchayut* to assemble, by whom investigation is made and redress given on the spot. *Punchayut* signifies 'a court of five persons,' and it is, beyond all question, regarded as the *Magna Charta* of the millions, though, from deference to English prejudices and patronage, it is denied, unhappily, to the hundred and eighty millions who are under our sway. In that Court is no evidence of inferiority of race exhibited by suitors walking barefoot, whilst the high-salaried judge has his own boots resting, perhaps, on the very table of the justice-hall itself; no Haileybury law to mystify Buxoo; no calling of foul names from the judgment-seat; no highnesses or excellencies; and, worse than all, no black Bumbles to descant on their exertions, and to flatter the great functionaries."

Scindea's country is three hundred miles in length and unequal in breadth; it extends from the city of Agra, in the North-west Presidency, to Bombay in the south. The Prince and his Court are Mahrattas: the people are Rajpoots and Jauts. Although differing in race, yet both rulers and people are one in religion. To us the country can have but small value, because "it has little trade, except in opium and corn, and no manufactures at all worthy of the name." However, it connects Agra with Bombay. Consequently, "so long as it belonged to Scindea, it was said to be a perpetual obstacle to quick and direct communication between Upper India and England until the day came when, by the overthrow of the Ameers of Scinde, through [what Sir Charles Napier termed] a 'humane piece of rascality' . . . . the Indus was thrown open to our steamers." A pretext for annexing this State was anxiously desired. To bring about such a consummation had been the subject of ardent longing and intrigue. When Lord William Bentinck was Governor-General, he did his utmost to annex Scindea's territory, and was only foiled by Mr. Cavendish, the Resident at the Court of Gwalior, refusing to further his design. Mr. Cavendish was both reproached and punished for his contumacy. He was removed from Gwalior and Major Sutherland appointed in his stead. The latter, having had no experience as a Resident,

> "Waited on the Governor-General in Calcutta, to learn what the policy was to be at Gwalior;—was it to be intervention or non-intervention? Lord Bentinck, whose disposition, like that of Lord Palmerston, loved a joke, quickly replied:—'Look here, Major;' and his lordship threw back his head, opened wide his mouth, and placed his thumb and finger together like a boy about to swallow a sugar-plum. Then, turning to the astonished Major, he said:—'If the Gwalior State *will* fall down your throat, you are not to shut your mouth, as Mr. Cavendish did, but swallow it; that is my policy.'" (p. 29.)

Shortly after the arrival of Lord Ellenborough in India, Maharajah

Junkojee Scindea died suddenly. His successor was Gyajee Scindea, a boy nine years old. The Queen-Mother, on whom the office of Regent naturally devolved, was very little older than Gyajee Scindea, being only thirteen. Lord Ellenborough took advantage of the Queen-Mother's extreme youth to cause the Durbar to disregard ancient custom, to pass over the Queen-Mother and to elect Mama-Sahib as Regent. Mama-Sahib was unpopular in Gwalior, and was soon driven out of it. Before his departure, he appropriated 40,000*l.* from the public treasury, in addition to the salary and perquisites of a three months' Regency. The Queen-Mother, who now occupied the throne, ordered the Durbar [Council of State] to assemble and elect a minister. Dada Khasjeewalla was chosen. Lord Ellenborough,

> "Who had refused to recognise the Maharanee [Queen-Mother] in February on account of her tender years, hesitated not to acknowledge her as Regent in May; but no power under heaven would have prevailed on him to countenance, as minister, the ill-fated chamberlain." "A crime of a very black description indeed was .... advanced against the Dada Khasjeewalla, the supplanter of Lord Ellenborough's nominee. It was said—by whom we do not know— .... and readily enough believed by Lord Ellenborough, that the Minister of the State had intercepted a letter from his lordship to his dear young 'sister,' the Maharanee." "The letter was written in the Persian language, and the Maharanee, a child of thirteen, could neither read nor write any language at all." (p. 58.)

Lord Ellenborough demanded that the Durbar should instantly hand over the Dada to him for punishment. The demand was as unprecedented as it was insulting. The Durbar removed the minister, substituting for him Ram Rao Phalkea, "whose loyalty to the British Government had been proved when he fought for us by the side of Lord Lake." But Lord Ellenborough remained unsatisfied and inexorable.

> "He assembled an army on the north and another on the east frontier of Scindea's dominions, with the intention to be ready for an invasion *if the Dada Khasjeewalla were not given up.*" The culprit was surrendered, and "by order of Lord Ellenborough this alleged interceptor of a letter was BANISHED FOR LIFE, thereby necessarily losing the great emoluments of a hereditary office of high dignity. Ten years afterwards he died in exile, of dropsy, the effect of long-continued grief, in the Holy City of Benares." (p. 61.)

Lord Ellenborough had got all he asked for, but was still unsatisfied. He thus spoke to the new minister, Ram Rao Phalkea, who had been sent to Agra by the Durbar for the purpose of waiting upon him:—

> "I have a clause in a treaty made with Dowlut Rao Scindea, at Boorhampoor, which obliges the British Government, if at any time Scindea should be unable to cope with his enemies, to afford him military assistance. It is true, indeed, that the clause carefully guards against the danger of a great military power forcing its unsolicited assistance on a very weak one by the insertion of the words, *on the requisition of the Maharajah;* but it is impossible, on account of his tender years, for Gyajee Scindea to make the requisition, and, as I am the only judge of his necessities, I shall march my army to Gwalior." It is incontrovertible that no such treaty existed. "That which had been made in 1804, containing a stipulation of the kind alleged, was signed to meet the difficulties arising from the inroads of the Pindarees, but abrogated the following year to serve our own interests."

Lord Ellenborough persisted in his design; crossed the frontier; fought the battles of Maharajpoor and Punninar; inflicted on the Mahrattas a loss amounting to 5000 men; at the cost, on his part, of one general and upwards of 1000 men. Gwalior was at his mercy. He went thither, so he told the people in an English proclamation issued before the first battle, because

"'Moved by sentiments of pity towards the Maharajah; by a determination to brook no hostility to the British Government by *individuals* at his court; and by a desire to have [which is the old story when the appetite for a native State is particularly sharp] *a quiet frontier.*' .... The date of this proclamation was the 19th of December. On the 1st of November, in a secret minute which Mr. Thornton has had the unkindness to give to the world, Lord Ellenborough lets out the secret why he meant to go to Gwalior to disband Scindea's army. 'To maintain unimpaired the position we now hold is a duty, not to ourselves alone, but to *humanity.* The adoption of new views of policy, weakness under the name of moderation, and pusillanimity under that of forbearance, would not avert from our own subjects, and from our own territories, the evils we let loose upon India; and the only result of false measures would be to remove the scene of a contest, altogether inevitable, from Gwalior to Allahabad, there to be carried on with diminished force, a disheartened army, and a disaffected people.'" (pp. 69, 70.)

Having become master of Gwalior, he wished to incorporate it with British India. All those whom he consulted were opposed to annexation. The disapprobation expressed in Parliament of his whole conduct as Governor-General, made him reluctantly relinquish his design. Instead of issuing a decree of annexation, he issued a proclamation, "announcing as the result of the battles which had been fought, the secure establishment of *British supremacy.*" He deposed the Queen-Mother from the post of Regent, assigning to her a pension payable out of the Gwalior revenues. The Durbar "as a political institution was abolished, and a ministry of five persons was nominated by Lord Ellenborough, which wa[illegible]nd to carry out whatever measures the Resident should direct during the long minority of the Maharajah. Of these registering clerks, two were exiled for life for the most atrocious bribery, one never attended to any business at all, the ordinary transactions of the state being conducted with very great ability by the chief member, Ram Rao Phalkea, who had been minister under the old régime on more than one occasion." (p. 85.) The expenses of the war were 260,000*l.*, which the Durbar was ordered to pay within fourteen days. Twenty thousand Gwalior Sepoys were disband[illegible] Lord Ellenborough "reorganized and largely increased the contingent, taking into our own management a good slice of the Gwalior country to defray the expense of it, which was, at the least, 80,000*l.* a year." This contingent, for which Scindea paid, and which was called by his name, was officered and commanded by us. It revolted during the rebellion of 1857, and proved the most formidable foe against which we had to fight. Scindea might have put himself at its head; but he preferred to remain the true friend of those who had insulted and wronged him.

"Pressed by his enraged subjects to declare for the King of Delhi, arguing, as they well might, that the name alone of Scindea would rally to his standard the whole warlike Hindoo populations of Central India—the Jauts and the Rajpoots—and that the Mahratta race in the Deccan would follow, he sacrificed ambition; declined to be made a hero; restrained the impatience of his subjects by vague promises; betrayed to Major Macpherson, the British agent at his court, the revelations of the leading rebels; warned that able officer of the intention of the Gwalior contingent to rise, a fact the bare suspicion of which the officers for a long time indignantly repudiated; offered to throw open one of his palaces to our affrighted ladies and children in the cantonments, an offer accepted one day, but which, through a fatal return of confidence, was relinquished the next; and when the night of slaughter did come, as earnestly and repeatedly foretold by him it would, he conveyed all the officers who contrived to escape, in his own carriages, under the safe escort of his body-guard, to Agra." (pp. 98, 99.)

His own turn came some time afterwards. "An attempt was made to seize him, and, finding his orders disobeyed and himself left to the mercy of a few horsemen who attended him, he fled to Agra."

It is unnecessary to say more of the services rendered to us by Scindea than to add this testimony of Sir John Lawrence:—"If a succession of miracles saved us, one of the miracles was most assuredly our having, in the darkest hour of our peril, an unflinching, thoughtful, and a brave friend in Maharajah Gyajee Scindea." Queen Victoria has granted him the highest honour she can bestow, by conferring on him "The Star of India." Would it be a too unparalleled piece of condescension for her Majesty's Government to do Scindea the bare justice of restoring to his State that independence of which it was wantonly and unjustifiably deprived by Lord Ellenborough?

SCIENCE.

PROFESSOR FOWNES' "Manual of Elementary Chemistry"[1] is so well and favourably known, that in referring to the appearance of its ninth edition, edited by Professor Hofmann and Dr. Bence Jones, we need do little more than indicate a few of the chief additions and alterations that have been made in it. Its principal characteristics in regard to the general treatment of the subject consist in the postponement of the chapter on the Philosophy of Chemistry to the end of the section on the non-metallic elements, a proceeding which appears to have great advantages, and in the fulness with which the difficult subject of Organic Chemistry is treated. Amongst the additions, Spectrum Analysis and Dialysis are the most important. The former is treated very briefly, and perhaps hardly in a manner to show the student the value and significance of its results. In Organic Chemistry, as might be expected from Dr. Hofmann's being one of the editors, the polyatomic alcohols receive their full share of attention, and we have also an account of the recent researches into the theory of organic acids and of the wonderful series of volatile oils and colouring matters obtained from coal-tar. The editors, although expressing an opinion that Gerhardt's views on Chemical Notation are rapidly gaining ground, and will ultimately be generally adopted, perhaps with considerable modifications, have retained the old system of notation in the present edition; but in order to enable the student to understand the objects of the new system, and to facilitate his comprehension of works in which it is adopted, they have given in an appendix an abstract of the researches on which it is founded, with copious illustrations of the application of the method both to organic and inorganic compounds.

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[1] "A Manual of Elementary Chemistry, Theoretical and Practical." By George Fownes, F.R.S., late Professor of Practical Chemistry in University College, London. 9th Edition. 12mo. pp. 820. London: J. Churchill and Sons. 1863.

The first part of Dr. Noad's "Manual of Chemical Analysis"[2] contains an excellent abstract of the general processes of Qualitative Analysis, with a description of the apparatus required, of the reagents employed, and of the behaviour of various bodies towards them. In the three chapters devoted to the latter, the changes produced by reagents upon the principal metallic oxides, acids, and vegetable alkaloids are successively described. The metallic oxides are arranged in five groups, in accordance with their behaviour towards hydrosulphuric acid, sulphide of ammonium, and alkaline carbonates: the inorganic acids form three groups, according as they are or are not precipitated by chloride of barium and nitrate of silver; and the organic acids also constitute three groups, distinguished by their behaviour with chloride of calcium and sesquichloride of iron. By the aid of this classification, with the subordinate grouping introduced into the larger sections, the student will find his initiation into the mysteries of chemical analysis greatly facilitated. In his last chapter Dr. Noad treats of Systematic Qualitative Analysis, indicating the application of the special information conveyed in the preceding chapters to the determination of the bodies contained in mixtures and compounds. In this the excellent method of preliminary examination recommended is especially deserving the attention of the student.

The method of volumetric analysis, consisting in determining the amount of a certain body contained in a measured portion of a solution, or in the solution of a weighed portion of a solid compound, by calculation from the quantity of a test-fluid of known strength required to produce a given reaction, is now in very general use, and in many cases possesses great advantages over the old method of quantitative analysis by precipitation and weighing. The processes adopted for this purpose have multiplied exceedingly during the last few years, and some of them are almost as complex and difficult of performance as the methods they are intended to supersede; they are also for the most part scattered through British and foreign journals, so that the student and practical chemist would have some difficulty in finding the best process proposed for effecting a given purpose. Mr. Sutton, in his little volume lately published,[3] has aimed at bringing together the most reliable methods of volumetric analysis, and the chemist will find in its pages a description of all the best known processes, with many of those of the most recent introduction. The author makes little or no pretensions to originality, but states that he has tested the various processes in order to prove their accuracy. The different methods are classified in accordance with the principles on which their results are obtained, as analyses by saturation, by oxidation and reduction, and by precipitation: under each of these heads the various bodies determinable by these different methods are noticed, and the preparation and mode of application of the standard test-solutions are described. The applications of the volumetric analysis to alkalimetry and other commercial and practical purposes, and also even to the analysis of urine, are described in the second and fifth sections.

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[2] "A Manual of Chemical Analysis, Qualitative and Quantitative, for the Use of Students. Part I.—Qualitative." By H. M. Noad, Ph.D., F.R.S., F.C.S. Small 8vo, pp. 211. London.: Reeve and Co. 1863.

Leonhardt's Manual of the Manufacture of Cements and Mortars,[4] consists of a series of receipts for the preparation of adhesive compounds of all kinds, with a description of the materials employed and the utensils necessary for their fabrication. It is divided into three sections, treating respectively of cements and lutes, glue and mortars. In the first of these, the author seems to have been actuated by the exhaustive spirit often ascribed to his countrymen, and the list of cements applicable to every variety of purpose is really astonishing. The second and third parts treat of operations conducted on a larger scale, and describe the apparatus necessary and the processes employed in the manufacture of glue and the burning of limestones. The characteristics of the different hydraulic cements are also given.

Dr. Carl Hartmann's "Practical Ironfounder's Vade-Me[illegible]um,"[5] forms an excellent manual of the numerous processes employed in the manufacture of iron, and will be interesting to the English reader from its references to the methods adopted by foreigners in the prosecution of this ~~most~~ important branch of industry. Commencing with a description of the various ores of iron, the mode of preparing them for the smelting process, the fluxes added to them, and the effect of these upon the produce and the nature of the slag, the author proceeds to the consideration of the fuel employed in different localities and the construction of the blast-furnace. Iron-casting, the manufacture of bar and sheet iron, and the production of steel, have also each a chapter devoted to them. The work contains a great amount of valuable information, and, although rather technical, forms an excellent handbook of the iron manufa[illegible]e even for the general reader; whilst the chapters treating of the construction and management of the blast-furnace, and particularly of the best means of producing the requisite blast, will be found of especial importance to the practical man.

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[3] "A Systematic Handbook of Volumetric Analysis; or, the Quantitative Estimation of Chemical Substances by Measure." By Francis Sutton, F.C.S. Small 8vo. pp. 282. London: J. Churchill and Sons. 1863.

[4] "Die Kitt-, Leim-, Cement-, und Mörtel-Fabrikation, mit Einschlüss der Kalk- und Gypsbrennerei von Wilhelm Leonhardt." 12mo, pp. 226. Leipzig: Otto Spamer. 1863.

[5] "Vademecum für den Praktischen Eisenhüttenmann. Sammlung von Regeln, Dimensionen, Formuler, &c., nach den besten Hülfsmitteln und eigenen Erfahrungen zusammengestellt von Dr. Carl Hartmann." 3rd Edition. 12mo, pp. 415. Hamm: C. Müller. 1863.

The geological survey of India has already made considerable progress in the investigation of the geology of our vast eastern empire, its last annual report indicating a large extent of country in Bengal, including a portion skirting the foot of the Himalayas from the banks of the Ganges at Hurdwar up into Cashmere, besides a very considerable space in the Presidency of Madras, which has been examined and mapped. Many of the results of these surveys have been published in the volumes of memoirs published by the Survey, and we have now received the first part of a distinct series of Memoirs,[6] in which it is proposed to describe and figure the organic remains found during the progress of the survey. This part contains a monograph by Mr. H. F. Blanford of the Belemnites and Nautili of the remarkable series of Cretaceous rocks occurring in the Pondicherry and Trichinopoli district of the Madras Presidency, upon the precise nature of which the late Professor Edward Forbes and MM. D'Orbigny and D'Archiac entertained conflicting opinions. The former regarded the uppermost of these beds as the equivalents of the European upper greensand and gault, and the lowest deposit as nearly corresponding in age with the lower greensand, or perhaps still older, in fact, "as belonging to the lowest part of the Cretaceous system," many of the fossils contained in it being representations of oölitic forms. M. D'Orbigny at first regarded the whole series as belonging to the period of the lower chalk or chalk-marl, but afterwards changed his opinion, and referred the rocks to the same epoch with our upper chalk; whilst M. D'Archiac places the whole upon the horizon of the gault. Mr. Blanford regards the results lately obtained by the Indian Geological Survey as confirmatory of Professor Forbes' view, and the palæontological evidence furnished by his present publication is certainly favourable to this opinion. Of the nineteen species of Nautili here described, five are identical with European species; these are found chiefly in the middle and upper part of the series, and four of them correspond with species occurring in the chalk-marl, upper greensand, and gault of Europe. The fifth European form, if correctly determined, would seem to indicate a still later origin for the bed containing it: it is the *Nautilus Danicus*, found in Europe only in the uppermost beds of the Cretaceous series. In the lowest of the Indian beds, that of Pondicherry, again, a species (*N. Pondicherrianus*) occurs, which exhibits the longitudinal striation characteristic of some Jurassic nautili.

Following the example of his colleague Professor Huxley, Professor Ramsay has published his "Lectures to Working Men on the Physical Geology and Geography of Great Britain."[7] These lectures include an excellent sketch of the general theory of the formation of strata and the changes produced in them by physical causes, with indications of the arrangement and distribution of the various beds in England and Scotland, a description of the effects of glacial action, especially as shown in Great Britain, and a discussion of the influence produced by the physical structure of the country upon the climate and the habits of the people. The fifth lecture gives an account of the most recent changes which have taken place in our island, and of those which are now occurring—the effects of rainfall, river-drainage, and alterations in the level of the land, and includes an abstract of the evidence touching the antiquity of man.

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[6] "Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India. Palæontologia Indica." Published by order of His Excellency the Governor-General of India in Council, under the direction of Thomas Oldham, LL.D. 4to. London: Williams and Norgate. 1861.

[7] "The Physical Geology and Geography of Great Britain: a Course of Six Lectures delivered to Working Men in the Museum of Practical Geology, Jermyn-street, by Professor A. C. Ramsay, F.R.S." 12mo, pp. 145. London: E. Stanford. 1863.

Mr. Page has followed up his well-known and excellent elementary treatises on Geology, with a "Text-book of Physical Geography,"[8] which recommends itself to the learner by its simplicity and the philosophical spirit in which it has been prepared. As an introduction to the special subject of his treatise, Mr. Page briefly describes our earth in its general or external relations, its configuration and geological structure, and the general distribution of land and water. In the following sections, the ordinary subjects of physical geography, the configuration of the surface of the land, the ocean with its tides and currents, the various atmospheric phenomena, and the distribution of life on the earth, are treated with great perspicuity, furnishing a good epitome of the general principles of the science.

Professor von Klöden's "Handbook of Geography,"[9] of which the second volume is now before us, is a wonderful monument of the perseverance of the author. This volume, which is devoted to the political geography of Europe, consists of nearly 1400 closely printed pages, and contains an abstract of almost all possible information respecting the various States of Europe, their divisions, population, cities, commerce, and even amusements. As might be expected of such a work, it is often a little behindhand in its information, but in those parts which we have examined it bears marks of being prepared with great care, many comparatively minute details being correctly given.

Dr. Wilson's "Prehistoric Man"[10] hardly fulfils the expectations which would be formed from its title. It treats but little directly of the questions connected with the antiquity of the human race, and yet the whole object of the book is to demonstrate the probability of the shorter chronology. Dr. Wilson holds the opinion that man was created in the perfection of intellectual and moral power, and supports this view by quotations from the Bible and Milton's "Paradise Lost." He does not consider that this notion is at all invalidated by the fact that the early races of men had only rude stone implements, and denies the chronological value of the so-called stone, bronze, and iron periods of archæologists, although admitting that such periods appear to have occurred in the development of the civilization of most peoples. The first business of man, and that which, according to our author, worthily occupied the perfect intellectuality of Adam in the garden of Eden was the elaboration of speech; after this came the discovery of the use of fire, and of the means of making the opposite element, the water, useful to him by the invention of rude rafts and canoes. The development of the tool-making instinct, of the metallurgic arts, and the architectural and artistic phases of the human mind, of the art of making pottery and that of writing, are referred to and illustrated chiefly by examples drawn from the traces of former inhabitants of the New World. On all these topics, and on several others more or less connected with them, Dr. Wilson has accumulated a vast amount of often curious and interesting information, which is placed before the reader in an agreeable and elegant style, although the author exhibits a very strong tendency to spread his materials over too wide a space. In a chapter on the crania of extinct and existing American tribes, Dr. Wilson denies the unity of the American cranial type, and in opposition to the views of Morton, Agassiz, and others, cites numerous measurements of crania, which certainly show as great discrepancies as could be found in crania collected from a similar extent of country in the Old World. Such agreements in character as may be found to run generally through the various races of American men, seem to be ascribed by the author chiefly to what may be called climatic influences, and he adduces the fact that the Yankee of the present day has already begun to acquire more or less of a peculiar physiognomy and habit of body. Accordingly, in opposition to the view that "the north-eastern movement of the tide of migration and its overflow into America are the chief or sole means by which the New World could be peopled from an Asiatic centre," the author holds that the ancient people of Chili and Peru, distinguished, by certain physical peculiarities, and by the remarkable development of some of the arts, were derived indirectly from Southern Asia through the medium of the Polynesian Archipelago, and spread themselves in a northern direction through Mexico to the northern continent, where the traces of their civilization are to be found in the wonderful structures left by the mound-builders in the valley of the Mississippi. To the northern or Mongolian source of population the author refers the Esquimaux and the various tribes of North American Indians, who may be supposed to have displaced, or perhaps exterminated, these more ancient and civilized races. Besides these two sources, a third wave is supposed to have crossed the Atlantic by way of the Canaries and Madeira to Brazil. In reviewing his evidence, Dr. Wilson comes to the conclusion that the balance is in favour of the introduction of the human inhabitants of America probably from an Asiatic cradle-land, and therefore that all arguments drawn from their supposed peculiarities in opposition to the doctrine of the unity of the human species fall to the ground; and going back over the various indications of man's progress in the arts and in civilization, as indicated by him under the various heads already referred to, he maintains that we can by historical evidence trace these so nearly to their beginnings, that no great extension of time beyond the ordinary chronology is necessary to carry us back to the primæval condition of man.

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[8] "Introductory Text-book of Physical Geography." By David Page, F.R.S.E., F.G.S. pp. 198. London and Edinburgh: Blackwoods. 1863.

[9] "Handbuch der Erdkunde: Länder- und Staatenkunde von Europa." Von R. G. A. von Klöden, Ph.D. 8vo, pp. 1394. Berlin: Weidmann.

[10] "Prehistoric Man: Researches into the Origin of Civilization in the Old and New World." By Daniel Wilson, LL.D. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 488 and 500. Cambridge and London: Macmillan and Co. 1862.

Under the somewhat inapplicable title of "Outlines of a New Theory of Muscular Action,"[11] the Rev. Samuel Haughton has published a small work containing interesting observations on some of the phenomena manifested by the muscles, accompanied by calculations founded upon them. With regard to the muscular susurrus, or sound emitted by a contracted muscle, the author states that from his own experiments and those made by others at his request, the note produced is either C C C or D D D, corresponding respectively to 32 and 36 vibrations in a second. The note closely resembles the sound of a London cab when driven quickly over the stones; a cab going at the rate of eight miles an hour will pass over about 35·2 paving stones in a second. In a calculation from these data of the "amount of work stored up in muscles," the author finds by experiment that in holding the arms extended horizontally the supra-spinatus and deltoid muscles of each side perform an average amount of work before exhaustion (in seven and a half minutes) equal to lifting 1134 lbs. through a space of one foot; by weighing the supra-spinatus and the central portion of the deltoid (which alone is employed in holding up the arm), he finds that the amount of muscle exerted is 5⅛ oz., or on both sides 10¼ oz.; which, therefore, he says, is capable of lifting about one ton through a foot. Auscultation proves that the first sound of the heart gives the same musical tone as the other muscles of the body; and as it never becomes wearied, it is a matter of some physiological interest to calculate the amount of work done by it during the day. The average weight of the human heart being 9·39 oz., calculation from the previous data gives 0·9275 ton as the amount which would be lifted through the space of a foot in seven and a half minutes by the muscular force of the heart, or 175·09 tons in the course of the day. By a calculation of the quantity of muscle not engaged in the contractions of the heart, the author arrives at the conclusion that three-tenths are to be deducted, and hence he finds the daily work of the heart = 124·6 foot-tons, or fully one-third of the daily labouring force of the whole body. From an observation made on the jets of blood emitted from a large artery accidentally opened during an operation, Dr. Haughton calculates that the hydrostatic pressure in the arteries and left ventricle of man is equal to that found by Hales in the horse, or 110 inches, equivalent to 4·211 lbs. on each square inch of the left ventricle, and from these data he arrives at 121·82 foot-tons as the total daily work of the heart.

A treatise on Gall-stones, by Dr. Thudichum; an essay on "Syphilitic

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[11] "Outlines of a New Theory of Muscular Action." By the Rev. Samuel Haughton, M.D., F.R.S., &c. (Inaugural Thesis.) 12mo, pp. 23. London: Williams and Norgate. 1863.

Diseases of the Eye and Ear," by Mr. Hutchinson; "Studies in Physiology and Medicine," by the late Dr. R. J. Graves; a volume on the "Human Entozoa," by Dr. A. Smith; and one on the "Cure of Clubfoot," by Mr. Barwell, are the only English medical works we have to notice. From the Paris press we have "La Médecine chez les Chinois," par le Capitaine P. Dabry.

The works of Dr. Thudichum and Mr. Hutchinson are valuable contributions to the science of medicine, more especially the latter; whilst the collection of papers by Dr. Graves is interesting as showing the wide range of subjects which received the attention of one to whom medicine owes much.

In his treatise on Gall-stones,[12] Dr. Thudichum gives at some length a digest of the historical literature of the subject. The chapter contains a large amount of information interesting to those who are curious in tracing the steps by which we have gained a knowledge of the subject. The author enters minutely into the chemical constitution and physical history of gall-stones, giving numerous analyses of them as they are found in man and animals. The author believes that gall-stones have their origin in some decomposition of the bile akin to putrefaction, whereby certain solid constituents become deposited, forming a nucleus around which further deposits accumulate. The reasons for adopting this theory, and the chemical facts which support it, are given in detail in the chapter devoted to the consideration of this portion of the subject. An interesting chapter on the anatomy of gall-stone disease is followed by others on the pathology and treatment, in which will be found records of several interesting and illustrative cases. The work is a valuable and much-needed addition to our scanty literature on this obscure and troublesome disease.

Mr. Hutchinson's essay on the "Syphilitic Diseases of the Eye and Ear"[13] is a volume of more importance, having for its object the extension of our knowledge of a group of affections, grave in their consequences, and hitherto obscure in their origin and progress; this is done not merely by an analysis of the opinions of others, but by much careful original research and observation. The greater portion of the work is taken up with a record of cases, and general considerations on the subjects of iritis and interstitial keratitis. As regards the first of these affections, the author says:—"In 1852 I ventured to suggest in print that infantile iritis was a more frequent disease than usually supposed; the suggestion being chiefly based on the frequent discovery of synechiæ in those too young to have suffered from acquired syphilis." This section contains a detailed account of twenty-three cases, giving an admirable sketch of the various phenomena presented by this affection. Of interstitial keratitis, the author records the particulars of a hundred and two cases. This affection of the cornea, hitherto regarded as of strumous origin, the author believes to be due to inherited syphilis, a view which has been adopted by many eminent observers since this theory of its production was first promulgated by the author. This affection of the eye the author believes to be generally, if not invariably, accompanied by peculiarities in the form of the central upper incisor teeth. That this discovery has become an accepted fact in the science of medicine, can as yet be scarcely said. Nevertheless, the author presents an array of evidence which, if it does not convince the reader, must at least give a strong presumption of the truth of his inductions. The value of the author's remarks, in a practical point of view, is great, for they suggest a method of treatment for this unmanageable affection more likely to be successful than any that has hitherto been adopted. The remaining portions of the work are devoted to the syphilitic diseases of the other tissues entering into the structure of the eye, and to deafness associated with these affections.

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[12] "A Treatise on Gall-stones; their Chemistry, Pathology, and Treatment." By J. L. W. Thudichum, M.D. Illustrated with plates. pp. 323. London: John Churchill and Sons. 1863.

[13] "A Clinical Memoir on certain Diseases of the Eye and Ear, consequent on Inherited Syphilis," with an appended chapter of Commentaries on the Transmission of Syphilis from Parent to Offspring, and its more remote Consequences." By Jonathan Hutchinson, F.R.C.S., Senior-Assistant Surgeon to the London Hospital, &c. &c. pp. 259. London: John Churchill. 1863.

"Studies in Physiology and Medicine"[14] is an interesting collection of papers by the late Dr. Graves, on various topics more or less intimately connected with medicine and physiology. The editor, in his preface says:—"It is hardly necessary to say that this work is not to be taken as setting forth the state of physiology in our time. But these remains of Graves have an especial value, as showing how the mind of a great physician dealt with physiology in its relation to medicine." The biographical notice prefixed to these papers contains some interesting criticisms on the different systems of medical education adopted at the great medical schools, prior to and during the career of Graves; and an interesting sketch of his life and labours, more especially in reference to the part he took in establishing a better system of clinical teaching. The topics treated of in this collection of papers are various: the following quotation from that on the "Position of Man" is not without interest at the present time:—

> "A consideration of the manner in which the human species has obtained a degree of knowledge and power so much above all other animals will prove that, although intimately connected with them in bodily formation and development, man is separated from them by a well marked line." . . .
>
> "His intelligence is more than sufficient to exalt him so far above the rest of living beings, that he rises into a distinct class, and by the sole gift of reason is constituted the lord of creation."

Amongst the numerous papers contained in the volume, the following will be found most interesting:—"On the Position of Man in the Scale of Life;" "Distinctive Character of Man;" "Temperament and Appetite;" and lastly, a valuable essay "On the Progress of Asiatic Cholera," in which the author marshals a vast array of evidence in favour of the contagious nature of the disease. The various papers are worthy of a careful perusal. They set forth on a variety of subjects the mind of one who in his life did much by precept and example to advance the healing art, and whose memory ought ever to be held in respect by those who value true virtue and the faithful discharge of duty as the best attributes of a good man.

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[14] "Studies in Physiology and Medicine." By the late R. J. Graves, F.R.S. Edited by William Stokes. pp. 428. London: John Churchill and Sons. 1863.

Dr. A. Smith's work on the Human Entozoa[15] does little more than pass over the ground already occupied by other authors; the work has no pretension to originality. The author gives descriptions of the various Entozoa which infest the human body, and the treatment generally adopted. To those practitioners of medicine who have neither the time or inclination to investigate the subject, either in a zoological or a medical point of view, the book may be useful, as it gives at no great length a fair outline of the subject.

For a long time past, surgeons have assumed that the various forms of club-foot are due to abnormal and permanent contractions of certain muscles. They have therefore sought to remedy the evil by dividing the tendons of the muscles alleged to be exerting an undue force. Apart from other evils incident to this practice, there was one which proved a great bar to its satisfactory performance, namely, the serious external wounds which were made in order to reach the muscles to be operated upon. In 1832, however, a new method was hit upon by Stromeyer, enabling him to divide the tendons of muscles without the risk hitherto incurred of inducing suppuration and sloughing at the seat of operation. This method consists of introducing a knife through a very small aperture in the skin, and dividing the tendon beneath without exposing the parts involved to the air. As soon as this method, known as subcutaneous surgery, was demonstrated to be practicable, it was carried to an immense extent, and since that time the general treatment of club-foot has mainly consisted of the practice of tenotomy, the deformed foot being afterwards restored to and retained in its normal position by an iron shoe and upright support regulated by springs and screws. This method undoubtedly succeeds not unfrequently in getting rid of any great deformity, but rarely results in giving the patient a really strong and useful foot. Mr. Barwell has just published an original and admirable little work,[16] in which he demonstrates, and we think quite successfully, that the tendon-cutting treatment of club-foot is an entire mistake; and expounds a method of cure, adopted by himself, "conceived and founded," as he says, on the following principles:—

> "1st. That as the loss of balance in muscular action which produces the deformity, is nearly always caused by paralysis of a certain set of muscles, we are to restore that balance.
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> "2nd. This restoration is to be accomplished by substituting a force for

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[15] "The Human Entozoa; comprising the Description of the different Species of Worms found in the Intestines and other parts of the Human Body, and the Pathology and Treatment of the various Affections produced by their presence. By W. A. Smith, M.D. pp. 251. London: H. K. Lewis. 1863.

[16] "On the Cure of Club-foot without cutting Tendons; and on certain New Methods of treating other Deformities." By Richard Barwell, F.R.C.S. London: John Churchill and Sons. 1863.

the weakened or paralysed muscles, and not by depriving the still useful ones of their power.

"3rd. That the succedaneum must be applied as nearly as possible in the direction and position of the paralysed organ or organs; and must act on the parts, and on those only, on which the muscular force is normally expended.

"4th. Thus the foot is not to be treated as a whole, but as a compound of many bones; each of which being subject to muscular action plays a definite part in deformities.

"5th. That since motion is essential to prevent or overcome fatty degeneration, as well as to allow the weakened muscles to recover their power, the foot is not to be fastened to any rigid clog; but, on the contrary, each part is to be allowed movement, which is gradually to be guided by the imitative force from an abnormal into the normal direction."

A clear exposition of the way in which he applies these principles in curing each variety of mal-formed foot occupies the greater part of Mr. Barwell's little work. It also contains two chapters on deformities of the leg, in which the principles and methods of treatment advocated are analogous to those adopted by the author in the cure of club-foot. The book is alike remarkable for the scientific views and ingenious devices which it describes, and will prove, we are sure, a very valuable contribution to surgical art.

In the remaining work, "La Médecine chez les Chinois,"[17] we have an epitome of medicine as practised by the Chinese. It details the various theories of the pulse, so important a part of Chinese medicine, and then treats briefly the most important forms of disease, and the treatment adopted. Though the science of medicine as practised in this part of the world is not likely to be advanced by the study of the art as practised by our brethren of the Celestial Empire, nevertheless this book cannot fail to interest all lovers of medical science. The volume concludes with a chapter on Chinese veterinary medicine and surgery.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

THE antiquity of man is an engrossing topic. To trace the history of our race to its origin, or even proximately to determine the question, *How old are we?* would be a proud and noteworthy achievement. The historical epoch, in the case of Egypt, has been carried back to a very remote period.[1] Bunsen, who knew everything that *ought* to have happened, places the creation of the first man about the year B.C. 20,000, the weather being then particularly favourable; the reign of Bytis, the first priest-king of Thebes, he dates B.C. 9085;

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[17] "La Médecine chez les Chinois." Par le Capitaine P. Dabry. pp. 580. Paris: H. Plon. 1863.

[1] "On the Historical Antiquity of the People of Egypt: their Vulgar Kalendar and the Epoch of its Introduction." By Johannes von Gumpach. London: Dulau and Co. 1863.

that of the first elected king commenced, as he states, B.C. 7230; that of her first hereditary king, B.C. 5413; and that of Menes, the first historical king, B.C. 3623. The epoch of this last king's reign is assigned by Professor Lepsius to the year B.C. 3893.

M. Lesueur places it still higher, B.C. 5773; and Mr. Osborn greatly lower, B.C. 2429; the long and short systems of chronology differing by an interval varying from 900 to 3300 years. The ingenious writer, Herr von Gumpach, from whose essay we derive these statements, rejecting the fanciful speculations of Bunsen, and declining to produce (as he insinuates that Lepsius has done), "for the thousands of Prussian Fredericks-d'or spent, as many centuries of Egyptian antiquity," occupies a sort of middle position between the long and the short chronologists. Not deficient, however, in courage, he undertakes to place the Kalendarian system of the ancient Egyptians on a firm basis, and to establish the earliest epoch of their accredited history on secure grounds. Averring that Champollion, misconstruing a particular hieroglyphic element, erroneously interpreted the Egyptian seasons; that the kalendar of Brugsch represents the true kalendar, and that consequently Brugsch's interpretation of the seasons is the true interpretation,—he furnishes what he regards as positive proof, that the true nomenclature of the Egyptian kalendar is that which is based on Dr. Brugsch's discovery. In the second part of his essay, availing himself of this discovery which "fixes the introduction of the Egyptian kalendar to one of the epochs of the Sothic cycle," Herr von Gumpach endeavours to determine the date of the historical king Menes. To do this, he argues that this monarch's reign must have been synchronous either with the earlier or with the later of two Sothic epochs, B.C. 2785 and B.C. 1325; and alleging that the kalendar was certainly introduced before the later of these epochs, he concludes that there is no reasonable doubt that the reign of Menes comprised the year B.C. 2785, and that the kalendarian system, represented by the vague year and the Sothic cycle, was introduced in Egypt by him. For the coincident trains of reasoning which seem to the author to justify this conclusion, we must refer to the essay in which he discusses the question of the historical antiquity of the people of Egypt. There is much good sense in the observations of Herr von Gumpach, who appears to write with a competent knowledge of his subject. It may be that he lays too great stress on the historical argument drawn from the passage in the *Chronicle of Syncellus;* a document whose composition, the late Sir George Cornewall Lewis, following Boeckh, refers to the interval between Eusebius and the two chronographers Anianus and Pandorus, that is, during the fourth and fifth centuries. But we leave it to professed Egyptologists to pronounce on the validity of Herr von Gumpach's reasoning.

Dr. Milman, while venturing to doubt every one of the chronological systems of our learned writers on Egyptian history, including the Book of Kings of Lepsius, and the calculations of his pious and lamented friend Baron Bunsen, accepts as fully worthy of trust the broad historical facts to which the monuments and their inscriptions bear testimony.[2] Though not quite convinced that Menes was a real personage, he thinks that the conquest of the Hyksos, or Shepherd kings, possesses every mark of historic truth. These shepherd kings he thinks preceded the peaceful household of Jacob in their descent into Egypt. At what period this migration took place the historian of the Jewish people is unable to decide. The approximate date of the Exodus he supposes to be about B.C. 1320. If the prediction, therefore, in Gen. xv. 13, that the posterity of Abraham should sojourn and be afflicted in Egypt for 400 years, and the statement in Ex. xii. 40, that they *did* dwell there for 430 years, were admissible, there would be no difficulty in ascertaining the approximate date of the migration. But certain considerations make the historian hesitate, or even prefer to "omit the dates till the time of the Exodus." Dean Milman, it appears, cannot understand the prodigious increase in one family during one generation. Kohath, the son of Levi, he alleges, had four sons, from each of whom in one generation, must have sprung *on the average* 2150 *males*, the entire progeny of these prolific gentlemen, as estimated in Numbers iii. 28, being 8600. To remove the difficulty, the Dean suggests that some general error runs through the whole numbering of the Israelites, or that some names have been dropped out of the genealogies. But this is a pure assumption, and not reconcilable with various Biblical statements. God had predicted the return of the children of Israel in the fourth generation (Gen. xv. 16). Moses and Aaron, the leaders of the Exodus, represent the fourth generation: so does Korah in Numbers xvi. 1.* Besides, we are distinctly told that Kohath begat Amram, and that Amram was the father of Moses by Jochebed, who, be it remembered, was Levi's own daughter (Num. xxvi. 59). Still less tenable is the view that the numerical exaggerations of the census are due to the corruptions of the text, or that any error can have originally crept into an enumeration supervised, we may say, by Jehovah himself. The "*return*" of the first chapter of Numbers is both general and particular, for the tribes and for the nation; its correctness is confirmed by another general and particular *return* in the second chapter. The total number of the warriors is given on so many occasions, in different parts of the Pentateuch, that it is impossible to suppose it an error, except in that sense which would go far to undermine the authority of the sacred documents. To assume that a cypher has been systematically added is pure wilfulness; and, after all, this portentously large population is only what the Divine promise in Genesis leads us to expect; only what Moses

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[2] "The History of the Jews; from the Earliest Period down to Modern Times." By Henry Hart Milman, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's. In Three vols. Third edition, thoroughly revised and extended. London: John Murray. 1863.

* Nahshon and Zelophehad, however, were of the sixth generation. It may be remarked here, that from Salmon, the son of Nahshon (see Ruth iv. and Matt. i.) to David (inclusively) were five generations; the received date for the Exodus being B.C. 1491, that for David's Accession B.C. 1055. Compare the statements in Genesis and Numbers with the corresponding accounts in 1 Chron. i.-ix. Especially see chap. vii. 14-27, where Joshua the son of Nun, appears to belong to the eleventh generation, while Ephraim's daughter built three towns in the land of Canaan!

(Deut. i. 10) says it *was*, "as the stars of heaven for multitude." Critics forget, when they would reduce the 600,000, to 60,000 that the armed force of Ephraim amounted to 40,500, and that of Manasseh to 32,200 that the Levites alone (the males who were more than a month old) amounted to 22,000; that the first-born males, from a month old and upward, exceeded that number by 273, and as proof of the accuracy of this last element, that the sum total of the redemption-money (five shekels) to be given per head for this excess, is correctly stated to be 1365 shekels (Num. iii. 40—50). Dean Milman himself speaks cautiously as to the mode of reducing the 600,000 fighting-men, (two millions and-a-half, if we reckon the whole population) but he insists on great abatement. Differing from what he calls the modern critical school as to the practicability of moving such a large body of men (an army at least one-third larger than that with which Bonaparte invaded Russia), he says, very naturally, "I should like to have put the plain abstract question to Napoleon or the Duke of Wellington" (vol. i. p. 190). It is singular that the repetition of this difficulty in the exit from Egypt should have been so little remarked in the case of the *invasion* of Palestine. In a second census (detailed as well as general) of a *new* generation (Numbers xxvi.) taken at the end of the forty years' wandering, the number of the males above twenty is reckoned at 601,730. This enormous army, to specify only one salient objection, is said (Joshua vi.) to defile once every day for six days, and seven times on a seventh day, round the walls of Jericho. Such representations, of course, Dean Milman refuses to believe, but he escapes from the difficulty which his incredulity raises by arbitrary and uncritical assumptions. It is true that the infallibility of the Bible narrative once surrendered, we may easily suppose arithmetical inaccuracies to have crept in, but to assert a mistake in the figures wherever there is an absurdity in a statement, is an inadmissible and suicidal procedure. From our own point of view we quite agree with Dean Mil[redacted] his rejection of the so-called Bible chronology; but it seems scarcely possible for an unbiassed critic, or a believer in plenary inspiration, to doubt* that a period of 1656 years is assumed in its pages to have elapsed between the Creation of Adam and the Deluge, another of 367 between the Deluge and the Call of Abraham, a third of 215 between the Call of Abraham and the Migration into Egypt, a fourth of 400 or 430 years between that migration and the Exodus, and a fifth of 480 years between the Exodus and the building of Solomon's Temple. (See, in particular, Gen. v. and xi. and 1 Kings vi. 1.) But it may be asked, does the Dean of St. Paul's believe in the plenary inspiration of the *Pentateuch?* We shall make no direct attempt to answer the question, but content ourselves with giving illustrations of his critical treatment of some portions of the Old Testament. The details of the splendid promise to Abraham he characterizes as a mass of legend (vol. i. p. 7). Lot's wi[illegible] he pronounces to have been suffocated by the sulphureous vapours, and her body encrusted with the saline [illegible]rticles which filled the atmosphere (p. 18). The adventure with Abimelek excites in his mind a suspicion that it is a traditional variation of a similar transaction in Egypt (p. 25). Awful respect for the Divine nature induces him to adopt the notion that Jacob's contest took place in a dream, and with a phantasm (p. 34); although the statement (Gen. xxxiii. 25—32) is fatal to this semi-rationalistic interpretation. In a notable instance Dean Milman rejects the puerile device of orthodoxy "to save appearances." He admits that the freebooting Jephthah literally offered up his daughter as a burnt-offering to Jehovah; he allows its full force, moreover, to the passage in Leviticus xxvii. 29, granting that by virtue of the sanction there given to the Cherem or Anathema, even the lives of children might be so devoted to the Lord, that they could not be redeemed, but must "surely be put to death." We find it impossible to understand how Dean Milman can maintain that the law neither approves nor sanctions such a vow, if it rigorously exacts its fulfilment. The free criticism of our historian, however, does not prevent him from claiming for the so-called Books of Moses a very early date. The Book of Genesis he apparently regards as a compilation from more ancient documents: that of Deuteronomy he considers to be an authentic production of the Mosaic period, though not without interpolations; a judgment which, in our opinion, exhibits an entire want of critical appreciation. The cardinal discrepancy which arises from a comparison of the statement in Exod. vi. 3, with the frequent assertions throughout the Book of Genesis which contradict it, Dean Milman very candidly acknowledges when he says, "according to the plain and distinct words of this text, the holy name Jehovah was as yet unknown to the descendants of Abraham. It is introduced with all the solemnity of a new revelation." When, however, he seeks to escape from the consequences of this acknowledgment by imputing an anachronism to the writers of the sacred books, we are surprised that he does not see how completely this explanation destroys the credit usually claimed for those old records, since the anachronism is a pervading characteristic and constituent element of the Book of Genesis. Does the Dean believe that Abraham called the name of the place Jehovah-Jireh? (Gen. xxii. 14); if he believes that he *did*, his anachronistic solution of the difficulty must be abandoned; if he believes that he did *not*, he impeaches the authority of a most notorious scriptural passage.

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* We mean in regard to the general correctness of the entire representation.

From these specimens of our historian's critical procedure, it will be seen that with rare courage and a noble devotion to truth, if with certain unphilosophical prepossessions, the author of the "History of the Jews" occupies a distinguished place in the ranks of free criticism within the Church. We might quote a passage on the Book of Daniel (vol. i. p. 413), which seems to imply that the author is not far from sharing the opinion of the Rev. Rowland Williams as to the genuineness, and in part as to the authenticity of this book, or we might, and in fact we *will*, refer to p. 191, to show that a Dean is nearly as "great an arithmetician as a Bishop, and can note 'a singular discrepancy' with the same detective eye and set a sum with [illegible] same dexterous hand." "The first-born," says this rival enumerator, "were only 22,273, the adult males, 603,550. How many males does this give to a family?" Dr. Milman, we see, is really as well up in his *numbers* as Dr. Colenso, and notwithstanding poetic authority to the contrary, we doubt whether there *is* "a difference between a bishop and a dean." At any rate the indigenous dean runs the colonial bishop very hard.

The Biblical history of the Jews forms a portion, and, in a literary sense, the least effective portion of the valuable work before us. In it the author traces the eventful destiny of this remarkable people from the Captivity and Return to the persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes, describes their re-establishment under the Asmonæans, their fortunes in the Idumæan or Herodian period, their sufferings under their Roman governors, portraying the course of the war directed by Vespasian, the terrific siege of Jerusalem and the fall of the Holy City. He next gives us an interesting sketch of the restoration of Jewish communities, the origin and growth of Rabbinism, the insurrections in Egypt, Cyrene, &c., notably the attempt of Barcochab, the pseudo-Messiah, to make himself master of the ruins of Jerusalem. To this succeeds an account of the Patriarch of the West, and the Prince of the Captivity, followed by a narrative of Jewish suffering and prosperity under the barbarian kings and the Byzantine emperors. The golden age of Judaism, under the Caliphs, is contrasted with its iron age under Christian princes. The treatment of the Jews in England, Spain, and Italy, is exhibited in separate chapters. The penultimate *book* contains much valuable matter on modern Judaism, on the relative state of the Jews to the rest of mankind, on recent acts for the amelioration of their civil state, and on their number in Africa, Asia, Europe, and America; while the ultimate book is devoted to a survey of the influence of the Jews on philosophy, poetry, history, &c.

The first edition of the History thus rapidly described, appeared upwards of thirty years ago. The present, or third edition, is not only revised but extended. The earlier portion being slightly, the later portion very considerably enlarged. The republication falls in a critical period. It will be welcomed alike by the more decided opponents of the Helvetic or literal theory of Inspiration; by all the advocates of free theology and liberty of thought; by all who can appreciate scholarly acquirement, intellectual dignity, and moral courage; and, perhaps, most of all, by the educated men and women of that enduring and influential race which has given the world Moses, Isaiah, Jesus, Paul, Maimonides, Spinoza, and Heine; the philosophic Mendelssohn, and that "dead king of melody," his noble descendant, who has married Shakespeare's immortal dream to music that will surely be co-eternal with it.

If Judaism was the antecedent of Christianity, it was also more or less the antecedent of Mohammedanism. The prophet of Islam is shown to have had an early acquaintance with Jewish tales; and even allowing that the rudimentary monotheism which was unfolding itself in the minds of contemporary Arabs was of native growth, the interrelations of the two religions cannot be denied. In an excellent sketch of the "Life of Mohammed,"[3] Theodore Nöldeke contents himself with indicating the direction in which we are to look for the external influences that worked on the susceptible mind of the founder of Islam, attempting no exact determination of the source or mode in which the conviction of the unity of God forced itself upon him; but leaving, we think, the impression that there was some direct impulse from without. The sincerity of Mohammed he considers unquestionable; and while admitting the plausibleness of the view that distinguishes between the earlier and later career of the prophet, and which presumes an incipient nobleness of character and a subsequent abasement, he maintains its consistency throughout. From beginning to end (with one exception at most) he was the same man, though the defects of his nature were brought out by circumstances or opportunity. From first to last he was true to the office which he had assumed, as the Messenger of God, sent to convert his fellow-men to the true faith, to save them from eternal punishment, and make them partakers of heavenly felicity. But though our author insists on the essential nobleness and sincerity of his hero, he thinks him both physically and morally unhealthy. He was subject to epileptic fits; he was deficient in personal courage; he was ruled by fancy, feeling, and superstitious terror. The duplicity and vindictiveness noted in his later career were inherent in his nature, though first developed and rendered prominent by the possession of power. His was not a highly moral nature, according to our modern standard, but a noble nature, partly good and partly bad, and to be tested by the Arab or Oriental standard, comparable, for instance, to that of David, who associated with splendid qualities, cruelty, revengefulness, and treachery. Nöldeke's popular biography of the prophet rests substantially on his own original investigation, though he has availed himself of the labour of his predecessors, Muir, Sprenger, Weil, and Caussin de Perceval. The result seems to be a readable, judicious, and impartial life of a man who founded a religion and virtually created an empire.

Mr. Bullock commences his survey of "The History of Modern Europe"[4] with a glance at the condition of the Roman world about a hundred years before the birth of Mohammed, and concludes it with a notice of Napoleon's review of the successes of his reign in January, 1863. Intended for the use of schools and private students, it is really nothing more than a "cram" book, though less uninteresting than some of the class of works to which it belongs. To assimilate such food requires the digestive apparatus of an ostrich. Those who possess it can swallow as many of the laborious author's historical "tenpenny-nails" as they will. The book seems well packed, but the duty of correcting the press has been carelessly performed. Tiara is spelled with two

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[3] "Das Leben Muhammed's." Nach den Quellen populär dar[illegible]llt von Theodor Nöldeke. London: Williams and Norgate. 1863.

[4] "The History of Modern Europe." For schools and private st[illegible]ts. By Thomas Bullock, author of the "Illustrated History of England," &c. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

r's; we are told that Madame du *Barre* was the last mistress of Louis XV., Lord *Stanophe* is made to report Pitt's last dying speech, and in the middle of the fifteenth century a state of *dirth* and uncertainty comes to an end.

The origin of the greater part of the royal families of Europe is very ancient; some of them going back in a direct line to Charlemagne, as is shown in the dynastic tables drawn up by the Baron B. de Kœhne.[5] In the fifth of these tables, the descent of the Queen of Great Britain is traced to Kerdic, who arrived in England about A.D. 494, as well as to the great Mediæval emperor himself. The entire number of royal pedigrees given in the Baron's brochure is thirty-two. In composing them the author has consulted the genealogical works of Brömmel, Camille de Behr, Berhen, Hofmeister, and Muller. They are printed in clear type, and each royal name has its own separate interspace, so that the two columns into which the pages are divided, are instantaneously traversed by a practised eye.

We are carried still further back into antiquity than the times of Charlemagne or of Kerdic, by the opening sentence of Richard of Cirencester's "Speculum Historiale," which assures us that the first king of our island was Brutus, who conferred on it the name by which it was afterwards known,—Britain, though a more humorous etymology, derives it from βρύτον (beer), our ancestors being early renowned for that love of malt which still distinguishes their descendants. The first volume of the Chronicle which records the deeds of England's kings,[6] is edited by Mr. Mayor, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, from the copy in the public library of that University; it has no introduction, but there are topical notes attached to every page. The "historic muse" begins her song with the landing of Hengist and Horsa, A.D. 447, and closes it for the present with the death of Ethelred A.D. 871, shortly after the battle of Aschedun, in which two kings of the pagans, infidels, or Danes, and many thousands of their co-religionists and countrymen being slain, descended, one and all, into hell, there "to be tormented with everlasting fires," to the great joy, we presume, of the aforesaid muse.

The curious Chronicle of the Abbey of Evesham, now printed for the first time, is introduced by its editor, Mr. William Dunn Macray, in an agreeable explanatory preface.[7] He describes it as, in the main, an autobiographical sketch, presenting "a picture of the occasional inner life of a great abbey such as but rarely has been recorded." The Chronicle of Evesham, in addition to the sketch so characterized, contains the life, and miracles of St. Egwin after he was dead, the translation and miracles of St. Odulph, the life and miracles of St. Wistan, and a few pages of miscellaneous miracles, so that we are really very handsomely treated. A brief continuation of the history of the abbots to the dissolution is succeeded by a glossary and an index. Hearne's derivation of Britannia, from the Greek equivalent of *beer*, mentioned above, will be found in a note belonging to the preface, p. xxv.

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[5] "Recherches sur l'origine de plusieurs souverains d'Europe." London: Williams and Norgate. 1863.

[6] "Ricardi de Cirencester, Speculum Historiale de gestis regum Angliæ." From the copy in the Public Library, Cambridge. Edited by John E. B. Mayor, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Published by the authority of the Lords Commissionors of Her Majesty's Treasury, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. Vol. I. A.D. 447-871. London: Longman, Green, and Co. 1863.

[7] "[illegible]onicon Abbatiæ de Evesham. Ad annum 1418." Edited by William Dunn [illegible]cray, M.A., Chaplain of Magdalene and New College, &c. Published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners, &c. London: Longman, Green, and Co. 1863.

The third volume of the "Eulogium Historiarum" contains the final part of the Fifth Book, the Genealogy of the Kings of England, the Monastic Chronology, the Author's Index, and the Continuation, down to 1413.[8] The earlier portions of the volume would seem to be derived from the "French Brut," Malmesbury's "Gesta," and Trivet's "Annals." Of the authorship of the Continuation nothing is known, nor has Mr. Haydon, who contributes an excellent preface, been able "to discover anything which will lead to his identification." The prior part of the Chronicle has not only a direct value as a contemporary report of the period A.D. 1350—1366, but has also, the editor tells us, an indirect value of its own as a monument of opinion. The Continuation he regards as trustworthy, as containing some original matter, and as generally free from bias.

The volume of State Papers edited by Mr. John Bruce[9] is one of a series which promises to be of the highest importance. It carries us into the middle of that period of twelve years, 1628—1640, which Lord Clarendon has described as a time of unparalleled national happiness and tranquillity. It incorporates a number of Admiralty papers, an instalment, as we understand, of a large collection, available as material for the contemporary naval history, and supplying, if any document can supply them, the facts on which "the vindication of the imposition of ship-money must mainly rest." A portion also of Laud's private papers, appropriated by the authority of the Long Parliament and [illegible]sed by Prynne for the purposes of the archbishop's impeachment," will be found calendared in the present volume. The greater part of these papers has never been published before. Indeed, "until within an extremely recent period their very existence had altogether fallen out of knowledge." Their publication in this and the ensuing volumes of Mr. Bruce's calendar will greatly enhance the value of the work. At present we find the energetic prelate busy with a scheme for the regulation of the English churches and chaplaincies in Scotland, with the repairs of St. Paul's, with the Wake or Ecclesiastical-Festival Question, with projects for the encouragement of literature, and with his functions as a principal judge in the Courts of High

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[8] "Eulogium (Historiarum sive Tenporis) Chronicon ab orbe condito usque ad annum Domini M.CCC.LXVI.," &c. &c. Edited by Frank Scott Haydon, B.A. Published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners, &c. Vol. III. London: Longman, Green, and Co. 1863.

[9] "Calendar of State Papers." Domestic Series, of the reign of Charles I., 1633-1634. Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. Edited by John Bruce, Esq., F.S.A. Under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, and with the sanction of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department. London: Longman and Co. 1863.

Commission and Star Chamber. The volume contains, among other remarkable entries, Laud's copy of the decree of the University of Oxford for Prynne's degradation, a presentment of "one person for living incontinently with his wife before marriage, and nine persons for not doing reverence at the name of the Lord Jesus in time of divine service;" a presentment of Mr. Spencer, rector of Scaldwell, Northamptonshire, for the omission of a bow, an epistle, and gospel, and affirming "that there is a fame [against] Mr. Spencer for not burying Edward Merrick as a Christian ought to be, stating that he was a usurer and 'something worse,' and did not deserve Christian burial, and omitting certain words enjoined to be read by the Book of Common Prayer, viz., 'In sure and certain hope,' &c.; as also, 'The soul of our dear brother,' &c.," see pp. 574, 575. The documents, illustrating a period of thirteen months, with the addition of about 250 undated papers, are all that Mr. Bruce has been able to comprise in the volumes before us.

Mrs. Everett Green's "Calendar of the Domestic Series of State Papers of the reign of Charles II.,"[10] the last of the Record Office publications that we have now to acknowledge, embodies the documents that illustrate the period 1664—1666 of the reign of that beloved and virtuous monarch.

The revolutionary movement of the seventeenth century in England terminated in the expulsion of the Stuarts, and the establishment of freedom in this country. The French Revolution, a century later, has at present abutted in a despotism, to the grief of the friends of political liberty. This grief M. Guizot regards as at once legitimate and excessive. France has not, he contends, renounced her generous aspirations, nor is she destitute of the means for realizing them. She has still a future, for she is still true to her mission—the attainment of political liberty. To show the constancy of France to her ideal is the object of the introductory essay which the distinguished writer has prefixed to the collection of speeches which illustrate the parliamentary history of France during the period of 1819—1848.[11] In this Introduction, which he entitles Three Generations, he traces the nature and progress of the continuous revolution, for such it essentially is, which began its startling career of oppression and amelioration in 1789. The predominant characteristic of 1789 is explained to be the unanimity of the national impulse—a unanimity consisting not in opinions but in hopes and desires. The passionate longing of that ardent generation, the first of the "Three," was for the establishment of justice in the social and liberty in the political order, accompanied with respect for personal right and national participation in the management of public affairs. This supreme ambition of the French people was shared alike by the *tiers état*, the noblesse, and the clergy of Old France, the two last grades furnishing an important contingent to the cause of New France. The direct failure of this unanimous movement M. Guizot attributes in some subordinate sense to the errors of Louis XVI. and the royal family, but principally to the impracticability of the revolutionary programme. In this programme the three distinctive principles were untenable, as being destructive of all government or social order. The principle which makes obedience to law a duty incumbent only where the consent of the subject has been given is destructive of authority—a consequence which Rousseau saw and struggled to evade, but which Proudhon has accepted, erecting anarchy into the normal state of human society. The principle which makes the numerical majority the source of legitimate power is destructive of liberty; the third principle, the equality of all men, is destructive of political elevation and social progress. It would, however, be an error to suppose that these ideas do not cover or rather disguise truths which are really salutary and beautiful. The truth, disengaged from the first exaggeration, is that men have not only a right to just laws and a just government, but, as a result of this, a right to the *institutions which guarantee them*. The truth smothered under the weight of the second exaggeration is, that the numerical majority, when, from the nature of the case, it is accepted as the external symbol of reason and justice, is bound to conform itself to the requisitions of reason and justice, and to respect the rights of the minority in all times and under all circumstances. Lastly, the truth latent in the third over-statement is, not that men are *equals*, but that they are *fellows*, and in virtue of the common resemblance of human nature, which, however, does not exclude quantitative differences, are entitled to the same common rights. It was through the attempted application of Utopian principles, in M. Guizot's opinion, that the French Revolution of 1789 miscarried. From the consequences of its dream of equality it escaped only to find the failure of its aspirations repeated in the vision of imperial glory, which the first Napoleon incited, and which, we may add, the third has revived. At the fall of the Empire liberty again arose. But it arose under forms and in the model of passions that obstructed its action and limited its extension. The furious Royalist Chamber which followed the second Restoration was dismissed, as we learn elsewhere, by Louis, in September, 1817, amidst the exultation of all France. The popular party making too rapid progress for the king, a modification of the electoral law was contemplated, when the crime of Louvel occurred, at a favourable crisis for the party of reaction. The triumph of the retrograde policy alienated many of its earlier adherents. The new aristocracy joined the popular party. M. Guizot took a foremost part in the proclamation of the principles of constitutional government, and France was advancing in the path of improvement when the Martignac ministry was dismissed, the famous *ordonnances* were issued, and the Bourbon monarchy annihilated. M. Guizot extenuates the error of Charles X. and Polignac. They did not at first intend to violate the charter or issue the *ordonnances*. The fault of the king lay in his inability to separate the cause of royalty from that of the old *régime*, or to see that political freedom did not necessarily imply revolutionary theory or passion. Still, however innocent his original intentions, it is not to be denied that he defied the parliamentary party, compromised liberty, and brought the *ancien régime* face to face with the Revolution. Thus the generation of 1814 intervened in behalf of political freedom. To organize this freedom was the difficult task that devolved on the government of 1830. M. Guizot claims for this government the merit of having been a free government, of having governed invariably by law, and of having respected the legally guaranteed liberties of the country. Eminent men, notwithstanding, have regarded it as a corrupt, demoralizing, unimproving government—notably Mr. Stuart Mill, who ascribes to Louis Philippe himself the endeavour to "immerse all France in the *culte des intérêts matériels*, in the worship of the cash-box and of the ledger;" and what are we to say of the decree which prohibited the "peaceful demonstration" of the Reform dinners? Confining himself to statement and avoiding discussion, the advocate of French constitutionalism insists on the fidelity of the nation to political liberty, on the existence of the popular instinct which felt the want of permanent securities for the right exercise of power; he shows that constitutional government is of slow growth, that though its elements were not wanting in France, the feelings and habits necessary to its successful practice require to be cultivated, and that each of the two great parties of order and progress is incomplete, discordant, and incoherent. Coming to his Third Generation, that of 1848, our author contends that, notwithstanding the internal disturbances, the two Republican Assemblies were not deficient in either moderation or patriotism. Yet with all their brilliant talents, they did not discern the real wants of France, they did not comprehend the conditions either of government or of liberty. The Republic alienated friends, encoura[redacted] and impossible hopes, offering, or seeming to offer, not equity but social equality, not political liberty but the exclusive empire of democracy. There is justice, no doubt, in these animadversions, but they are too vague and too general to satisfy us, and we complain of the absence of the special or historical circumstances which ended in the defeat or suppression of the Republic Government. What was the really great error in the institutions of 1848? Did it not consist in the organization of a standing hostility between the President and the National Assembly? What was the immediate cause of its defeat? Was it not the armed solution of the problem thus created by the violent self-will of the perpetrator of the *coup d'état* of 2nd December?

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[10] "Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles II., 1664-1666." Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. Edited by Mary Anne Everett Green, author of "The Lives of the Princesses of England," &c. Under the Direction, &c. London: Longman, Green, and Co. 1863.

[11] "Histoire Parlementaire de France. Recueil complet des Discours prononcés dans les Chambres de 1819 à 1848. Par M. Guizot. Vols. I. and II. London: Williams and Norgate. 1863.

Happily, through all the errors of the Republicans of 1848, no less than through those of 1789, M. Guizot sees political liberty slowly but securely advancing. Perhaps he might point to the results of the recent Paris elections as a token of reviving public independence, and to justify his sanguine expectation that constitutional freedom will ultimately triumph. Far from admitting the *pessimist* doctrine, that the sole fruit of experience is to show that experience is good for nothing, our author finds, on comparing the state of political liberty, both in reference to facts and ideas, in the periods of 1789—1814, with 1814—1848, and the Republic of 1842 with that of 1814, argument to convince the most sceptical that experience has not been without fruit. This prefatory survey of the revolutionary past of France is followed by the so-called Parliamentary History. The parliamentary history consists of brief notices attached to the speeches of M. Guizot. In the two volumes before us these speeches extend over a period of less than eighteen years; of little more indeed than six, there being only one speech in the interval 1819—1830. They are eighty-eight in number; are chronologically arranged, and discuss questions connected with the press, with finance, trade, the condition of the country, public instruction, criminal procedure, ministerial crises, foreign affairs, &c.

How unwelcome free principles, much more those of revolutionary France, were in Austria, in July, 1830, may be learned from the pages of Herr Springer's history of that conservative country.[12] On the first tidings of the explosion Prince Metternich was extremely desirous of checking the revolution by force of arms. Having no available soldiery, however, he was compelled to resign himself to inaction, and afterwards changing his mind, on the ground that war would spread the evil, he strenuously advocated a pacific policy. Before this period the government of Austria was in accordance with the spirit of the "system"—a courtly expression for a brainless inactivity, and easily explicable from the personal feelings of the two principal organs of power. Fear was the mainspring in all the emperor's actions. Gentz, again, was a pre-eminently timid man. There was nothing which he did not fear. He was afraid of thunder and lightning, of a rough voice, of an exasperated goose. Timidity, in some shape, continued to characterize Austrian policy. To exclude the light seemed to be the only way of keeping off all kinds of shocking things. The light, however, could not be altogether excluded. In 1848, the students in the philosophical schools discovered that the government hated science, and deceived young men about the truth. As a natural consequence an antagonism soon showed itself between official duty and love of knowledge; the professors got ashamed of their dame-school morality, the practical ideas in Herbart's speculations, and the categorical imperative of Kant became the subject of general admiration; and such is the perverseness of human nature, a philosophical system was respected, just in proportion as it stood in direct contradiction to that which government delighted to honour. After the military occupation of Cracow, a measure which Lord Palmerston protested against in 1846, as a violation of the treaty of Vienna, complications disclosed themselves which manifested the weakness of the government. At length *old* Austria died, not a violent but a natural death, which our historian thinks was in all probability a fortunate thing for the State. From these remarks it must not be inferred that Herr Springer is actuated by any vehement animosity to Austria. We should judge him rather to rank among the well-wishers of that empire, though he says it has no proper nationality, and no distinct geographical circumscription, but is an aggregate animated, not by a love of fatherland, but by a sentiment of gratitude for the gracious government of a good emperor. This book, which is to consist of two parts, appears to belong to a series of works on recent history edited by Karl Biedermam. Commencing with the Reform of Joseph II., it brings us down in the first section to the end of the war in 1809; sketches in the second section the politics of equilibrium (balance of power); describes in the third section the progress of reaction; touches in the fourth on the Hungarian Diet of 1825, the Eastern Question, and the last years of the Emperor Francis; and follows in the fifth the course of political composition, and the downfall of the old imperial rule.

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[12] "Geschichte Oesterreich's seit dem Wiener Frieden, 1809." Von Anton Springer. In zwei theilen. Erster theil. London: Williams and Norgate. 1863.

In 1798 Austria and the other leading continental powers were at war with France. Mr. Massey, in the fourth and concluding volume of "A History of England, during the Reign of George III.,"[13] resumes his narrative precisely at this point, and carries it down to the Peace of Amiens in 1801. Mr. Massey's last instalment has the same sort of merit that distinguished a previous constituent of this work. He has not produced a great book, but he has produced an informing book. His style has an agreeable sobriety which harmonizes with the generally subdued character of his statement and judgment. He can interest though he cannot excite; he has neither philosophical power nor poetic force; but he has common sense, he is painstaking, intelligible, and judicious. His history may not be an everlasting possession, but it deserves an honourable place in the contemporary bookshelf. In treating of the French Revolution, indeed, the author is far from satisfying us. He should have completely interpreted that event before proceeding to shriek at the *miscreants who murdered their too patient and inoffensive sovereign.* But though he makes certain and even large allowance for the extravagances of the French Revolution, we do not find that he gives any adequate philosophical exposition of what it was and what it meant. And if his general survey be defective, his special view is also occasionally faulty. In holding Louis XVI. to be blameless, does he not forget that that monarch tried to overthrow the constitution he had sworn to defend; does he not forget that on the flight to Varennes he disavowed all the acts which he had ratified during a period of a year and three-quarters? With regard to the origin of the war between this country and France, Mr. Massey argues, that the opening of the Scheldt, which ought never to have been closed, and whose free navigation has long since been sanctioned by European powers, was a sufficient *casus belli.* Yet Holland seemed satisfied to remain neutral, and never asked us to make this French interference a cause of war. We doubt, however, whether hostilities could then have been avoided, and as the French declaration of war preceded that of Great

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[13] "A History of England, during the Reign of George III." By William Massey, M.P. Vol. IV. 1793-1802. London: Parker, Son, and Bourn. 1863.

Britain, to France belongs a full share of the responsibility which attaches to their prosecution. The war was attended with one most disastrous result for England. The two great parties in the State became increasingly hostile; if the Whigs were intemperate, Toryism was often unjust, unreasonable, and even unconstitutional. Mr. Massey shows the misplaced rigour, precipitate counsels, and ignoble concessions of the ministers of the Crown; the subserviency of the judges, the indiscriminate character of the prosecutions, and the impolicy of the repressive measures of the Government. The account of the State trials in the thirty-fourth chapter of his history is sufficiently full to interest as well as inform. The description of the famous "Parson Horne" is quite a lively bit of writing. In the course of his trial Tooke asked a witness named Sharp whether he considered him a bigot: upon which Sharp, who was evidently willing to help his old acquaintance as much as possible, replied, that so far from being a bigot, he did not think the prisoner had any religion at all. "Call you that backing of your friends?"

If there is not much that is new in Mr. Massey's survey of Ireland at the time of the Rebellion and Union, it has the valuable qualities of compactness and impressiveness. It depicts very forcibly the corrupt and selfish *régime* of the Government families in the sister country—the Boyles, the Fosters, and Beresfords; the bad counterparts of the Russells, Fitzwilliams, and Pelhams in England. Of the extent to which they abused their political power we may form some notion from the fact, that instances are related of regiments of militia raised for the sole object of patronage; of barracks erected to improve the property of a member or friend of the ruling family; of canals cut in the wrong direction, for a similar purpose. Under that happy *régime* all public spirit was treated as cant. "'Did I ever give an honest vote in my life?' said an honourable member, whose family was maintained at the public charge, and the house rang with applauding laughter." The disordered state of Ireland at this period is very strikingly brought out by our historian. There seems to have been little to choose between the infuriated Popish peasantry and the violent Orangemen of the Protestant yeomanry, whose cruelties, not only during the rebellion, but after and even before it, "differed only in degree from the worst enormities of the French revolutionists." Hundreds of unoffending persons were flogged till they were insensible, or made to stand upon one foot on a pointed stake. Sometimes the wretched victim was half hanged, or the scalp was torn from the head by a pitched cap.

The incidents of the War, the Rebellion in Ireland, the Union, the Mutiny at the Nore, the Military Administration of Pitt, the Acquittal of Hastings, and the Career of Nelson, all come under our historian's notice. Mr. Massey, who appears to have really considered the subject, still feels that the old and adverse view of the conduct of the naval hero off Naples is the correct one, and in opposition to all vindicatory criticism he is forced to record that Lord Nelson, "instigated by two bad women, broke a sacred engagement," and by the part that he took in the affair of Caraccioli anticipated the cruelty of the vile court of which he had constituted himself the servant and the tool." The volume and the history alike terminate with the close of the first stage of the Revolution which shook Europe to the centre.

To this period belongs the early career of Sir Howard Douglas, whose Life[14] has been written by Mr. Fullom in a somewhat diffuse and turgid style, though the book contains some good material. Howard Douglas, born at Gosport, January 23, 1776, was the son of the Sir Charles Douglas who improvised the famous manœuvre that aided the English admiral in winning a victory over the French fleet under De Grasse. Educated at the Royal Academy, Woolwich, he was appointed in his twentieth year to take charge of a detachment of troops to Quebec. The recital of the disastrous termination of their nine weeks' voyage, and the sufferings of the party ashore, will not fail to awaken sympathy. Recalled to England by the death of his half-brother, Lieutenant Douglas, in 1798, the young soldier soon after married Miss Anne Dundas, a lady renowned for her beauty. The superintendence of the senior department of the Royal Military College, High Wycombe was followed by his appointment to be Assistant-Quartermaster-General to the Expedition of 1808, he having about two years before been raised to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. Succeeding to the family baronetcy in the interval between the battle of Corunna and the Walcheren Expedition, he again applied for employment, and was offered his old post in the force preparing for embarkation, under Lord Chatham and Sir Richard Strachan, immortalized in "the well-known epigram," which we take the liberty to reproduce here from memory, Mr. Fullom's version being a very poor one:—

> "Cries Chatham, with his sword undrawn,
> I'm waiting for Sir Richard Strachan.
> Cries Strachan, I'm longing to be at 'em,
> But wait—For whom? the Earl of Chatham.'

Notwithstanding the failure of the expedition, the ardour of Sir Howard Douglas was unabated. In 1811 we find him officially residing in the province of Gallicia. Of the Duke of Wellington's operations against the fortress of Burgos he disapproved, and the Duke, who some years before was pleased to say that Douglas was a damned clever fellow, exclaimed, when he was at last obliged to retreat, "Douglas was right; he was the only man who told me the truth." In 1813, still retaining his post of Commandant at High Wycombe, Sir Howard accepted the appointment of Inspector-General of Education. Sedulously prosecuting his professional studies, he gave some results of them to the world in a literary shape, publishing in 1819 a "Treatise on Naval Gunnery," followed by an "Essay on Fortification." In 1824, being then Major-General, he was nominated Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick and Commander of the Forces in Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, Newfoundland, Bermuda, &c. Differing with the Government on the Timber Duty question, he resigned his situation in 1831. About four years after he was made Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands. He was, says Mr. Fullom, the only governor who ever won the affection of their inhabitants. An obelisk at Corfu records his many services, and asserts the gratitude of the people to a "Benefactor." On his return to England in 1841 Sir Howard Douglas represented Liverpool in the Conservative interest. In 1847 he retired from political life. In later years he took part in the discussion on iron-clad ships, the bitterness of controversy causing him considerable agitation. He may almost be said to have died declaring, "All that I have said about armour ships will prove correct. How little do they know of the undeveloped power of artillery." On the 9th of November, 1861, he breathed his last, leaving behind him the memory of a courageous, kindly man, and an able servant of the State.

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[14] "The Life of General Sir Howard Douglas, Bart., G.C.B.," &c. &c. From his Notes, Conversations, and Correspondence. By S. W. Fullom. London: Murray. 1863.

In the same year, and within a few weeks of the same date, occurred the death of Sir James Graham. His biographer, resuming the story of his career with the secession of 1834, brings it to a close in the present volume.[15] The Life as a whole is too long; it is rather an apologetic narrative than a vivid portraiture; and the careful, deliberate diction has a ponderous dignity which is somewhat tiresome. We are not sure that we understand the character of Sir James Graham as depicted by Mr. Torrens, but we are inclined to think that it was that of a man fastidious, clever, and sagacious, with no great philosophical insight however, and with but an infirm grasp of principles. Sir James seems to have occasionally experienced a Hamlet-like hesitancy, a sensitive recoil before the possible consequences of action. In early life he had studied political economy; yet we find him always defending a corn law, till his conversion in 1846. A few years before he had declared that to desire a low price of corn was to desire to produce a low rate of wages; but in 1847 he maintained that the rate of wages had a constant tendency to rise in proportion as the price of food fell. Mr. Torrens apologizes for his previous vindication of the corn laws by supposing him to be under the influence of passion, prejudice, and political bias, a supposition which implies that his economical error is attributable to prepossessions which prevented his seeing or acknowledging the truth; so that, according to this view, intellectual short-comings originated in moral causes. In private life Sir James Graham was amiable and even tender-hearted, though imperious, and consequently unpopular as a public man. His habits were at one time almost ascetic. So abstemious was he that an eight o'clock dinner was the only substantial meal that he allowed himself. He was a foremost man in an ever-memorable period of English history. His influence in changing and modifying Peel's views in 1846—an influence which Mr. Torrens claims for him—deserves to be noted. Perhaps it lay partly in his nature and partly in the times that his career was what he himself owns it to have been—a devious one. After his secession from the Grey Government he drifted towards Conservatism, till finally, experiencing a growing estrangement from the representatives of Whig principles, he accepted office as Secretary of State for the Home Department in the Peel Administration of 1841. After refusing the Governor-Generalship of India in 1847, the office of the First Lord of the Admiralty, with a possible peerage a year or two after (because he could not accept the former from Lord John, or promise concurrence in all the measures of the Whig Government), and again, in 1851; declining the Presidency of the Board of Control, Sir James resumed his old post at the Admiralty under the Coalition Ministry, which he retained but momentarily under the Administration of Lord Palmerston—like Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Sidney Herbert, withdrawing from the Cabinet on the impending nomination of the Sebastopol Committee.

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[15] "The Life and Times of the Right Hon. Sir James R. G. Graham, Bart., G.C.B., M.P." By Torrens McCullagh Torrens, late M.P., &c. In Two vols. Vol. II. London: Saunders, Otley, and Co. 1863.

Sir James never again took office, but he appeared to be as devoted as ever to parliamentary business. In 1861 the premature death of his friend Lord Herbert deeply affected him. Towards the end of October in the same year, he too "his worldly task had done."

The name of Sir James Graham must for ever be associated with the three leading transactions of his time—the triumph of Religious Liberty, Reform, and Free Trade. However "devious" his course, and however intemperate his rhetorical denunciation of old political friends, the career of Sir James Graham was not that of a mere self-regarding adventurer. We do not find that he ever repudiated the general principles of freedom which he espoused. In the Post-office Inquiry of 1844-1845, the odium which he incurred by the apparently un-English practice of opening suspected letters, subjected him to serious imputation; but, whether right or wrong in the exercise of his discretion, it resulted that he had only done what his predecessors in office had done—*used* the dangerous and invidious power with which the State had invested him. It is observable that his career covers the whole period of modern Toryism and Whiggism. The old Eldon Toryism was the consequence of the narrow-minded reaction which began to show itself under Pitt; it was repudiated under Peel (1834), who substituted for it the more rational programme of Conservatism. Conservatism itself, as a party programme, was in its turn abandoned in 1846. Peelites and Liberals then remained in joint, if not always friendly, possession of the field of politics; and the temporary intrusion into power of the representatives of the broken Conservative party only served to show that the Government of this country must be conducted henceforth by the party of order, with more or less approximation to the principles of the party of Reform. These different landmarks of changing opinion will be traced by an observant eye in traversing the historical vista which Mr. Torrens' Life of Sir James Graham opens up to it.

To read the "Life of Dr. John Leifchild"[16] is to us much like looking into a fossilized past; so difficult is it to realize the phenomena of the Dissenting mind, or to think that any reasonable person can suppose *Evangelicism* to be an adequate explanation of the universe. And yet it is only in the excluding prominency and undisguised simplicity of the sectarian creed that it differs much from the palæo-Christianity of uneducated and tolerably sincere Churchmen. The subject of the present memoir was a Dissenting preacher of some note in his day. His father was a cooper, living at Barnet in Hertfordshire; his mother was the daughter of Bockman the artist. John was from his boyhood distinguished by a certain susceptibility to religious impressions, and having some oratorical talent, soon found out that he had a soul above tubs. His father was a Wesleyan, but Wesleyan doctrine not being sufficiently Calvinistic for him, he joined the Independents. Placed by some friends at Hoxton Academy, he was trained for the ministry of the community with which he had associated himself. Profiting by this instruction, he subsequently became a celebrated pulpit orator. At Kensington, at Bristol, at Brighton, his labours were appreciated by enlightened hearers. It seems that by a moderate calculation he may be affirmed to have received into church-fellowship *two thousand converts*, as the acknowledged fruits of his own preaching. We cannot find that Dr. Leifchild had any particular intellectual faculty. There are some notices of Hall and Foster in this biography, but he had not the scholarship of Hall or the literary talent of Foster. His eloquence, however, was held in great esteem. He had many acquaintances: he was personally noticed by the Dukes of Kent and Sussex: he knew Charles Lloyd, the friend of Wordsworth and Lamb: he knew and corresponded with Wilberforce: he was critically estimated by Talfourd, who reports an impressive theatrical climax in a sermon which he heard him deliver: "He is gone—he is dead—he is damned." During his last years, Dr. Leifchild resided near Primrose Hill, London, where he died in 1862, in the eighty-third year of his age. His son's sketch of the famous preacher's life will certainly interest all who share his views and will amuse some who do not. Among other things, it contains notices of Rowland Hill and William Huntington, who wrote his own epitaph—"Here lies the coal-heaver, beloved of his God, but abhorred of men," &c. This singular man, it appears, did not approve of Missionary Societies, and on one occasion after warning his hearers against countenancing such delusions by contributing money to them, he added:—"But remember this—the quarterly collection is to be made next Sunday at Providence Chapel, Titchfield-street, where I shall preach to you: and if you are not all much more liberal than you have been, by the living God I will preach to you no more!" The result was satisfactory—the plates were so loaded with money that hats were found necessary. This looks very like a successful reduction to practice of the principle of making the best of both worlds!

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[16] "John Leifchild, D.D. His Public Ministry, Private Usefulness, and Personal Characteristics." Founded upon an Autobiography. By J. R. Leifchild, A.M. London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder. 1863.

The liberty of preaching enjoyed by Mr. William Huntington was a novelty which the First James was not disposed to tolerate. It was in the reign of this gracious monarch that the band of sectarians still honourably known as the "Pilgrim Fathers" emigrated from their island home in search of the freedom which was denied them there. Mr. Bartlett,[17] availing himself of the researches of Mr. Sumner of Leyden, of the discoveries of the Rev. Joseph Hunter, and the labours of Mr. Young of Boston, has compressed the scattered particulars of their tale into a continuous narrative, and has endeavoured to impart additional clearness to it by illustrative engravings on steel and wood. For these pen-and-pencil memorials (fifty-nine in number) he prefers a claim to originality. His narrative, which is free from personal predilection, is distributed into three chapters; the first being called "The Pilgrims in England;" the second, "The Exiles in Holland;" and the third, "The Settlement in America"

A Protestant Church now rises in the Rue de Crimée, on an eminence in the Quartier de la Villette which has been known for centuries as the hill of Montfaucon. On, or in the neighbourhood of this hill was fought the famous battle of Montfaucon, in which Eudes the Count of Paris defeated 19,000 Norman invaders, A.D. 885. Its subsequent history, and the transactions associated with it, are related by Henri Parrot in a thin *brochure* entitled "Montfaucon et ses Souvenirs."[18] Regarding Montfaucon as possessing a threefold historical significance—since it recals the Middle Ages, in which it was used as a place of execution; the *renaissance*, in which it acquired a melancholy notoriety from the saddest reminiscence of the religious wars of the period. the suspension of the mutilated body of Coligny from one of its gibbets; and the present time, in which it is the site of a Protestant Church—the author takes occasion to describe the religious sentiment which characterized each of these epochs, exaggerating, as we think, the services which Christianity has conferred on the world, and predicting for it future triumphs which it seems little likely to obtain.

A gratifying indication of the honour in which Prince Albert's memory is held, is afforded by the appearance of a French version of the volume which contains his speeches, introduced to a foreign public by M. Guizot.[19] In touching on the delicate position of the Prince Consort, his appreciating eulogist contrasts the peculiarities of that position with those which marked the arrival in England of the illustrious husband of an English Princess who was invited as the liberator of this country, and who, coming in a doubtful and unsettled period, rightly refused to share the responsibility without the reality of power. Recognising the judgment with which the lamented Prince interpreted his position, and the tact with which he discharged its duties for twenty-one years, as the first subject and the first adviser of the Queen, M. Guizot rightly regards this collection of speeches, with their simple and earnest language and generous and elevated sentiment, as the noblest monument (it is "The Queen's Own Memorial") that can be consecrated to the name of the Good Prince. The correctness of the translation seems to be guaranteed by the autograph of the distinguished historian. The volume comprises the original introduction on the character of Prince Albert, and omits only some few brief addresses of merely local interest.

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[17] "The Pilgrim Fathers; or Founders of New England in the Reign of James I." By W. H. Bartlett, author of "Jerusalem Revisited," "Pictures from Sicily," &c. London: T. Nelson and Sons. 1863.

[18] "Montfaucon et ses Souvenirs." Par Henri Parrot, Ancien Avocat au Conseil d'Etat et la Cour de Cassation, &c. London: David Nutt. 1863.

[19] "Le Prince Albert. Son Caractère, ses Discours." Traduit de l'Anglais par Madame de W., et précédé d'une Préface par M. Guizot. London: David Nutt. 1863.

BELLES LETTRES.

THE present unsatisfactory condition of dramatic art in Germany has induced the author of "Debit and Credit" to employ his versatile pen upon a treatise[1] which, he fondly hopes, may obviate some of the misconceptions to which he attributes the want of a national drama worthy of the country that gave birth to Schiller and Goethe:—

> "There are," he plaintively writes, "not less than a hundred plays probably, of a serious cast, produced every year in Germany, of which at least ninety perish in manuscript, without having ever been tried on the stage or printed at all. Of the remaining ten which do achieve a representation, there are not perhaps three that are capable of affording the spectator any real enjoyment. And yet among the numerous works that perish without having seen the light, if some are undoubtedly the feeble efforts of incompetent authors, many of them are the productions of able and highly-gifted men. This is a grave question. Has the absence of talent become endemic in Germany, and is dramatic life really dead among us, sixty years after Schiller? A more careful examination of these kind of works detects here and there traces of considerable power, but power untrained, unregulated, mingled with a strange awkwardness of plot and action which is fatal to the drama."

It is to the remedy of this awkwardness (Unbehülflichkeit) that our author has anxiously addressed himself, labouring to prove, by the maxims of Aristotle and the examples of Sophocles, Shakespere, Lessing, Goethe, and Schiller, that the surest mode of securing the highest development of the dramatic faculty is by confining it within certain definite limits, and restraining it by fixed rules from trenching too far on the confines of lyrical poetry on the one hand and epic on the other. In order to explain these limits and to justify these rules, Herr Freytag goes back to the beginning, and having asked and answered the preliminary questions of what ideas are susceptible of dramatic treatment and what are not, proceeds to draw out a code of instructions for the guidance of youthful aspirants to dramatic fame, assuring them that no genius and no study can avail if these be neglected. As a manual of well considered suggestions by one who thoroughly understands the technicalities as well as the great principles of the drama, and who has brought to the study of it large experience and varied knowledge, this little book deserves respectful attention, but it is not by such means that poets will learn to write for the theatre of the future. If there is to be a Lessing in the nineteenth century, he will know how to do his work; and if not, the most conscientious study of the great models will not enable a lesser master to elevate the stage to the place which it has been gradually, perhaps inevitably, ceasing to occupy. In England, Shakespere has probably been studied with more reverential earnestness by this generation than ever before, and nevertheless there is scarcely anything we expect less from our own time than a great tragedy thoroughly suited for representation on the modern English stage. Of our profound and undiminished worship of our mighty poet, another example has been lately added to the list of offerings, in the shape of a whole volume about the house which once was Shakespere's. In "Shakespere's Home,"[2] Mr. Bellew has attempted to accomplish a task something akin to the solution of the Cambridge problem: given the captain's name and the year of our Lord, to determine the longitude of the ship. So very little do we know of the life of our most illustrious poet—so strangely few are the relics which the most painstaking research has succeeded in recovering, that the "corrosive criticism" of our day has more than once attempted to prove that Shakespere himself is a myth, and the authorship of his plays an open question. But in default of knowledge respecting Shakespere himself, Mr. Bellew thinks the next best thing is to find out all that can be known of the families of his contemporaries, and especially of those who were in any way, nearly or remotely, connected with his house at Stratford, which was built by Sir Hugh Clopton at the end of the fifteenth century, and was pulled down by his descendant of the same name about one hundred and twenty years ago. Accordingly, this volume contains elaborate genealogies of the Cloptons, John à Combe, and the Underhills, and copies of the indentures and wills relating to the property, which has all at length been purchased and secured to the nation, with the exception of the one ugly brick building known as "The Theatre."

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[1] "Die Technik des Dramas." Von Gustav Freytag. Leipzic: S. Hirzel. London: Nutt. 1863.

Mr. Bellew's book is a labour of love; much learning and antiquarian lore have been expended upon it, and although possessing no particular merits of style or composition, it will take an honourable place beside the works of Messrs. Halliwell and Knight. It brings together all that records and reasonable inference have yet yielded to contradict the vulgar tradition which requires us to believe that Shakespere was a drinking, vagabondising deer-stealer, and shows how much evidence exists in support of the more probable and worthier theory, that he who was known to contemporaries as the "gentle" Shakespere, desired above all things to attain a gentleman's rank and place, to found a family, and to secure to himself and his children a dwelling suitable to an ambition so natural in one born in poor circumstances, but whose poet's soul yearned instinctively after all things rich and beautiful and fair. Our author finds great enjoyment in tracing the volume of Montaigne's "Essays" which contains one of the six known autographs of Shakespere into the possession of the "ever-memorable" John

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[2] "Shakespere's Home, at New Place, Stratford-upon-Avon." By J. C. M. Bellew. London: Virtue Brothers and Co. 1863.

Hales of Eton, and embraces the opportunity to give the pedigree of the Hales' family; but it seems singular, if nothing more, that no allusion whatever should be made to the precious volume in the scholar's will, even when he distinctly mentions and bequeaths his books to different friends. Mr. Bellew clings to his belief in the conclusiveness of the evidence which supports his darling discovery too tenaciously to suffer it to be easily shaken, and fervently exclaims—

> "Until faith can be driven by overpowering proofs into the wildest infidelity, let us cling to the belief that the autograph is genuine, and that this volume did belong to our Shakespere. Should that last plank which floats us over the gulf of separation that has gone on widening for more than three hundred years ever drift away, and leave us utterly cut asunder from the domestic life of the man, we shall still have, in two of the Palatial Halls of England, monuments that must be for ever associated with the genius and glory of the High Priest of literature."

The palatial halls signify the Banqueting-house at Whitehall and Wolsey's Hall at Hampton Court, where "Shaxberd's Plaie of Errors, his Marchant of Venis, his Mesur for Mesur, and his Merry Wives of Winsor" were played before James I.; Shakspere himself being one of the players, and especially honoured by "an amicable letter" from the monarch.

The volume concludes with a suggestion as to the manner in which the Tercentenary Jubilee of the poet's birth next year should be celebrated. It is to be hoped that those who have the power and the will to interfere in the matter, will prevent what should be a national commemoration-day from being made the occasion of such fooleries as were enacted at the festival of genius under Garrick's patronage in 1769.

Mr. Maclaren's book on the site of Troy[3] is a republication, with very large additions, of his "Dissertation on the Topography of the Plain of Troy" which was published in 1822. The views he then maintained have since been illustrated and confirmed by the accurate map of the Troad published by the Admiralty, which was constructed from the survey of Commander Graves and Lieutenant Spratt, in 1840. Those who have the patience and requisite knowledge to appreciate the arguments urged and the evidence adduced, will scarcely hesitate to accept Mr. Maclaren's conclusions as final. He writes with the clearness and decision of one who has thoroughly mastered his subject, and with the eagerness and enthusiasm of one who loves it. In accordance with the usual course of historical investigation the controversy regarding the site of Troy has, during the present century, produced an abundant crop of hasty theories and crude paradoxes, and the result of more careful and accurate investigation has been to identify the Ilium of Homer with the New Ilium of Strabo, to prove that the Skamander and the Simois are represented by the modern streams the Menderé and the Dombrek, and to justify the opinion of Strabo that the local accuracy and appropriateness of description displayed in the Iliad, entitle Homer to be renowned as the father and founder of geography. All that is known, and perhaps all that can be known, from ancient and modern sources, is ably brought together and sifted in these pages, which give the student the results of a long and elaborate investigation of a subject which will never cease to be of interest to scholars and antiquarians.

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[3] "The Plain of Troy described." By Charles Maclaren, F.R.S.E. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 1863.

There appeared in "Good Words" for March, 1863, an Essay by the Dean of Canterbury, entitled "A Plea for the Queen's English," which Essay so shocked the sensibilities of Mr. Moon, that he wrote a private letter to Dr. Alford, pointing out sundry inaccuracies and errors which—their author declining to acknowledge them to be such —Mr. Moon now publishes in a second letter[4] with his own comments and emendations. It is not often men who know how to do it well, will take the trouble to scold, and to scold well through twenty-seven pages is in itself an achievement. "When I hear a man get to his *its*," said Cobbett, "I tremble for him;" Dean Alford does not get nearly so far before he is overtaken by such a storm of rattling words as might make any lesser personage tremble. For instance:—"In your essay you say, 'I remember when the French band of the 'Guides' were in this country, reading in the 'Illustrated News,' that as they proceeded," &c. Were the Frenchmen, when in this country, reading in the 'Illustrated News?' or did you mean, that *you* remembered reading in the 'Illustrated News,' when the band of the French Guides, &c.? . . Once more, you say, 'when I hear a person use a queer expression, or pronounce a name in reading differently from his neighbours, it always goes down, in my estimate of him, with a *minus sign* before it—stands on the side of deficit, not of credit.' Poor fellow! So he falls in your estimation, merely because when 'reading differently from his neighbours,' you hear him pronounce a name. Would you have him pass over the names without pronouncing them? The fact is, that in the very words in which you censure a small fault in another, you expose for censure a greater fault of your own. The pronunciation of proper names is a subject upon which philologists are not in every case unanimous. And to differ where the wise are not agreed, if it be a fault, cannot be a great fault. But to publish a sentence like yours, having in it a clause with what the French call a 'squinting construction,' is to commit a fault such as no one would expect to find in 'A Plea for the Queen's English.' The words 'in reading' *look two ways at once*, and may be construed either with the words which precede or with those which follow. We may understand you to say, 'pronounce a name in reading' or 'in reading differently from his neighbours.' A more perfect example of this ludicrous error could scarcely have been given. So also in that elegant sentence of yours about 'Adam's first,' you thus express yourself:—'What a history, it has been *well said* (?), is this earth's atmosphere, seeing that all words spoken from Adam's first until now, are still vibrating on its sensitive and unresisting medium.' Query, on the sensitive and unresisting medium of Adam's first? And then, first what? First child, or first word? Of course the latter; still, what nonsense; from a word till a time! 'From Adam's first till now.' Pray never talk of other people's 'slipshod English' after having published such sentences as these:

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[4] "A Defence of the Queen's English." By G. Washington Moon, F.R.S.L., in reply to "A Plea for the Queen's English." By the Dean of Canterbury. London: Hatchard and Co. 1863.

"Further on I find you speaking of 'that fertile source of mistakes among our clergy, the mispronunciation of Scripture proper names.' It is not the 'mispronunciation of Scripture proper names' which is *the source* of mistakes; the mispronunciation of Scripture proper names constitutes the mistakes themselves of which you are speaking. And a thing cannot at the same time be a source, and that which flows from it . . . Speaking on this subject, I may remark that as you so strongly advocate our following the Greeks in the pronunciation of their proper names, I hope you will be consistent, and never again in reading the Lessons, call those ancient cities Samaria and Philadelphia otherwise than Samarīa and Philadelphīa. Towards the end of your essay you say '*Entail* is another poor injured word. Nothing ever *leads to* anything as a consequence, or brings it about, but it always *entails* it. This smells strong of the lawyer's clerk.' It was a very proper expression which Horace made use of when, speaking of over-laboured compositions, he said that they smelt of the *lamp*. But it is scarcely a fit expression which you employ, when speaking of a certain word you say, this smells strong of the *lawyer's clerk*. Lawyers or their clerks may be *odious* to you, but that does not give you the right to use an expression which implies that they are *odorous*. Just as we may know by the way in which a man deals with the small trials of life how far he has obtained a mastery over himself, so may we know by the way in which a writer deals with the small parts of speech, how far he has attained a mastery over the language. Let us see how you manage the pronouns."

For Mr. Moon's opinion upon the Dean's management in this respect, we must refer to the pages of this highly entertaining pamphlet, after reading which, Mr. Dalgleish's little book on "English Composition"[5] would appear worthy of recommendation for a place on the diaconal library-table at Canterbury. The objection to this work is one to which all books of its class are unavoidably open: they try to teach too much. Study of the rules of composition, and the application of those rules to the manufacture of themes, narrative, descriptive, reflective, discursive, and argumentative, never did and never will make a good prose writer, nor is the arranging little sentences as "Heroic couplets" an exercise conducive to a poet's training. It is due, however, to the author to state that the exercises in English prosody which form one of the novel features of his work, have, according to his own experience, been of service both to himself and to others engaged in education, "in training the ear and improving the taste of more advanced pupils." It may perhaps be admitted that the study of English composition is one to which our modern systems of education attach too little importance, but we believe that a reasonable knowledge of the first principles of grammar, and an attentive study of the best models, will do more to produce a good style than a course of dreary exercises in Synthesis, or in detecting the want of perspicuity in such a sentence as " he is a graceful scholar, and has a lovely face." But if this volume cannot teach an accomplishment which depends so much upon the acquirements, taste, ear, and capacity of each individual, it is in many respects a useful book, and contains a good deal that many persons, no longer schoolboys, will be glad to have brought together in small compass, especially the chapter on the different measures used in English poetry, and the appendix of printer's signs.

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[5] "English Composition in Prose and Verse, based on Grammatical Synthesis." By Walter Scott Dalgleish, M.A. Edinburgh: James Gordon. 1863.

A translation of the Odes of Horace[6] by so distinguished a scholar as Mr. Conington, must raise high expectations, but the modest, almost deprecatory, tone of his preface, hardly prepares the reader for the extraordinary degree of perfection with which he has rendered the thought, the feeling, the elegant playfulness, and the terse worldly wisdom of the accomplished Roman diner-out. Restricting himself to no particular metre, but selecting that which would best reproduce the Latin, adhering to one rule, that of limiting the translation to the same number of lines as the original, and keeping to the style of English of the eighteenth rather than of the present century, he has produced a version as accurate as Mr. Newman's without its uncouthness, and as graceful as Mr. Theodore Martin's, without any of its occasional want of strength.

"The 'Odes of Horace,'" writes Mr. Conington, "will, I think, strike a reader who comes back to them after reading other books, as distinguished by a simplicity, monotony, and almost poverty of sentiment, and as depending for the charm of their external form not so much on novel and ingenious images as on musical words aptly chosen and aptly combined. We are always hearing of wine-jars and Thracian convivialities, of parsley wreaths and Syrian nard; the graver topics, which it is the poet's wisdom to forget, are constantly typified by the terrors of quivered Medes and painted Gelonians; there is the perpetual antithesis between youth and age, there is the ever-recurring image of green and withered trees, and it is only the attractiveness of the Latin, half real, half perhaps arising from association and the romance of a language not one's own, that makes us feel this 'lyrical commonplace' more supportable than common place is usually found to be."

And yet with so profound an appreciation of the almost unworthy foundation upon which the immortality of Horace rests, what more than justice has Mr. Conington done him in the following charming version of the famous *Quis desiderio* of the First Book:—

Why blush to let our tears unmeasured fall
  For one so dear? Begin the mournful stave,
Melpomene, to whom the Sire of all
  Sweet voice with music gave.

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[6] "The Odes and Carmen Sæculare of Horace." Translated into English Verse by John Conington, M.A., Corpus Professor of Latin in the University of Oxford. London: Bell and Daldy. 1863.

And sleeps he then the heavy sleep of death,
  Quintilius? Piety, twin sister dear
Of Justice! naked Truth! unsullied Faith!
  When will ye find his peer?
By many a good man wept, Quintilius dies;
  By none than you, my Virgil, truelier wept:
You vainly lift to Heaven reproachful eyes,
  Asking your loan ill-kept.
No, though more suasive than the bard of Thrace,
  You swept the lyre that trees were fain to hear;
Ne'er should the blood revisit his pale face
  Whom once with wand severe
Mercury has folded with the sons of night,
  Untaught to prayer Fate's prison to unseal.
Ah, heavy grief! but patience makes more light
  What sorrow may not heal.

A version of the "Ars Poetica,"[7] in eight-syllable lines, reads, after this, somewhat like a bald imitation of Pope without his elegance.

Mr. Worsley, now well known by his excellent translation of the "Odyssey," has published a small volume of original poems and translations,[8] which he informs us were almost all written some years ago, and which tell of poetic gifts of no mean order. The first, and by far the most striking of these pieces is "Phaeton," a short poem of rare beauty, both of conception and treatment, telling the beautiful old fable in lines so living and so resplendent, that sunlight seems to gleam out of them flaming and dazzling, until the dark catastrophe, when—

"Horses and chariot, in the Western Sea
Plunged, and the rushing shower of that fell hiss,
Heard ghastlier than a myriad-throated storm
Of Pythons strangled in their noisome lair,
Seemed to drink up with lips the shuddering world."

Some of the translations in this volume are truly admirable, especially that of the grand old mediæval "Dies Iræ." In those poems which speak of personal experience and feeling, there is a tinge of that melancholy which is half bitterness, that tells with a sad and touching reality of a life made dark by long sickness, and of the keen suffering known only to those to whom peace is impossible until they have learnt to accept, with something more than mere acquiescence, the burden of life, unlightened by the hopes, the aspirations, and the ambition which mask its heaviness from the busy and the strong.

"The Guardian Angel, and other Poems,"[9] is published in aid of the Polish cause; we regret that we cannot conscientiously say that we have discovered any other cause for its publication; nor does the volume by Mr. Pearce[10] recommend itself by any higher merits than such as are natural to the productions of all the minor minstrels. The author of "Catiline" has produced a long poem[11] which hardly justifies the promise of his earlier efforts; refinement of sentiment, and now and then a happy thought, will be found in this volume, but there is a heaviness and stiffness in the verse, made heavier by an attempted grandeur which rather stalks than soars, and fails to elevate commonplace themes above their natural level by any charm of diction.

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[7] "The Art of Poetry of Ho[illegible]ce." Translated into Verse by the Very Rev. Daniel Bagot, B.D., Dean of Dromore. Dublin: Hodges, Smith, and Co. 1862.

[8] "Poems and Translations." By Philip Stanhope Worsley. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1863.

[9] "The Guardian Angel, and other Poems." By Joseph Verey. London: C. H. Clarke. 1863.

Mr. Beresford's poem[12] of 250 pages is a strange attempt to reduce the abstrusest as well as the loftiest dogmas of Christian Theology to hard explicit words, and to build upon the title of "The Man of Sorrows" a kind of logical system which, though evidently conceived in a spirit of deep religious reverence, is more calculated to wound than to delight all, excepting those whose special theological convictions are strong enough to bear much that is revolting to the taste. The strong, and according to our notions, often coarse accents of the old hymns of the Middle Ages—well suited to the time that produced them—do not echo the devotional feelings of a more refined period; and even while we bow before the grandeur of Milton, we are often shocked by thoughts and images which were once held to be spiritual and pious. The author of "Sorrow" is neither a Bernard de Morlaix nor a John Milton, and his flights into celestial regions open to him revelations which he takes for seraphic visions, but which it is not given to all to recognise as the unveiling of the glories of the heaven of heavens. In another poem entitled "Œone,"[13] the grandest heights of spiritual sublimity are strained after, and we are taught how a certain royal priestess, being won from idolatry by her deep communings with nature, declares her faith in the One Supreme Spirit, and thereby forfeits her life to the zealous rage of the priest whose shrines she forsakes. She meets death with a joyful hymn to immortality on her lips. But the "Dawn" of which Œone sings will hardly break upon men through the medium of these rhyming decasyllabic lines.

The substance of a little volume on the poet Uhland[14] was contained in a speech delivered at Bonn on the 11th of February last, on the occasion of the Uhland festival, which speech is expanded into a short biographical memoir by the aid of notes. Uhland, best known among ourselves by his graceful songs, takes a high place among German lyricists, and even Goethe condescended to admire his ballads. His death last year was mourned as a national loss, for the same spirit which animated the stirring war-songs he composed in his youth, guided his patriotic career through the tortuous mazes of German politics, in which, to the close of his long life, he played an active part. Fouqué observed of Schenkendorf, a brother poet and contemporary of Uhland, that his own life was in itself a heroic poem. The memoir before us,[15] although not deficient in interest, is narrated in a manner that is far from attractive, the story being perpetually interrupted by scraps of his poetry, which is quite unnecessary, as a complete edition of his works appeared last year. He, like Körner, was a Prussian, and stood foremost in that heroic band of poet-soldiers of whom Germany is justly proud, and the slight sketch of his short life (he died in 1817 at the early age of thirty-four) takes the reader into the most stirring scenes of the War of Liberation, in which he distinguished himself by his patriotic zeal and gallantry.

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[10] "Philip of Königsmarkt, and Poems." By Maresco Pearce, B.A. London: Pickering. 1863.

[11] "The Laureate Wreath, and other Poems." By John Edmund Reade. London: Longman and Co. 1863.

[12] "Sorrow." By Gilbert Beresford. London: James Nisbet and Co. 1862.

[13] "Œone; or, before the Dawn." Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 1863.

[14] "Ludwig Uhland." Vortrag von Otto Jahn. Bonn: Max Cohen. London: Nutt. 1863.

The small *brochure* by M. de Careil[16] does not exactly tally with its somewhat ambitious title, for the influence of Descartes over the mind of his friend and pupil the Princess Elizabeth of Bohemia affords no ground for the sweeping generalization that some ideas have a good, and others a pernicious effect upon the female mind, as if all female minds were cast in the same mould. It is not, however, very obvious what the author's own final conclusions are, and he ends by disclaiming all intention of laying down the law on the question of female education, although he seems to quote with approbation the remarks of Mde. de Maintenon to the young ladies at St. Cyr:—"You, young ladies, have infinitely greater need to learn to live in a Christian manner in the world and to manage your families wisely than to become learned; women know everything by halves, and the little they do know generally makes them conceited, contemptuous chatterboxes, despising really solid things." The day may come, but it is a long way off, when such counsel will appear as much to the point as it would be to inform a class of university students that they had much better learn to be good Christians than to read Aristotle or understand algebra, as if there must necessarily be a choice between them. The great attainments and noble elevation of character which distinguished some of the women of the seventeenth century have never been surpassed, and the Princess Palatine held very high rank in all these respects. Her correspondence with Descartes records one of the most charming of literary friendships, and this volume contains some interesting particulars and a few valuable letters, but it is too short and fragmentary, and attempts more than it has accomplished.

The election of M. Octave Feuillet as a member of the French Academy in the room of M. Scribe afforded him the opportunity of pronouncing a well-deserved *éloge*[17] on his predecessor, and of calling attention to the undoubted truth, that the novel is slowly but surely usurping the place of the play, and has made itself a real power in modern literature. The young author modestly attributes his own election to the desire of the Academy to recognise this power in his person, and M. Vitet's reply is full of pretty compliments to his merits both as a novelist and a dramatic author, which, according to him, fully entitle him to succeed one of the cleverest and most generally popular of French dramatic writers. In both speeches the remarks on M. Scribe are just and discriminating, and offer a due tribute to his amiable private character. "Why," says M. Vitet, "is 'Gil Blas' an immortal *chef-d'œuvre?* Because it is content to be a romance, neither more nor less; to amuse us without fatigue, and to give us a true and faithful, though slightly caricatured picture of human life." But romance writers are wandering farther every day from these narrow bounds, as one of the novels before us bears witness; for never was anything less adapted to afford amusement without fatigue than the philosophical romance which, being the longest of the season, is, we presume, to be considered the first.

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[15] "Max von Schenkendorf's Leben, Denken und Dichten." Von Dr. A. Hagen. Berlin: Decker. Lond[illegible]: Nutt. 1863.

[16] "Descartes et la Princesse Palatine, ou de l'Influence du Cartésianisme sur les Femmes du xviie. Siècle." Par A. Foucher de Careil. Paris: Auguste Durand. 1862.

[17] "Discours de Réception de M. Octave Feuillet. Réponse de M. L. Vitet, Directeur de l'Académie Française." Paris: Michel Levy Frères. London: Nutt. 1863.

The author of the "First Temptation"[18] predicts that "a blessing will rest" on those who "with calm, unprejudiced thought" arrive at the meaning of his (or her) book; a blessing, it is to be presumed, that is reserved for the chosen few, for, he adds, "the common reader may be content with the husk; the kernel is for spirits of another order." We should be glad to meet with the very *un*common order of reader who can find anything in these closely printed volumes of 1446 pages to repay the excessive labour of wading through the mass of diffuse repetition in which this kernel is enveloped, and who, having found it, can explain in what shape the discovery yielded the promised blessing. The only idea that is attempted to be worked out intelligibly is one that embodies the darkest, saddest, most hopeless form of human agony—doubt degenerating into despair, and despair that ends in madness; and although light is thrown, strong and glaring, on all the steps by which this dark chaos is reached, there is but the faintest glimmer to indicate the possible mode of avoidance or escape from the abyss into whose awful recesses the author seems to delight in groping. A poor impulsive, sympathetic, tender-souled woman is talked out of her unquestioning religious belief by her husband, who is supposed to represent the "new philosophy" of Germany, and whose discourse through interminable pages of incoherent rant is a distorted jumble of Hegelism, Fichteism, and half a dozen other systems; the enlightened coterie, of which he is the centre, are as wild and as monstrous in their conversation, and as base and reckless in action as he is himself, and the whole story might be set down for a nightmare vision or a gross caricature, were it not for the deplorable sufferings of the unhappy heroine, which are sometimes described with such harrowing reality that it is hardly possible to believe them to be altogether purposeless.

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[18] "The First Temptation, or, Eritis sicut Deus." A Philosophical Romance. Translated from the German, by Mrs. Wm. R. Wilde. London: Newby. 1863.

The assertion in the preface that the author has been charged with copying some of his characters from real living people, compels the belief that there may be or have been such worshippers of the Absolute Idea seen in the flesh, and that the morality of "Wilhelm Meister" and the "Elective Affinities" truly represents the mode in which such devotees are "initiated into the idea of the beautiful, through philosophy," but what possible advantage can be derived from drawing such pictures of frenzied humanity, we are at a loss to understand. That this work should have reached a second edition and, still more, that it should have found a translator, is a circumstance almost as incomprehensible as the ravings of its New Philosophy.

"Deep Waters"[19] is a thoroughly readable story, well written, and well worked out, if due allowance be made for the improbabilities of the plot, and the trying situations, from which the greatest ingenuity could alone rescue some of the personages without loss of dignity. As is so frequently the case, the subordinate characters are superior to those who play the chief parts; and they are sketched by Miss Drury with a degree of delicate irony and humour that very agreeably diversify the sad and tragical experiences of her self-sacrificing and almost supernaturally excellent heroine. An abrupt transition to a three volume German novel[20] introduces us to another heroine as preternaturally wicked. This story professes to be only the first part of an historical romance upon the times of Catherine II., and brings us down only to the forty-ninth year of the Empress's life. The subject is not a pleasing one, and no veil of sentiment or ideality is attempted. The result is a matter-of-fact picture of a grossly licentious court, relieved occasionally by now and then a good anecdote, and here and there an amusing description.

The famous German epic, the "Gudrunlied," a poem of the thirteenth century, founded upon Danish traditions of a far more hoary antiquity, is now brought within the reach of English readers in the form of a free prose translation.[21] But one copy of this ancient poem is extant; it was made in 1517 for the Emperor Maximilian I., and had been carefully preserved in the library of Ambras Castle, in the Tyrol, where it was discovered by F. H. Von der Hagen in 1820, and has since been published, translated, and subjected to the critical examination of German scholars, who have detected in the much corrupted text undoubted traces of the old heroic stories of ancient times, modified by later Christian influences, by which it is distinguished from the unalloyed heathenism of the Nibelungenlied. Without attempting the closest verbal accuracy, the authoress has thoroughly succeeded in imparting to her translation "the strength, freshness, and pathos which mark the original," and her pleasing and well-written Introduction contains all that the unlearned in the lore of Northern romance need to know, in order to appreciate the stormy tale of ancient chivalry that follows. The character of Gudrun—a kind of Scandinavian Helen—is extremely beautiful, betokening a very high conception of womanly excellence, and both in her and in her lover may be traced the workings of a purer faith, for they both perplex their elders by some of the new-fangled notions they profess, such as setting mercy above revenge, and praying for forgiveness to enemies, instead of considering what form of cruelty would be the most appropriate to exercise towards them.

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[19] "Deep Waters." By Anna H. Drury. London: Chapman and Hall. 1863.

[20] "Die Nordische Semiramis oder Katharina II. und ihre Zeit. Historischer Roman" Von Ed. Maria Oettinger. Berlin: Otto Jonke. London: Nutt. 1863.

[21] "Gudrun. A Story of the North Sea. From the Mediæval German." By Emma Letherbrow. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas. 1863.

In the dedication of her new novel[22] to Lord Essex, Mrs. Norton writes, "I once jested with you as to your notions of charm and perfection in woman, and told you I would some day create a heroine on that model, and bring her to grief in a novel." And in the character of Beatrice Brooke. the heroine of "Lost and Saved," Mrs. Norton professes to have redeemed her promise. She has drawn the portrait of a beautiful, gifted, passionate girl, who suffers herself to sacrifice all ties and all duties to her love for a base, heartless villain, by whom she is deceived into a false marriage, and afterwards deserted. So far, the story deals only with the legitimate materials of fiction; and in such hands they could not fail to receive the impress of glowing life and thrilling pathos, aided by the charm of a style always clear and graceful, and of a peculiarly feminine insight into the tangled meshes of human affections. But this is not the sole or the chief aim of "Lost and Saved." It is meant to be a protest against the unequal measure dealt by society to the man who deceives and to the woman who is deceived, and an appeal from the judgment of society in its intolerance of "the Real bad woman," and its ruthless casting out of "the Nominal bad woman." In the character of Lady Nesdale, or "Milly," we are shown the former; her life one tissue of deceit, intrigue, and shamelessness, but her position in the world safe and brilliant; her society eagerly sought, and her fair fame unquestioned. In Beatrice we have the pure-hearted, virtuous-minded dupe, losing all by one man's perfidy, and left to be scorned, neglected, and trampled upon because she was too good to fathom the depths of his selfishness, and too proud to accept his gold when she no longer believed in his love. In an ideal state, the case would of course be reversed, and the innocent but weak woman would be sheltered with tender pity, while her corrupt sister would be pointed at with scorn and indignation; but ours is *not* an ideal state, and in this, as in many other things, it is only repeating what every one knows, to proclaim that some of the most time-honoured usages of the most civilized communities have neither truth, justice, nor humanity to recommend them. Mrs. Norton takes pains to show of what very mean clay the ruling leaders of fashion may be made, and it should not be complained of when pampered self-indulgent women, like the Treherne ladies, and the men and women who resemble them, act after their kind and ask only that the outside of the cup and of the platter shall be free from stain. And when it has been admitted to the uttermost that society judges men too leniently for sins which brand the weaker participator with infamy, or, as Mrs. Norton phrases it, "though the faults of women are visited as sins, the sins of men are not even visited as faults," there still remains, under the terrible cruelty and injustice of the world's code a certain foundation of right. For there is a consciousness, more or less dim, that when a woman renounces all for passion, the finer texture of her soul is more rent and defaced by that self-abandonment than is the case with the tougher and less sensitive nature of man; and nothing betrays a more alarming state of moral torpor than the attempt to stifle that deep instinctive reverence for female purity under the mistaken assertion of her rights; those rights meaning too often the liberty to pollute the higher nature by the degradation of the lower. It is not very easy to discover the intended moral amidst the scenes and personages in which Mrs. Norton holds up the world's false doctrines to reprobation. When Montagu Treherne deserts the loving, confiding girl who should have borne his name, and leaves her to her fate with her infant son, he soon marries a pretty young cousin, and before he has got quite tired of her, he is poisoned and dies; Beatrice, on the other hand, meets with kind and good friends, is restored to her devoted sister, and at Genoa, in the most opportune manner, makes the acquaintance of a pale, intellectual Italian count, who has also been betrayed, and is very stern to his little daughter because of her strong resemblance to her faithless mother. The natural and happy conclusion may be inferred; but it does not exactly illustrate the argument, that a woman who has once fallen is allowed no chance by society of rising up again. But if unsuccessful as a summons to society to mend its ways, "Lost and Saved" is a very clever and a very able book, distinguished by that peculiar grace, vivacity, and sensitiveness to beauty under every variety of aspect, which mark Mrs. Norton's compositions. In former works, she has shown with what keen and merciless fidelity she could draw the scheming mother and the soulless dowager of fashion; but the sketch of the Marchioness of Updown is almost unrivalled, and sets her in deserved and malicious contrast to her meek, long suffering lady-companion. The story of Beatrice's elopement at Venice, of her miserable voyage to Alexandria, and of her break-down in the desert, is told with much graphic power; but the character of the heroine is on the whole the least successful part of a work which blends in very rare proportions satirical wit in the delineation of character, pitying tenderness for all human woes, and much that is as poetical in thought as it is eloquent in expression.

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[22] "Lost and Saved." By the Hon. Mrs. Norton. London: Hurst and Blackett. 1863.

The early chapters of Mrs. Gaskell's little tale[23] are rather disappointing from their flat and languid tone, but interest grows as the plot is unfolded, and is maintained with increasing power to the end. The theme is one to which a marked prominence has been given in more than one of the works by the same hand—namely, the terrible and unimaginable consequences which are certain to follow upon deception, whether it be in the negative form of suppression of truth, or in the shape of actual and intentional falsehood. In the present instance the temptation is to concealment, and the working of the subtle poisons of remorse and dread, is traced with great truthfulness of moral insight. Mr. Wilkins, a highly respected country lawyer, quarrels with the man whom he has never liked, but whom he has raised from the position of confidential clerk to be his partner; heated by wine, he strikes him—a sudden seizure follows the blow, and the unhappy man sinks down unconscious and dies at his feet. Ellinor Wilkins, the daughter of the involuntary murderer, by accident enters the room at this fearful crisis, summons a trusty old servant to their aid, and when all restoratives prove fruitless, almost without thought or premeditation, it is agreed to bury the dead body in the garden, to say nothing about it, and trust to the report that the clerk has absconded to America with a large sum of money, to explain his mysterious disappearance. Many a reader arriving at such a catastrophe would shut the book, and it must be admitted that its improbability is almost ludicrous, although stories as strange, as seemingly "unnatural," and as foolishly miscalculated, may be found in the annals of crime. It is in tracing the terrible issues of that night's work through all their unsuspected channels that the authoress has displayed her peculiar power. Gloom and never-sleeping dread settle down on the three actors in the dark scene; the daughter's happiness is overthrown, and her lover, suspicious of something amiss, takes advantage of an angry scene with Mr. Wilkins to put an end to their engagement; Dixon, the faithful servant, is bowed and broken by the dreadful secret; and the lawyer hastens his own end by relapsing into habits of intemperance as his only refuge from maddening self-reproach and apprehension of being found out. Finally, the cuttings of a new railway bring the corpse to light; the clothes, the watch, and other things give abundant means of identification, and the discovery of the "fleam," or cattle lancet, with which bleeding had been attempted, and which bears Dixon's name on the handle, causes him to be taken up on a charge of murder. Ellinor, now an orphan, had gone for her health to Rome, and, hearing of this, hurries home to find the trial over, her old devoted friend found guilty, and in prison under sentence of death, her own lover, now a judge on the bench, having tried him. Ellinor resolves to see him and tell him the truth, and goes early one morning to his handsome house in Hyde Park Gardens:—

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[23] "A Dark Night's Work." By Mrs. Gaskell. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1863.

> "Ellinor instinctively put down her veil. She heard his quick decided step; she had known it well of old. He gave one of his sharp, shrewd glances at the person sitting in the hall and waiting to speak to him, and his practised eye recognised the lady at once, in spite of her travel-worn dress. 'Will you just come into this room?' said he, opening the door of his study, to the front of the house: the dining-room was to the back; they communicated by folding-doors.

The astute lawyer placed himself with his back to the window; it was the natural position of the master of the apartment; but it also gave him the advantage of seeing his companion's face in full light. Ellinor lifted her veil; it had only been a dislike to a recognition in the hall which had made her put it down. Judge Corbet's countenance changed more than hers; she had been prepared for the interview; he was not. But he usually had the full command of the expression on his face. 'Ellinor! Miss Watkins! is it you?' And he went forwards, holding out his hand with cordial greeting, under which the embarrassment, if he felt any, was carefully concealed. She could not speak all at once in the way she wished. 'That stupid Henry told me Jenkins! I beg your pardon. How could they put you down to sit in the hall? You must come in and have some breakfast with us; Lady Corbet will be delighted, I'm sure.' His sense of the awkwardness of the meeting with the woman who was once to have been his wife, and of the probable introduction which was to follow to the woman who was his actual wife, grew upon him and made him speak a little hurriedly. Ellinor's next words were a wonderful relief; and her soft, gentle way of speaking was like the touch of a cooling balsam. 'Thank you, you must excuse me. I am come strictly on business, otherwise I should never have thought of calling on you at such an hour. It is about poor Dixon.' 'Ah! I thought as much!" said the judge, handing her a chair, and sitting down himself. He tried to compose his mind to business, but, in spite of his strength of character, and his present efforts, the remembrance of old times would come back at the sound of her voice. He wondered if he was as much changed in appearance as she struck him as being in that first look of recognition; after that first glance he rather avoided meeting her eyes. . . . 'I came to tell you what, I suppose, may be told to any judge in confidence and full reliance on his secresy, that Abraham Dixon was not the murderer.' The judge looked sharply at her. 'Then you know who was?' said he. 'Yes,' she replied, with a low, steady voice, looking him full in the face, with sad solemn eyes. The truth flashed into his mind. He shaded his face, and did not speak for a minute or two. Then he said, not looking up, a little hoarsely, 'This, then, was the shame you told me of long ago.' 'Yes,' said she. Both sat quite still; quite silent for some time. Through the silence a sharp, clear voice was heard speaking through the folding-doors. 'Take the kedgeree down, and tell the cook to keep it hot for the judge. It is so tiresome people coming on business here, as if the judge had not his proper hours for being at chambers.' He got up hastily, and went into the dining-room; but he had audibly some difficulty in curbing his wife's irritation. When he came back, Ellinor said: 'I am afraid I ought not to have come here now.' 'Oh! it's all nonsense!' said he, in a tone of annoyance. 'You've done quite right.' He seated himself where he had been before; and again half covered his face with his hand.".

And then he is told the true story as the reader already knows it, and having written it down, asks her to sign the paper.

" 'This will never be made public?' said she. 'No! I shall take care that no one but the Home Secretary sees it.' 'Thank you. I could not help it, now it has come to this.' 'There are not many men like Dixon,' said the judge, almost to himself, as he sealed the paper in an envelope. 'No!' said Ellinor, 'I never knew any one so faithful.' And just at the same moment the reflection on a less faithful person than these words might seem to imply, struck both of them, and each instinctively glanced at the other. 'Ellinor,' said the judge, after a moment's pause, 'we are friends, I hope?' 'Yes; friends,' said she, quietly and sadly. He felt a little chagrined at her answer.

Why, he could hardly tell. To cover any sign of his feelings, he went on talking." . . .

Before the interview closes, Ellinor gives him a note found under her father's pillow, addressed to him:—

"He took it and read it, not without emotion. Then he laid it down on his table, and said, 'Poor man! he must have suffered a great deal for that night's work. And you, Ellinor, you have suffered too.' Yes, she had suffered; and he who spoke had been one of the instruments of her suffering, although he seemed forgetful of it. She shook her head a little for reply. Then she looked up at him—they were both standing at the time—and said: 'I think I shall be happier now. I always knew it must be found out. Once more, good-bye, and thank you. I may take this letter, I suppose?' said she, casting envious, loving eyes at her father's note, lying unregarded on the table. 'Oh! certainly, certainly,' said he; and then he took her hand; he held it while he looked into her face. He had thought it changed when he had first seen her, but it was now almost the same to him as of yore. The sweet shy eyes, the indicated dimple in the cheek, and something of fever had brought a faint pink flush into her usually colourless cheeks. Married judge though he was, he was not sure that she had not more charms for him still in her sorrow and her shabbiness than the handsome stately wife in the next room, whose looks had not been of the pleasantest when he left her a few minutes before. He sighed a little regretfully as Ellinor went away. He had obtained the position he had struggled for, and sacrificed for; but now he could not help wishing that the slaughtered creature laid on the shrine of his ambition were alive again." (p. 292.)

The tragical story unfolded in these pages, while affording abundant room for such restrained and subdued descriptions of deep feeling as the above, allows little scope for that cheerful, cordial humour which usually brightens Mrs. Gaskell's pages; nevertheless, the final impression is not a painful one, and we can but admire the sound taste with which the faithful Canon Livingstone, who is allowed at last to marry the heroine, is made to love, woo, and win, in a grave, sedate manner, conformably to the sombre tone of the scenes in which he bears a part, without becoming either an offensively sentimental or an unnaturally lachrymose suitor.

Mr. Kingsley's fairy tale[24] is now reprinted in a tempting dainty volume, from the pages of "Macmillan's Magazine." It is complained of as unsuited to the capacity of the good little boys to whom it is dedicated, but we believe the children will find quite as much that they can understand as they ever find in any book that is worth putting into their hands, and quite as much probably as will be revealed to the understanding of most grown-up folks. A more delightful book was never written to refresh the weary brains and disused imaginations of hard-working mortals; and it is a hopeful and encouraging thought that there is still among us one man who has not forgotten how to write nonsense, and is not too enlightened to enjoy it. It is not to be supposed that anything that comes from Mr. Kingsley's pen will be unseasoned with his philosophy; accordingly, little Tom, the chimney-sweep who is metamorphosed into a water-baby, and whose wonderful adventures are related to us, is "a brave, determined little English bull-dog, who never knew when he was beaten," and is duly admonished to maintain that character before men and fairies, and above all things to wash well in cold water. But to grown-up readers little Tom is only the peg, and the excellent morality preached to him matters little. It is when he lights up the depths of the sea with his own imaginative fancy, and makes its strange inhabitants say whatever he pleases and reveal all the latent poetry of their mysterious life, that Mr. Kingsley enchains and delights the reader and carries him captive, submissively ready to marvel at his science in play, to revel in the overflow of his joyous spirit, and to bear without complaining, all his hard raps at men, women, and schoolmasters, and his unpitying abuse of everything that displeases him, from the "stuffy people" that sleep on feather-beds to the scrupulous lady who does not choose to marry her deceased sister's husband. If any one should think it a light matter to compose such a book, and a small success to have made it so perfectly nonsensical, let him count up all the attempts of the kind that have escaped being failures, and he will admit that the "Water-babies" is a triumph of no mean degree, nor is it overstating its merits to say that it contains passages of which Swift might have been proud, and allegory of as profound meaning as the Pilgrim's Progress.

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[24] "The Water-Babies. A Fairy Tale for a Land Baby." By the Rev. Charles Kingsley. London and Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 1863.

"Lispings from Low Latitudes,"[25] is, in truth, a "book for a rainy day." Twenty-three studies of Miss Impulsia Gushington exhibit that enterprising lady in the various stages of her adventurous tour, and whether we see the "Section of a great Agony" in the ladies' cabin of the P. and O. steamer, or the fair traveller giving way to her enthusiasm under the shadow of the Pyramids, the design and execution is in each case admirable, and we specially note the truthful drawing of eastern figures in all their dignified semi-nakedness and lean gravity of aspect. The journal is a laughable parody of the mild exaggeration and weak diffuseness which characterise the style of ladies who deal largely in exclamations, and is fully equal to the plates. The "unprotected female" in Egypt, with a Greek dragoman chosen entirely for his classic profile and dignified "poses," was a happy thought, and the ridiculous adventures of the enthusiastic lady are set forth by both pen and pencil with great success. The name of Dufferin on the first page provokes high expectations of amusement, but feelings of a graver cast are awakened when we read that the accomplished authoress had found these light sketches serve "an earnest purpose, in lightening the tedium and depression of long sickness in the person of a beloved friend." It is some consolation on coming to the last page of this very clever production to read the promise that a second volume will be forthcoming, containing the further history of Miss Gushington after her romantic engagement to Monsieur de Rataplan, "should the public testify sufficient interest in the destiny of the unhappy Impulsia," which, if the public knows what is its own interest, it will not fail to do.

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[25] "Lispings from Low Latitudes; or, Extracts from the Journal of the Hon. Impulsia Gushington." London: John Murray: 1863.

Novels in one volume are rapidly on the increase, and if the fashion of reading as many of the new books from the libraries as can be consumed without mental suffocation continues, they are likely to win the day in the struggle between them and their heavier and lengthier rivals. No fewer than seven of this light brigade are before us, and the array is somewhat formidable. "Skirmishing"[26] is as pretty a tale of English life as can well be imagined, written with excellent taste and good feeling, and the only fault we can find in it, is the somewhat awkward contrivance by which the necessary mystery is maintained, and a young gentleman of eccentric habits turns out to be a young lady in disguise. Every character in the book is well drawn, however slight the sketch, and the half-French grandmother, Madame Lescrimière, is thoroughly well conceived, and her antagonism with the hero, a conscientious curate, opinionated and youthfully severe, is traced with much delicacy of perception and truth of feeling.

"The Story of Elizabeth"[27] would have made its way without the prestige of the name which has, we believe without contradiction, been attached to it. An air of coaxing playfulness pervades it, that would make it impossible to criticise it severely, even if the poor little heroine were less fascinating than she is. There is a mingling of light-hearted gaiety with serious tenderness, which gives this little tale a winning charm peculiar to itself; the French household is drawn with lifelike faithfulness, the head of it in particular. He

> — "fancied he scorned the world and its ways, and yet the pomps and vanities and the pride of life had a horrible attraction for this quiet *pasteur*. He was humble and ambitious: he was tender-hearted and hard-headed, and narrow-minded. Though stern to himself, he was weak to others, and yet feebly resolute when he met with opposition. He was not a great man; his qualities neutralized one another, but he had a great reputation. The Oratoire was crowded on the days when he was expected to preach, his classes were thronged, his pamphlets went through three or four editions. Popularity delighted him. His manner had a great charm, his voice was sweet, his words well chosen; his head was a fine melancholy head, his dark eyes flashed when he was excited. Women especially admired and respected Stephen Tourneur."

"It is so grand to be a critic, and so easy! Nobody can write to please you, nobody can speak to please you," exclaims one of the characters in "Heart and Cross,"[28] but these severe words do not apply to the little volume that contains them, in which the few incidents are so well told and the dialogue is so lively that we *are* pleased with Mrs. Crofton, the assumed narrator, both when she describes in her own person, and when she makes her puppets talk in theirs. The story is of the simplest, but has enough both of the entertaining and pathetic to carry us on rapidly to the end. The characters are well sketched; the contrast between Alice, the self-controlled heroine, and a younger married sister is well imagined—the former calm, grave, and conscious of the weight of years at seven-and-twenty, the latter gay, thoughtless, and joyous, in spite of her five children. The hero, Bertie, has no very strongly marked individuality, but is constant and true, and worthy of the agony felt for his sake at home when the Indian mutiny was a name of terror to so many bleeding hearts. Mrs. Crofton's little son is introduced occasionally, for no better reason than that as "the story was not in the least about him, it is quite an unusual delight to be able to drag him in head and shoulders;" we should rather call him a bright little thread, so well woven in, that he adds to the unity and smoothness of the web, which, however thin its substance, is not a piece of patchwork, but a tissue of even texture and harmonious colours. "Bertha's Repentance"[29] has much originality, but is somewhat cold and melancholy in the treatment of a plot which might have furnished abundant scope for a longer and more finished work. The characters are all French, the scene laid in Paris, the incidents only such as are possible in that city, and we cannot help wishing in reading it that it had also been written in French, in which language it would have been more effective. The remaining works of fiction before us have no special claim to be distinguished from the rank and file for which we have not space to give more than the names.[30]

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[26] "Skirmishing." By the Author of "Cousin Stella," &c. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1863.

[27] "The Story of Elizabeth." Reprinted from "The Cornhill Magazine." London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1863.

[28] "Heart and Cross." By the Author of "Margaret Maitland." London: Hurst and Blackett. 1863.

The Kappellmeister of Augsburg has been at immense pains to compose a history of the German Opera[31] from the earliest times until now, starting from the Miracle plays of the the Middle Ages. The notes and illustrations occupy a full half of the volume, which is learned and elaborate, but too technical in its information to be attractive to non-professional readers. The author regrets that he has been unable to add examples of the music as well as the words of the operatic compositions of different periods, and hopes that he may one day render his work more complete by their addition.

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[29] "Bertha's Repentance." By J. Frazer Corkran. London: Chapman and Hall. 1863.

[30] "Grace of Glenholm." By William Platt. London: Newby. 1863.

"A First Friendship." Reprinted from "Fraser's Magazine." London: Parker, Son, and Bourn. 1863.

"Nobly False." By James McGrigor Allan. London: Newby. 1863.

"A Simple Woman." By the Author of "Nut-Brown Maids," &c. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1863.

"Der letzte Komödiant." Von K. v. Holtei. Breslau: Frewendt. London: Nutt. 1863.

"Arrows in the Dark." By the Author of "Said and Done." London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1863.

[31] "Das deutsche Singspiel." Von H. M. Schletterer. Augsburg: Schlosser.

A little volume of stories of all nations[32] has nothing very striking or interesting, excepting some of the Polish songs and hymns, which, even in a French translation, are fine and full of martial spirit, especially one composed in 1816, of which the refrain is:—

> "Vers toi, Seigneur, un peuple en-deuil s'écrie,
> Ah! donne-nous la mort ou la patrie!"

If the "Légende Maltaise" is not more apocryphal than the rest, it must be presumed that M. Ostrowski has drawn chiefly on his imagination for his facts. This story tells with circumstantial details how Lord Byron, under the name of George Ferrers, married a lovely Theresa Ponsomby, daughter of "Major Ponsomby," English Consul at one of Mediterranean ports, lived in the greatest happiness with her for one year, and immortalized her in the beautiful lines to Thyrza. These facts, hitherto overlooked by all the biographers of Lord Byron, were communicated, we are told, by an eye-witness and actor in the scenes narrated.

Mr. Hope's Lecture[33] delivered at the Town Hall at Hanley, in February last, contains some very just observations on what is now technically known as "industrial art," and some very amusing strictures upon the lamentable want of taste displayed in the houses we build and the costumes we tolerate.

Two more "Books with a Meaning" testify to the success of these remarkably cheap publications, and they are worthy of commendation without reference to their contents, as proving that cheapness and a frightful exterior do not necessarily go together. The first of these prettily got-up volumes contains upwards of eighty specimens of poetry[34] from the monk Richard Rolle, a contemporary of Chaucer's, down to Keble and Tennyson, each piece being prefaced by a brief biographical notice of the author. The second[35] records the good and pious deeds of saints, and martyrs, and philanthropists, of which the first is Bernard of Menthon, who has found another chronicler of his holy life and charitable works,[36] when, as an Augustine monk, he dedicated the hospice on the Mons Jovis, now the Little St. Bernard, to his tutelary saint, Nicholas de Myra.

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[32] "Légendes et Contes Populaires du Sud." Par un Homme du Nord, Christien Ostrowski. Paris: Dentu. London: Nutt. 1863.

[33] "The World's Debt to Art:" a Lecture delivered in the Town Hall at Hanley, by A. J. B. Beresford Hope, Esq., in aid of the Albert Memorial Fund. London: Ridgway. 1863.

[34] "Half-hours with our Sacred Poets." Edited by Alexander H. Grant.

[35] "The Flowers of Christian Chivalry." By Mrs. W. R. Lloyd. London: James Hogg and Sons. 1863.

[36] "The Apostle of the Alps." By the author of "Moravian Life in the Black Forest." London: Arthur Hall. 1863.

The little people for whose entertainment "Frikel's Frost"[37] is intended, will doubtless be amused by the visit of the northern sages to the giant's cave, and by the dreams they had when they got there, and perhaps "the chatty people," as the authoress indulgently calls the gossips of society, might profit by witnessing one of the effects of a thaw *à la* Munchausen, in which, among the sounds let loose, "tell-tales heard their foolish tales repeated; every unkind word, every merry joke, was heard in the voice of the person who spoke it," to the manifest advantage of those who had had the wisdom to be silent.

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[37] "Frikel's Frost. A New Story." By a Lady. London: Dean and Son.

THE

WESTMINSTER

AND

FOREIGN QUARTERLY

REVIEW.

OCTOBER 1, 1863.

ART. I.—THE FRENCH CONQUEST OF MEXICO.

1. *Correspondence relating to Affairs in Mexico (Parliamentary Papers).* 1861-2.
2. *Documents relating to Mexican Affairs presented to the American Congress.* 1862.
3. *The Paris "Moniteur."*

THE French conquest of Mexico may justly be termed the most extraordinary event of our day. It deserves the title, not because it is the most important, although it would be difficult to indicate any other so pregnant with momentous possibilities; not because it is the greatest, for there is little of grandeur in any sense surrounding it; but because it is the most entirely out of keeping with the character, spirit, and circumstances of the time which produced it. It is the prodigy, the monstrous birth of an age like ours. The civilized world seemed to have made up its mind resolutely, and once for all, to have no more wars of mere aggression, or conquest for the sake of conquest. Every one considered himself quite justified in believing that the volume of history which told of such deeds might be regarded as closed for ever. So far at least it was assumed that we had progressed on the road to peace, international harmony, and true civilization. The doctrine of non-intervention, so long preached as a principle, had come at length to be regarded as a practical law. It seemed to be the settled policy of all nations pretending to be civilized that no foreign interference should be any longer allowed to dictate the destinies of independent States. Even Russia, Austria, and Spain had formally announced their determination to adhere to this principle. France of course had proclaimed it loudest of all. Scarcely an Imperial address had been delivered, scarcely a Ministerial reply spoken, scarcely an official manifesto issued in France for years which did not reiterate and glorify the principle of non-intervention in that magniloquent and resonant style which has so much charm for the ears of French audiences. Suddenly a French expedition crossed the Atlantic. Proclaiming as usual the principle of non-intervention, it intervened in the most intimate affairs of a foreign and independent nation. Shouting that the Empire meant peace, it opened a bloodthirsty and aggressive war. Announcing that France had sent her soldiers to give security and happiness to the people of Mexico, it sacked Mexican towns and slaughtered heaps of Mexican soldiers. Trumpeting the mission of France to be the maintenance of the rights of all independent nationalities, it destroyed by force of arms an independent Republic, and forced the Mexican people to accept as Provisional Governors the very men whom it had driven from its shores, and to accept them, too, as a preliminary condition to the founding of an Empire. Such a series of events may well awaken the wonder of an industrial, progressive, and rather prosaic age like ours. Unfortunately the world, although perhaps peaceably inclined, is certainly not peaceful, and attention has been drawn away from the progress of events in Mexico. Europe has her own wars and struggles of various kinds to engage her interest. When the Mexican expedition began, we were all looking out for a new series of events in the effort for Italian independence. Long before it had concluded, we were engaged in watching the course of the Polish struggle for liberty, and speculating upon our own possible share in directing and sustaining it. Over-arching all these subjects of interest was the vast and portentous American War, covering Europe as well as the Transatlantic Continent with its shadow. The progress and consequence of the French expedition to Mexico might well appear insignificant, when compared with the events which more immediately challenged our attention. It was only the consummation of the work which at length startled Europe into consciousness. When it was found that a deed only fitted for the sixteenth century had actually been accomplished in the nineteenth; when it was no longer doubtful that France had gone out in the broad daylight of our civilized age, and subjugated by force an independent foreign State, without even the formula of a declaration of war; when it was an acknowledged fact that the French Government had deliberately, and as the result of long and secret planning, done that which up to the last moment it had solemnly affirmed that it never could dream of doing; then Europe began to think that the events in Mexico were not so unimportant after all. We are not anxious to mitigate the shock which stirred the minds of all thinking men when the news reached Europe that Marshal Forey had founded a Mexican Empire. On the contrary we desire to call attention to the fact, that the conquest of Mexico by Marshal Forey only differs from that which Hernando Cortes accomplished, because it wants all the elements of the romantic, the chivalrous, and the daring which made even the worst features of the Spanish soldier's invasion seem attractive and picturesque. We desire to show that the French intervention in Mexico was strictly and simply a war of aggression and conquest; that there is not the vaguest shadow of a pretext in moral or international law to justify it; and that it was in great measure accomplished under the shelter of the resolute and uncompromising protestations with which the French Government continued up to the very last moment to repudiate any intention of doing that which it had all along schemed, plotted, and determined to do.

Of course there are three ways of criticising the Mexican expedition and its result. We may state, then, briefly the three issues: —First, Did the Mexican Government deserve its fate? Second, Is the result likely to prove, on thewhole, a benefit to Mexico? And thirdly, Supposing even that these two questions were answered in the affirmative, would the conduct of France thereby stand justified? To any man possessed of moral principle and calm judgment it can hardly be necessary to say that the defects of the Mexican Government and the prospect of establishing a better system do not furnish any justification, or even palliation, for the conduct of France in invading and subjugating the country. To acknowledge such a plea would be to admit the right of every powerful Sovereign to invade any weak country he pleases, provided only that he thinks it is badly governed, and believes himself capable of governing it better. To acknowledge such a plea would be practically to restore not merely the policy of Charlemagne, but the policy of Alaric and Attila. The great hope of our age was that it had utterly got over the notion of any such right, had outlived it, and seen it fairly consigned to the tomb of history. We desire, however, to show that the defects of the Mexican Government were not such as to afford ground for or even excuse a foreign invasion; that they were not defects which threatened in the remotest degree the existence or the tranquillity of any foreign country; that they were not put forward as pleas justifying an invasion; and that there was no ground for regarding them either as peculiar to Mexico or likely to be permanent there. It is our object to make it clear that the French conquest of Mexico was the work of selfishness, ambition, and treachery throughout; and while acknowledging fully that even from so great a wrong Mexico and the world in general may probably derive some direct and indirect advantage, to point out the serious consequences with which future years are threatened by the audacious reaction against all existing and recognised political principles of which the Emperor Napoleon and his Government have been guilty.

There is the less need for scruple in describing and characterizing the nature of the policy pursued in Mexico, inasmuch as it is the work of the French Emperor and his Government exclusively. The weakness of the French people for military glory, even though achieved in wars of mere aggression, is of course proverbial; but it is only justice to France to say that the Mexican war never obtained the slightest amount of popularity in the country. It was looked upon with coldness, indifference, dislike, or contempt. Even the glow of excitement which victory must always awaken in the hearts of a brave people did little to animate Frenchmen into exultation over the conquest of Mexico. Any one in a position to compare the state of French feeling in regard to the Mexican war with that which prevailed during the Crimean or the Italian campaign, or even with that which was evident while there seemed a chance of intervention in favour of Poland, can have no doubt as to the little share which France, the nation, had in the fate of the Transatlantic republic. It was the work of Imperial ambition; nay, there are those who say that Imperial ambition itself was but an instrument, and that the two proverbial agencies of immemorial mischief—the priest and the petticoat—are the true founders of the Empire of Mexico. We have, at all events, a decisive and strictly practical mode of ascertaining what Paris at least thought of the Mexican expedition. At the late elections, the men who carried all before them in Paris were those who had during the previous session been mainly conspicuous for their denunciation and exposure of its motives and its policy. In the session of 1861 and 1862, Jules Favre and his colleagues chiefly directed their opposition to the policy of the Government in Rome. During the session of 1863 their attacks were aimed against the Mexican expedition. For this they were taunted, insulted, stigmatized by the talking Ministers and the ministerial prints. They were branded as unpatriotic, as enemies of their country. They were told that their words were the sole encouragement to Juarez and General Ortega. They were informed that printed copies of their unpatriotic speeches were being circulated in thousands through the camps of the enemies of France. All this of course was deliberately designed to rouse the national and partisan passions of the French people against the men who thus strove to enfeeble the arm of France in Mexico. France replied through Paris, by returning these very men as representatives: returning them by enormous and overwhelming majorities, amid a perfect outburst of national enthusiasm. In the face of such a fact it would be hopeless to contend that the Mexican expedition is popular in France.

It will only be necessary to glance very rapidly at the condition of things in Mexico which invited and justified the joint intervention of Spain, France, and England. No one can question the fact that Mexico was in a deplorable and disorganized state. The Constitutional Government of Benito Juarez was in power, so far as any government could be said at that moment to hold power. The reactionary or Church party still struggled perseveringly to regain the supremacy, under the leadership of such men as Marquez and Mejia, then described by the ministers of all the foreign powers as infamous and bloodthirsty miscreants, but the *protegés*, allies, and accomplices of the Emperor of the French. A sort of guerilla warfare of the most sanguinary kind was carried on. Two of the most potent and remorseless impulses animated the Church party—hostility of race and hostility of religious feeling. Juarez, as an Indian, was hated by those who belonged to the dregs of Spanish society and those of mixed blood who chose to think themselves the high castes of Mexico. The country was literally exhausted by successive revolutions. In forty years it had passed through thirty-six different forms of government, and had had over seventy presidents. The national resources were heavily encumbered by debts to British and French subjects as well as to others. The government of Juarez was unable all at once to restore anything like order. Probably it might have done more than it did; probably it lacked sincere desire to deal fairly with foreign claims; certainly it lacked energy and spirit. Still there is much to be said in its favour. The American representative in Mexico thus wrote in June, 1861: "Progress has been made. The signs of regeneration, though few, are still visible. Had the present liberal party enough of money at command to pay an army of ten thousand men, I am satisfied it could suppress the present opposition, restore order, and preserve internal peace." The British Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. Mathew, wrote to his Government on May 12th of the same year: "However faulty and weak the present Government may be, they who witnessed the murders, the acts of atrocity and plunder, almost of daily occurrence under the government of General Miramon and his counsellors, Senor Diaz and General Marquez, cannot but appreciate the existence of law and justice. Foreigners, especially, who suffered so heavily under that arbitrary rule, and by the hatred and intolerance towards them which are a dogma of the Church party in Mexico, cannot but make a broad distinction between the past and the present." So exhausted were the national funds that a Government mission to Paris was, Mr. Mathew states, long delayed by the difficulty of procuring the small sum of money necessary for the journey. "I do not believe it possible," writes Mr. Mathew, "that the Church party, or that the former reign of intolerance and gross superstition can ever be restored to power; so far, at least, has been secured by the result of the last civil war—the first contest for principles, it may be remarked, in this Republic." Mr. Mathew had not counted upon the possibility of a French Expedition to restore the Church party, aided by the person whom he describes as "the infamous Marquez," and who was even then pursuing "his course of murder and rapine." We must also note the following sentence from Mr. Mathew's despatch: "The Mexican Government has been accused, and not without some reason, of having frittered away the Church property recently nationalized; but it must be remembered that while forced contributions, plunder, and immense supplies from the Church and its supporters, have enabled Generals Zuloaga and Miramon to sustain the civil war for three years, the Constitutional Government abstained from such acts, and have the sole robbery of the conducta at Lagos, towards the close of the war, to answer for." Now it is to this condition of things that we invite the attention of our readers. Whatever were the defects of the Juarez Government, it was the only promising Government which had made its appearance for years; it was the only one which seemed likely to be guided by liberal and constitutional principles, and it had succeeded in overthrowing one of the most despicable, disgraceful, and sanguinary systems which ever debased and exhausted a country. It was suffering from the most utter poverty, and striving to make head against a countless variety of difficulties. It was entitled to expect from liberal powers if not assistance, at least indulgence—if not indulgence, at least fair dealing. But just at this moment it was suddenly and sharply brought to book by England, France, and Spain, and challenged, under pain of instant war, to pay up the debts and make reparation for the crimes of its predecessors—of the predecessor especially whom it had expelled from power.

Let us illustrate the actual position of the Juarez Government by a supposititious case which will be intelligible to all readers. Suppose that the Bourbon Government of Naples had been running a long score with Great Britain for debts due to British subjects under national guarantees, and for outrages upon other British subjects which the Neapolitan Government was bound to redress, but did not. Suppose effort after effort had been made at arrangement of the claims by any kind of amicable compromise; that conventions had been made and never kept, promises given which were immediately broken. Just when the British

Government found its patience utterly exhausted, there came the Garibaldian revolution, which drove out the Bourbons and placed Victor Emmanuel on their throne. Suppose, further, that the new King, instead of having a powerful army of his own and large resources, succeeded to a bankrupt State, with scarcely a regiment of decent organization. What would be his position if suddenly called upon by England to pay up, under penalty of instant war, all the debts, and make compensation for all the outrages of the predecessors whom he had expelled? Such was exactly the position of the Juarez Government in Mexico about the middle of 1861. For although British subjects suffered outrage during Juarez's rule at that very time, yet it must be always borne in mind that, with scarcely any exception, the wrongs to redress which the intervention took place were committed by his predecessors. Some of the outrages of the former class, too, were perpetrated by Marquez and his followers, whom Ortega the Juarez General was striving to crush or capture. At the same time it is, of course, neither necessary nor possible to conceal the fact that society was terribly disorganized, that robberies and crimes of violence were of frequent commission, and were allowed to escape too often unpunished, and that in such instances as the murder of Mr. Beale, an Englishman, and the shot fired (during the excitement of a popular rejoicing) at the French Minister, the Mexican Government does not appear to have taken any prompt steps to bring the offenders to justice. Perhaps in some of these instances the fact that diplomatic relations had been previously broken off by France and England had something to do with the carelessness and negligence of the Mexican Government. Juarez, perhaps, consoled himself with a reflection like that contained in the vulgar old proverb which declares it as convenient to be hanged for a sheep as for a lamb. It must be owned, too, that whatever may be the usage of international law, it is not easy clearly to define the precise degree of responsibility which should be visited upon the Government of a disorganized country for the crimes of individual subjects.

But we must not be understood as blaming the course which the British Government pursued in endeavouring to enforce the payment of just obligations and to exact reparation for serious wrongs. On the contrary, we entirely approve of it. No one can read the diplomatic documents without being struck by the calmness, good temper, moderation, and scrupulous respect for the national rights of Mexico which characterize the despatches of Earl Russell. The British Government, as Earl Russell explained, has not usually interfered on behalf of those of its subjects who choose to lend money to foreign governments; but the Government of Juarez, while temporarily established at Vera Cruz, had concluded an arrangement making over a certain proportion of the customs receipts to British bondholders and the holders of what were called the Convention bonds. This fact unquestionably raised the transaction to the rank of an international obligation which our Government was fairly entitled to enforce. In regard to the famous robbery of the funds deposited for security at the house of the British legation, the English Government could not be expected to admit the plea that that robbery was committed by the predecessors of Juarez. As we have said, nearly all the subjects of complaint were furnished by Juarez's predecessors. But although this fact constituted a fair plea for indulgence, it would form no ground on which to claim remission. The party which succeeds to the advantages of rule succeeds also to its debts and drawbacks. Great Britain was of course bound to deal in such cases exactly as if one Government had always ruled over Mexico. Moreover, it had been the constant habit of Mexican administrations to endeavour to evade obligations by pleading that not they but their predecessors had incurred them. We, therefore, hold that England had a strict right to enforce her claims. But in pleading for Juarez the fact that he was called to account for the wrong-doings of his predecessors, we argue not that he should be allowed to evade all responsibility, but that the forcible suppression of his Government, and the subjugation of his country by a foreign power, because the government he set aside had left debts unpaid and wrongs unrepaired, can only be considered as a crime against Mexico and an outrage against civilization. It is because we approve of the conduct of Great Britain that we denounce the conduct of France.

In an evil hour for itself, the Mexican Government took a step which seemed as if designed to impress on European claimants the idea that deliberate bad faith was to be its system, and that nothing but sheer force could exact fair dealing. It is known to our readers that Mexico had entered into arrangements from time to time to pay off her debts,—the British Bondholders' debt, the Spanish Convention, the Anglo-Spanish Convention, the French Convention, the American Claims, &c. &c.—by hypothecating her revenues, chiefly the tobacco duties, and appropriating a percentage of the Customs duties. The result of these arrangements came practically to very little. But in July, 1861, the Mexican Government and Congress adopted a resolution and issued a decree, taking the whole product of the revenues into their own hands and suspending all payments assigned to foreign claimants by the British, French, and Spanish Conventions. It was this step which led to a decisive rupture. The French Minister, M. de Saligny, broke off diplomatic intercourse with the Juarez Government at once. Sir Charles Wyke, our representative, entered into a correspondence in which he severely stigmatized the act of bad faith, and declared that Congress had made a free gift of other people's property to the Government of the Republic. The Mexican Minister for Foreign Affairs replied that the Government was driven on by dire necessity; that if it paid foreign debts it could not meet the current expenses required to maintain order; that postponing a payment was not refusing to pay; that delay was not robbery. There is something ludicrous and yet pitiful in the language of the Mexican Minister. The Government, he pleaded, had tried every expedient before laying hands on the money destined for foreign payments. Listen, ye easy-going European statesmen, to the following account of the extraordinary expedients to which an embarrassed Mexican Government may be driven, and to the astonishing evidence of a debtor's integrity and good faith contained in the following sentence: "So great, indeed," says the Mexican Minister, "was their respect for these funds, that they preferred to sacrifice their obligations to Mexicans, to trample under foot the most cherished principles of their country, nay, even to imprison persons of the highest respectability in order to obtain resources from the sums paid for their release, rather than touch a cent of the assignments destined for the diplomatic convention and the London debt." Implacable creditors, what would ye more? This excellent Government had had recourse to what its Minister frankly acknowledges to be "a hateful expedient," and yet you are not satisfied! Sir Charles Wyke argued the question admirably as a moral philosopher. "A starving man," he wrote, "may justify in his own eyes the fact of his stealing a loaf, on the ground that imperious necessity impelled him thereto; but such an argument cannot, in a moral point of view, justify his violation of the law, which remains as positive apart from all sentimentality as if the crime had not had an excuse. If he was actually starving, he should first have asked the baker to assuage his hunger." But the Mexican Minister has his not ineffective reply. He entirely demurs to the illustration of the starving man and the baker. "If," he observes, "one had to employ a simile to qualify the conduct of Government, it would be rather that of a father overwhelmed with debts, who, with only a small sum at his disposal, scarcely sufficient to maintain his children, employed it in the purchase of bread instead of the payment of his bills." And he thus makes a touching appeal to Sir Charles Wyke's personal feelings: "Were her Britannic Majesty's representative a member of the family, would his Excellency be eager to qualify his father's conduct by the name of spoliation?" Need we say that Sir Charles declined giving a specific answer to so embarrassing and personal a question?

In truth, the Mexican Government was dreadfully hard up. It was as embarrassed as Turkey would often have been but for British protection and support. It owed money which it could not pay at the time: as many other States do likewise. No doubt it would, if it could, have dropped payment altogether, even as Greece did. But we have no doubt that a little stern pressure to prove that we were in earnest, and then a little time, would have brought round a settlement. Had Mexico had only England to deal with, the matter would probably have been settled. Sir Charles Wyke acted throughout with the utmost consideration, but at the same time with a just and becoming decisiveness. The American Minister, Mr. Corwer, bears testimony more than once to Sir Charles Wyke's admirable deportment, his determination, and at the same time his readiness to allow every fair chance to embarrassed Mexico. All this time, too, he was being goaded along by English merchants, and others resident in Mexico, who, anxious to have their money, and rather vague in their political notions, were sending him addresses, in which they urged that mere repayment of debts ought by no means to satisfy the honour of England. They did not clearly explain what terrible satisfaction they would exact, and Sir Charles drily evaded their demand by assuring them (he must have smiled as he penned the sentence), that he did not mean to ask for mere repayment, but would require interest on the money as well. Stock Exchange deputations were addressing Earl Russell in London, and were receiving rather impatiently his firm and statesmanlike assurances that England, while protecting the rights of her subjects, could not possibly interfere in the internal affairs of a foreign nation for the mere sake of collecting the debts of Englishmen. Nothing could be more honourable, dignified, high principled, all through, than the conduct of the British Government. Earl Russell saw his way and his duty with perfect clearness. English merchants and stockbrokers are not expected to concern themselves about international law and political consequences. And no doubt it seemed to many of them fair enough that if Mexico owed money, and could not or would not pay, the creditors should just step in and divide the bankrupt territory among themselves. But Earl Russell kept strictly to the clear path of statesmanlike duty and honour. He acknowledged that under the circumstances the English Government was called on to enforce the payment of the British debts, or some arrangement which would secure it; and he readily undertook that if force became necessary force should be employed to that extent. But not a step further would England go. She would co-operate in seizing Mexican custom-houses, and paying herself. But she would have nothing to do with upsetting Mexican Governments or imposing any European system on the Mexican people. Indeed, even after diplomatic relations had been broken off, the English Government held out indirectly new chances of arrangement. A new "Convention" was proposed, and taken up by the Mexican Government; but rejected by a large majority of the Congress. Then an ultimatum on the part of Great Britain became absolutely necessary.

Very different was the conduct of France. Her demeanour seemed inexplicable then: it is perfectly intelligible now. The claims of France were trifling when compared with those of England. They did not arise in precisely the same way. Bonds issued by the Zuloaga and Miramon Governments had been sold to French subjects—it is said for sums varying from one-half per cent. to four or five per cent.; and were claimed as a debt of the Republic to be paid in full, although issued at a period when the Liberal Government was in existence, and was contending against the self-constituted dictatorship we have named. We do not go into the history of the Jecker loan—a stockjobbing transaction concluded between a person who was not a French subject and the *soi-disant* government of Mexico. We do not care to dwell upon the fact that, even while France was acknowledging Miramon as President of Mexico, Juarez was being held responsible for the debts of the State. It is not our object here to discuss the merits of the French claims. Let us suppose that they were founded on justice, and calculated with the utmost fairness; that Jules Favre and his supporters cruelly misrepresented them in the French Corps Legislatif; that the world has been entirely mistaken with regard to the nature of the Jecker loan transactions. For the present we should be content to assume that England and France started on equal terms as regarded the nature of their claims, although not as regarded the extent. But France, from the beginning, set herself against any accommodation. She demurred altogether to the proposal (afterwards rejected by the United States Senate), that the United States should undertake to pay the interest on the debt, receiving certain securities from Mexico—a sort of arrangement certainly not novel in such transactions, and which the English Government was not unwilling to consider had it been brought forward by America. She demurred at first to the offer being made to the United States to take a part in the Allied expedition, seeing obvious reasons, no doubt, which made any American hand in the transaction peculiarly objectionable. The offer, it will be remembered, was nevertheless made to the United States, and declined on the ground that the Federal Government thought it right to pursue its ancient policy of declining alliance with European powers. France was determined that under no circumstances should any compromise or accommodation of any sort take place. The grand object was to get into motion an expedition of some kind. Once in Mexico, the rest would follow. Because it is now perfectly clear and indisputable that the whole of the Mexican plot was arranged by France before ever the negotiations for a convention between England, France, and Spain had been formally opened. Before the Convention was signed, the Crown of a prospective Mexican monarchy had been tendered to the Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian of Austria. During months and months there was carried on by the French Government a policy of perfidy the like of which is not to be found in modern diplomacy since the partition of Poland.

Early in the progress of the negotiations for an Allied expedition, suspicions began to be felt of the sincerity of one of the parties. The United States Government, having perhaps certain views of its own regarding Mexico, grew terribly uneasy. Great Britain, having no view whatever save the assertion of her just claims, began to fear that one of her colleagues had other and sinister motives. It was feared that advantage would be taken of the Allied expedition to do that which Great Britain declared she would never do—to interfere in the internal affairs of Mexico, and convert the Republic into a monarchy. Of course, Earl Russell and Her Majesty's Government could have had no personal objection to Mexico becoming a monarchy. In all probability they would have preferred a monarchy there to a republic. But they were determined that the Mexican people should be left to settle their own affairs, and that they would not sanction so gross an outrage upon all public law as the intrusion of a European force to destroy the independence of the Mexican Republic. They were determined that no share in such a scandal should rest upon the name of England. In all the diplomatic documents issued from our Foreign Office at the time, this resolution is expressed with an iteration the most persistent and unmistakeable. In every despatch addressed to Paris, Madrid, or Washington it is declared over and over again, that England would have nothing to do with the expedition if it were not clearly laid down in the beginning that the expedition should not interfere with the internal affairs of Mexico. But England and America began to suspect one of the parties, and to press for full and clear explanations. Mr. Wilkie Collins's Count Fosco says, that whenever Englishmen suspect at all, they are certain to be suspicious in the wrong place. This happened with regard to the Mexican expedition. England, unfortunately, suspected the wrong party. Her suspicions fell upon Spain.

There was certainly much to justify the suspicion. The ancient relations of Spain with Mexico, and their comparatively recent termination, suggested it. The memory of the St. Domingo annexation, only just accomplished, sustained it. England set to work to obtain from Spain the fullest assurances on the subject. Sir J. Crampton, our Minister at Madrid, was instructed to apply to Marshal O'Donnell on the matter. "Marshal O'Donnell," writes Sir J. Crampton, on September 24, 1861, "renewed to me on this occasion the assurances he had formerly given, that Spain had no views of conquest upon Mexico, and that he was entirely opposed to the notion of re-establishing by foreign influence a monarchical form of government in that country, or otherwise meddling with the internal administration of its government." M. Calderon-Collantes, the Spanish Foreign Minister, gave similar assurances. He thought the Allies might go so far as to advise the Mexican contending parties to lay down their arms, and come to an understanding which should result in the formation of a good Government. Even this seemed suspicious to England; and Sir John Crampton therefore asked directly, whether by that it was implied that the Spanish Government would exert any direct influence—whether, for instance, it was contemplated to continue the occupation of any of the Mexican ports until such a Government should be constituted? To which M. Calderon-Collantes replied, distinctly and unequivocally—"Certainly not: the Spanish occupation would be limited to what was necessary for obtaining the redress of wrongs inflicted upon Spanish subjects." Similar assurances were obtained by the United States. The American Minister in Madrid asked M. Calderon-Collantes "Whether it was true, as stated in the newspapers, that the Allied Powers intended to procure the convocation of a kind of constitutional convention in Mexico, and to constitute in this way a new Government." M. Calderon replied "that this plan had been discussed by the Three Powers, but that it had been definitively rejected." The American Minister assured his Government that the explanations he had received removed all dread of any foreign interference in the domestic affairs of Mexico.

Why do we thus refer to the pledges given by Spain, seeing that Spain has not broken them? To show that from the beginning England expressed a dread of European interference in Mexican government; that this fear was the subject of repeated explanations and demands for renewed explanations; that all Europe and America knew of these *pourparlers*; that all Europe and America knew that England would have broken off from the Convention at once, if she believed that either of her colleagues meant to do that which she dreaded; and that France, having determined and arranged to do that very thing, listened to these communications, was consulted touching the probable intentions of Spain, and kept her own designs, long planned, definitively arranged, a perfect secret.

But the French Government did more than this. It disclaimed all notion on its own part of forcible interference. M. Thouvenel observes to Earl Cowley, that if the Mexican people took advantage of the presence of the Allies to throw off their existing government and form a better one, he did not see why such a movement, "if it proved to be decidedly popular," should be objected to by the European Powers. Of course, no one could dispute so obvious a proposition. But M. Thouvenel emphatically repudiated the idea of any forcible interference. This was before the Convention; and without these assurances the Convention would never have been framed. While the expedition was on its way, his assurances became stronger and stronger, because the suspicions which drew them forth were becoming stronger and stronger. Previously to these assurances, the Emperor of the French had offered the Crown of Mexico to the Austrian Archduke.

Before coming to M. Thouvenel's assurances let us dispose of the Convention. This document was signed in London on the 31st of October, 1861. The object of the Convention was "to demand from the Mexican authorities more efficacious protection for the persons and properties of their (the Allied Sovereigns') subjects, as well as a fulfilment of the obligations contracted towards their Majesties by the Republic of Mexico." We invite special attention to the second article of this Convention, to which the Emperor of the French, through his plenipotentiary, solemnly pledged himself. "The high contracting parties engage not to seek for themselves, in the employment of the coercive measures contemplated by the present Convention, any acquisition of territory or any special advantage, and not to exercise in the internal affairs of Mexico any influence of a nature to prejudice the right of the Mexican nation to choose and to constitute freely the form of its government." Time has already shown that the Emperor of the French broke through the clause of this article about the exercising of influence in the internal affairs of Mexico—time will yet show that he played false, or endeavoured to play false, to the other about the acquisition of territory or any special advantage. Had the Emperor of the French been an inmate of Madame de Genlis's Palace of Truth at the time when this Convention, was signed, he must have proclaimed that he who thus pledged himself openly not to interfere in the internal affairs of Mexico, had already pledged himself privately to overthrow the Mexican Republic, and had already entered into negotiations and arrangements for the disposal of the monarchy which he had determined to found upon the ruins of that Republic. If ever a *suppressio* *veri* was flagrant this surely may be thus characterized. The English Government was purposely kept in ignorance of facts which if it had known would have prevented it from touching the draft of the convention—except indeed for the purpose of tearing it to pieces. And it was kept in ignorance of the facts, although the French Government knew that England had been demanding explanations from Spain on the bare assumption that Spain was the party meditating the deception.

So much for the *suppressio veri.* But we have to deal likewise with the *suggestio falsi.*

It was not long before many symptoms made their appearance which tended to throw suspicion upon the good faith of France. The conduct of Mexican refugees in Paris, the conduct in particular of the notorious General Almonte, gave strong reason for those suspicions. It was patent to every one that General Almonte was labouring in the French capital to bring about a foreign intervention in the interest of the Church party. General Almonte's friends were everywhere announcing their object and bragging of its success. There was something about the démeanour of the French Government which did not give a very explicit denial to the suspicions afloat, or to the broad assertions of Almonte's confederates. Indeed, very early in January *La Patrie* stated that the Government of the Tuileries would assume the initiative in offering the crown of Mexico to the Austrian Archduke Maximilian. We all know now that the Emperor Napoleon had taken that initiative months before; but nobody in England or Spain suspected anything of the kind at that time. However, as the subject was stirring up some interest in Paris, Earl Cowley felt bound to demand some explanation. On the 24th of January, 1862, Earl Cowley wrote to Earl Russell that he had heard from many quarters that the language of officers going into the reinforcements to Mexico implied that the expedition was for the purpose of placing the Austrian Archduke on the throne, and that he had therefore thought it necessary to question M. Thouvenel upon the subject. "I inquired of M. Thouvenel whether any negotiation had been pending between this Government and that of Austria with reference to the Archduke Maximilian. His Excellency replied in the negative." Lord Cowley believed the statement. Did M. Thouvenel make a false declaration? We must ask the undiplomatic reader not to rush to hasty conclusions, or to take broad and practical views of nice political distinctions. Recent explanations in French Ministerial papers have cleared up the little mystery. The Government of France had not been carrying on any negotiation with the Government of Austria. But the Emperor Napoleon had been carrying on negotiations with the Austrian Archduke.

Therefore M. Thouvenel answered Earl Cowley's question in the negative, and kept still a clear conscience. Had M. Thouvenel been asked, "Is the French Government engaged in negotiations with anybody on the subject?" he would still have answered in the negative: because the Emperor Napoleon is not the French Government. Had Earl Cowley pressed the cross-examination further, and demanded whether the Emperor was carrying on any negotiations of the kind, then indeed, M. Thouvenel would have been hard pressed. But we have too high an opinion of the ex-Minister's diplomatic ingenuity and moral courage, to doubt that he would even then have found a satisfactory answer.

The United States Government had a stronger interest in objecting to French or any (but American) intervention in Mexican affairs, and therefore put its questions rather more keenly than England did. In September, 1861, Mr. Dayton, American Minister in Paris, told M. Thouvenel that the United States felt very anxious that the Mexican Republic should remain an independent power on the American continent, and would view with great anxiety any course of action upon the part of foreign powers which looked to its extinction. "M. Thouvenel answered," says Mr. Dayton, "somewhat pointedly, that so far as he could judge from the past, its danger of extinction had been rather from the United States than elsewhere." A very fair retort indeed, to which, honestly acknowledges Mr. Dayton, "I am constrained to say I made no very satisfactory reply." Still Mr. Dayton was not going to be put off with a mere *tu quoque;* and therefore, returning boldly to the charge, he told M. Thouvenel that his question "was now of the future, not of the past." Whereupon M. Thouvenel assured me that "whatever England and France might do, it would be done in reference to realizing their money debt only." On the 16th of October, Mr. Dayton again applied to M. Thouvenel for an explanation on the same subject, and he writes to Washington that the French Minister's statement of the purpose of the expedition "was full and explicit." It does not concern us to know by what evasion M. Thouvenel hoodwinked the American Minister. It is not of any importance to consider how far the latter may by simplicity, a want of keenness, or any other intellectual defect, have been an unconunconscious auxiliary to his own deception. We are estimating now the conduct of the French Government; and it is enough for us to know that the American Minister came to ask whether France had a certain purpose in the expedition; that M. Thouvenel succeeded in persuading him that she had no such purpose; that the American Minister went away satisfied; and that France had all the time a fixed policy and determination in the very purpose which M. Thouvenel disavowed. But this was not all.

We are enabled to judge more precisely of M. Thouvenel's disavowals. The rumours of intrigue against Mexico continued to grow strong despite all official disclaimers. On the 3rd of March, 1862, Mr. Seward wrote to Mr. Dayton requesting him to seek a fresh and clear explanation from the French Minister. We invite attention to the first sentence of this despatch, as showing precisely the point on which the explanation was to be sought. "We observe," says Mr. Seward, "indications of a growing opinion in Europe that the demonstrations which are being made by French, English, and Spanish forces against Mexico are likely to be attended with a revolution in that country which will bring in a monarchical government there, in which the crown will be assumed by some foreign prince." Now here is a clear statement of the question on which the United States desired some information. There is no room for misconception. M. Thouvenel having read that sentence could have no doubt about the point on which he was invited to give an assurance. Of course he had a perfect right to decline giving any answer; to declare that in conducting her foreign policy France did not consult the United States, and did not feel bound to enter into any explanation. This would have been fair, and it would not have been unreasonable, for the United States had officially nothing whatever to do with the matter, and no right to ask for any assurances. Had M. Thouvenel taken that high position, which he might have done temperately and politely, we should all probably have admired his conduct. But he did not. He read the despatch, or heard it read. He received a copy of it. He replied "that France could do no more than she had already done, and that was to reassure us of her purpose not to interfere in any way with the internal Government of Mexico; that their sole purpose was to obtain payment of their claims and reparation for the wrongs and injuries done to them." Whereupon Mr. Dayton went away contented, informing M. Thouvenel that the President of the United States would repose entire confidence in these assurances.

Now it can hardly be necessary for us to state that we are not viewing this question as one between France and America. We are entirely free from any regret for the occupation of Mexico, so far as the desires of the United States are concerned. And if the Mexican Republic is to be extinguished at all, we think it on the whole rather better that it should be extinguished by one of the European powers. But we are now criticising the conduct of French diplomacy in regard to the Mexican expedition. We see that there were two great powers opposed from the beginning to any interference with the independence of the Mexican Republic. England from motives merely statesmanlike and conscientious: the United States from feelings undeniably self-interested, were steadfastly antagonistic to any step which threatened to stamp out the independence of that nation. The French Government having long determined to take that very step, succeeded in convincing England and America alike that nothing could be farther from its intention. We do not care to weigh the precise words in which the deception was sustained. It may be that even the most distinct of M. Thouvenel's assurances was so framed as to leave some tiny loophole open through which the French Minister's honour and conscience might escape from the responsibility of a direct and coarse falsehood. It may be that an acute Old Bailey advocate, accustomed to deal with shuffling witnesses, might have detected the reservation which Earl Cowley and Mr. Dayton failed to discover; and might have shaped his questions so as to place the Minister in that position where mere equivocation would no longer avail. But we must not blame Earl Cowley and Mr. Dayton because they were not Old Bailey advocates, and because they supposed that M. Thouvenel really meant that which his words gave out. They did not expect evasion, and they asked plain questions having an obvious meaning. They received answers apparently as plain, and conveying apparently as distinct a meaning. We all now see that the answers did not mean what they professed to mean, but something quite different. We all perceive that they kept back something which if stated would have altered their entire character. They were meant to satisfy, and they did satisfy. M. Thouvenel wished to send the British and the American Ministers away with the belief that France merely intended to send an expedition to Mexico to recover certain sums of money, and otherwise to leave Mexico as she found it. M. Thouvenel knew all the time that the expedition was to march into the interior of the country, to crush the Government, to cut the army to pieces, to take the capital and all the great towns, to subvert the Republic and to found a Monarchy. This was what he knew while he was giving the answers we have quoted above. We forbear comment upon diplomacy of this kind. Even Talleyrand did not contend that words were given to convey ideas the very opposite of those which the speaker hides in his bosom.

Meanwhile the expedition had sailed. It will be remembered that the English share of it was but small—one line of battle ship, two frigates, and 700 supernumerary marines. The French force comprised about 2500 men; the Spanish had about 6000 of all arms. An incident took place in the very outset which occasioned some little disputation. The Spanish expedition left Cuba before the arrival of the French and English vessels, and taking time by the forelock made haste to occupy Vera Cruz. Accordingly, on the 14th of December, 1861, the Commander of the Spanish expedition issued a proclamation in which he announced that he had commenced operations by occupying the town of Vera Cruz and the fortress of San Juan Ulloa—a castle standing on a rocky island in the harbour. This, however, was not proclaimed as a measure of war, but simply as a step necessary to secure the collection of the customs per-centage to which the Allies considered themselves entitled. The precipitancy of the step, though afterwards explained, made England and France uneasy. France evidently could not believe that her allies were a whit more sincere than herself, and therefore persisted in regarding every movement as the first step in a policy of selfish schemes and aggrandizement. Therefore the Emperor of the French made this occurrence a pretext for sending out a reinforcement of 4000 or 5000 French troops. Earl Russell did not like this, and said so: repeating his declaration that England would despatch no more troops than the marines she had sent in the beginning. We notice this fact in particular because it led to fresh discussions about the policy of the Allies, and fresh assurances on all hands that the strict terms of the London Convention would not be overstepped. Judging from the general contents of the parliamentary papers, it would seem as if M. Thouvenel had at least once a day to repeat his pledge that the French Government did not intend to interfere in the internal affairs of Mexico. He protested far too much. We must say, however, that at this stage of the business no one seems to have attached any greater weight to the protestations than Jove does to the perjuries of lovers. On the other hand, the English and Spanish Governments seem to have placed entire confidence in each other's assurances.

But with the expeditionary forces all harmony soon ceased. That difference of opinion quickly began to manifest itself which was absolutely inevitable when the object of one of the allies was so entirely different from that of the others. In the first place, the pecuniary claims put forward by France were so gross and ludicrous that the plenipotentiaries of the other powers could not support them. Our plenipotentiary was Sir Charles Wyke: France was represented by Count de Saligny and Admiral Jurien de la Gravière: on the part of Spain a brave, distinguished, and honourable soldier, General Prim, acted as commander-in-chief and plenipotentiary. The French Commissioners proposed to claim on behalf of France a round sum of 12,000,000 dollars, without details or items; Count de Saligny stating that he had not examined into these claims, as it would take him a twelvemonth to do so, but that he considered the sum he had mentioned as "an approximation to their value by a million or two, more or less." Next they demanded on account of the Jecker loan, 15,000,000 dollars. This transaction is thus described by Sir Charles Wyke in a few pithy words contained in one of his despatches to Earl Russell:—"When the Miramon Government were on their last legs and totally penniless, the Swiss house of Jecker and Co., in Mexico, lent them 750,000 dollars, and received in return for the advance bonds to be payable at some future period to the amount of 15,000,000 dollars. Shortly after this outrageous proceeding, Miramon was upset, and succeeded by his rival Juarez, who was then called on by M. Jecker, who was under French protection, to pay the above-named enormous sum, on the plea that one Government must be held responsible for the acts and obligations of the other. Juarez refused to do so, and in this resolution was supported by the opinion of all impartial people in Mexico. I have always understood that his Government was willing to repay the original sum lent of 750,000 dollars, with five per cent. interest thereon; but repudiated the idea of their being liable for the 15,000,000 dollars." Of course, such men as Sir Charles Wyke and General Prim could have nothing to do with a transaction of this kind. They proposed that the Mexican Government should be called upon at once to pay up or guarantee all fair claims which should be certified by a commission, and to make reparation for outrages. Sir Charles Wyke complained that the French demand could only lead to war, as no nation on the earth could be expected to accede to it. Of course the French Government knew this very well. France was quite determined to have war, and nothing but war, at any price.

But there arose even more serious differences than these. The purport of the French expedition began to thrust itself glaringly forward. There appeared in Mexico, in the French camp, under the protection of the French flag, men whose very presence on the soil was a declaration of war. General Almonte, recognised as the head of the reactionary party, made his appearance under French protection, and began from his shelter to issue proclamations calling upon the Mexicans to overthrow the Government of President Juarez. More than that, men whose personal character (unlike that of Almonte) was odious in the eyes of Mexico; men whose names, like that of Padre Miranda (as referred to by Sir Charles Wyke), "recalled some of the worst scenes of a civil war which has proved a disgrace to the civilization of the present century;"—these men began to show themselves openly and vauntingly in Mexico, proclaiming that they had come to upset the Juarez Government, and bragging that they were sent there to do so by the express command of the Emperor of the French. Nay, Miramon himself, the ex-President, landed in the country.

The English Admiral indignantly declared that he would arrest this man as a robber, on account of the plunder of the British Legation. The French representatives protested; but the English officer did actually go so far as to expel Miramon from Vera Cruz, and send him back to Cuba. Almonte was meanwhile going about under the escort of French troops, issuing his proclamations, and telling even General Prim that the Emperor of the French had sent him to establish a monarchy in Mexico. The English and Spanish Plenipotentiaries were indignant; even Earl Russell at home, when he heard of the transaction, departed from his accustomed composure, and expressed warmly his surprise and anger. Let any reader calmly think over the situation. The Allies had gone out simply to recover pecuniary claims from the Government of Juarez, and specially pledged against any interference in Mexican affairs. At every step in the transaction we find the Plenipotentiaries in Mexico reiterating the pledge. We find that the great difficulty which they experienced in approaching a pacific arrangement was because of the suspicion of the Mexicans that they came to establish a monarchy. We find Sir Charles Wyke and General Prim again and again publicly proclaiming that such a suspicion was unfounded and unjust. Suddenly there appear in the French camp, under French protection, the beaten and banished enemies of the Mexican Government, and they issue revolutionary proclamations, and they announce that they have come to found a monarchy by order of the Emperor of the French. What could the pacific declarations of England and Spain appear under such circumstances, but (to adopt the words of the English Commodore Dunlop) "bitter and unworthy sarcasm?" Of course General Prim and Sir Charles Wyke remonstrated against the protection accorded to Almonte and his colleagues. They were answered that express orders had been given by the Emperor of the French to protect Almonte. From that moment it became evident that there could be no farther co-operation. The whole plot was out. The alliance might drag on for a little; might be broken up by some other ostensible cause; but there was virtually an end to it when the English and French plenipotentiaries had their eyes fully opened at last to the long-meditated, long-denied designs of France. General Prim wrote a letter to a friend in Europe, which found its way into print, and was indeed published in every newspaper in the world, except the French journals, wherein he expressed in undiplomatic but soldierly terms his disgust and contempt for the whole transaction.

We must do justice to the French representatives. We do not believe they were privy to the ultimate design of the French Government. It would be impossible to believe that two French gentlemen of character could have joined in the assurances which Sir Charles Wyke and General Prim had so often addressed to the Mexican Government if they knew that France intended all the time to commit the very treason which they and their colleagues were so explicitly and so warmly disavowing.

A reactionary leader, General Robles, made an effort to join the Almonte party. He had been arrested by the Mexican Government, banished from the capital, and confined on parole to a small town. He broke his parole and escaped. Before he could reach the other conspirators, he was again captured, and sentenced to be shot. General Prim and Sir Charles Wyke made an effort to save him, and succeeded in inducing the Mexican Ministers to order the suspension of the sentence. But the courier bearing the reprieve lost his way, and arrived too late. General Robles was shot. In no country in the world would his political offences have met with any slighter punishment; but the Emperor Napoleon proclaimed the execution a murder (the Emperor of the 2nd December!) and gave it as a new reason for lending his support to the projects of Almonte. Meanwhile Marquez ("the infamous Marquez" Sir C. Wyke calls him), made his appearance in arms with about 2000 men, and endeavoured to join Padre Miranda and the other persons who were issuing their revolutionary proclamations under the protection of the French flag.

General Doblado was then Minister for Foreign Affairs to President Juarez. Doblado was described by all parties as an able, influential, and moderate man. The British and Spanish plenipotentiaries thought highly of him. He was invited to meet General Prim on behalf of the Allies at Soledad, a small village about thirty miles from Vera Cruz, to discuss some possible arrangement, and "to receive such explanations as may tend to disperse the injurious doubts of the good faith of the High Powers who signed the Convention of October 31, 1861." The invitation was accepted, and the meeting took place on the 19th February, 1862. The conference was satisfactory. General Prim repeated all the familiar assurances (on his part quite sincere) that the Allies did not mean to upset or interfere with the Government. It was agreed that the Allies should recognise the Mexican Government, should be allowed to occupy certain towns as healthful and convenient garrisons, and that a further conference should take place at Orizaba, for the purpose of finally coming to terms. It was a part of the conditions that if the further negotiations should fail to come to a satisfactory issue, and should be broken off, the troops of the Allies were at once to fall back from the places which they had been allowed conditionally to occupy, and hostilities would then of course have to commence. But the English and French plenipotentiaries, as well as General Doblado, entertained a confident hope that the negotiations at Orizaba would render all hostile proceedings unnecessary.

The English and Spanish Governments, anxious for peace, approved of the preliminary convention of Soledad. The French Government, determined upon war and conquest, disapproved of it, and deprived of his power as a plenipotentiary the French representative, Vice-Admiral Jurien de la Gravière, who had assented to it. The voice of the French Emperor was still, like that of Milton's fiend, for open war—of wiles more inexpert he boasted not.

The alliance was very soon brought to a formal conclusion. The English and Spanish plenipotentiaries considered it necessary to have a decisive conference with their colleagues, and accordingly a meeting took place at Orizaba on the 9th of April. The conference was rather warm, and sometimes even a little personal. General Prim and Sir Charles Wyke urged that the conduct of the French representatives was an infraction of the terms of the Convention of London. Count de Saligny declared that the Mexican Government had heaped so many fresh grievances on French subjects that he could treat no longer with that Government, and would be content with nothing less than a march upon the capital. Sir Charles Wyke was surprised that he should not have heard of the fresh grievances; to which M. de Saligny rejoined that French subjects did not usually go to a British plenipotentiary to make known their complaints. Sir Charles Wyke politely pressing for a little information touching the nature of the fresh grievances, the French Minister intimated that he intended to report to his own Government on the subject, and to nobody else. Finally, the English and Spanish commissioners declared that if their colleagues of France persisted in protecting the Mexican conspirators, in refusing to take part in the conferences arranged to be held at Orizaba, and in declining to treat farther with the Mexican Government, the troops of England and Spain must be withdrawn, as the action of the French was a violation of the Convention of London. The decisive step was soon taken. General Prim and Sir Charles Wyke left Mexico, the English and Spanish forces returned to their respective homes, and the alliance was at an end.

France had thus gained all her objects in regular order. An invading expedition of her own would have been all but impossible in face of the opposition of England, Spain, and the United States. The object was to get up an expedition which should start under apparently fair colours and with unexceptionable co-operation, and which should then at a convenient moment shake off the co-operation, and under the pretext that the honour of France forbade a retreat, go its way alone. No impartial man who studies the history of the expedition can entertain the slightest doubt that the Emperor Napoleon designed from the very beginning the dispute between the Allies, and the withdrawal of England and Spain. He knew perfectly well that in despatching his Mexican emissaries to Vera Cruz he was taking a step which England at least could not sanction. He did not wish her to sanction it. He got rid of her co-operation just at the point when it ceased to be a convenience and would have become an embarrassment. The period had come when France must either retreat or openly assume the policy of invasion and conquest. The dispute between the Allies, deliberately provoked and rendered necessary by France, afforded a decent opportunity for the French intervention to emerge into the light, and assume its true character.

The rest of the story is easily told. Its details would scarcely interest English readers. It is the narrative of an invasion pursued with remorseless determination, and culminating, as every one knew that it must, in success. Immediately after the break-up of the alliance the French commenced their march upon Mexico. The world was led to expect that it would be a mere military promenade—that the great bulk of the Mexicans were either totally indifferent to, or absolutely in favour of, the intervention—and that the few who objected to it had neither the spirit nor the strength to resist. But even the Imperialists of Paris had soon to acknowledge that they were mistaken. After some unimportant skirmishes and successes, the news one day startled Europe that the French, under General Lorencez, had been defeated before Puebla. This intelligence astonished Europe, as it really astonished the Mexicans themselves. But it was undoubtedly true. On the 5th of May the Mexican General Zaragoza drove back the French from Puebla with terrible slaughter, and after a most obstinate struggle. This was the more unpleasant, as the *protegé* of France, the notorious Padre Miranda, had been issuing a sort of circular or proclamation, announcing that Puebla was to be taken that very day. Provoking as it was, it had to be borne: Lorencez did not take Puebla, and was only too glad to be able to keep himself and his forces from being taken instead. But the Mexicans could not derive any practical benefit from their success. General Lorencez held his own; not strong enough to attack, too strong to be attacked. Then the French Government saw that the struggle was to be a reality, not a military exhibition like those of the Champ de Mars, and it made arrangements accordingly. In September, General Forey with a large force landed at Vera Cruz. General, now Marshal, Forey was the man for the situation. He was one of the experts of the December *coup d'état;* he knew all the arts by which Republican populations may be induced to accept an Imperial system. He marched on Puebla, and he took the city about a year after Lorencez's failure. Nobody can have forgotten the events which belonged to the taking of Puebla. The desperate courage of its Mexican defenders went far to redeem in European eyes the many faults of their national character. They defended their city inch by inch. They piled barricades in the streets, and fought behind them until the ground was heaped with their dead. They converted each of the square blocks of houses which compose the city into a separate fortress, and defended it until it fell and buried them in its ruins. The French were utterly unable to take some of these blocks, and therefore blew them up, defenders and all. Some of them were blown up by the desperate defenders themselves. The French suffered frightfully, but fought, of course, with indomitable courage. Indeed, General Forey attacked the city as one who knew that all a French soldier could prize depended upon his success. He knew that he must succeed: that he could never face his Imperial master with the news that the French troops had been again defeated. We render full credit to the determined bravery of the French assaults. No higher praise can be given than to say that the French displayed as obstinate a courage in the attack as the Mexicans did in the defence. At last Puebla fell. General Forey's despatches are singular documents. It had been arranged from the very beginning that France must accept the fiction of a Mexico enslaved by a few desperadoes, and panting for a French deliverer. General Forey adhered to this pleasing little fiction through all difficulties. He never for one moment abandoned it. He described Puebla as defended not by Mexicans, but by the scum of other nations and armies, who, having no interest whatever in the struggle, were fighting for the mere pleasure of the thing. He depicted Puebla as a city devoted to France, but unfortunately in the possession of a gang of outcasts from America, Spain, Italy, England, and even France herself. He gravely assured his master that the men who disputed every square inch of ground, and preferred being blown into air to any terms of surrender, were but deserters from Spanish regiments, vagabond Garibaldians lately arrived, old followers of General Walker, ruffians from the Bowery and the Five Points, roving Britishers, and recreant French soldiers. The Emperor Napoleon must have smiled grimly over this little effusion of romance. Of course no one believed it. The history of war has many curious chapters; but such a defence as this of Puebla, such desperate resistance, such deliberate and wholesale acceptance of death rather than surrender, have never yet been the work of random adventurers and volunteers thrown together without any common bond into a struggle in which they had no interest, and fighting only for mere amusement. But it was agreed that the fiction must be circulated and accepted. So it has been. Even the arrival of gangs of Mexican prisoners in Paris, undeniably born and bred Mexicans, who are stared at on the Boulevards, and can speak no word of French, or Italian, or English to any of the curious crowds, is not supposed to discredit General Forey's little story. The French Government having found it convenient to decree that the defenders of Mexico were not Mexicans, these latter immediately cease to be Mexicans in the eyes of all true Imperialists. He is no faithful follower of the Empire who gives credit to eye, ear, or judgment, when these are contradicted by the order of the Emperor.

But the capture of Puebla broke the heart of the Mexican resistance. Marshal Forey acted with great promptness and energy, and not resting upon his victory, left Juarez no time to prepare for further defences. General Zaragoza had died shortly after having enjoyed the delight of one victory over the French; Mexico was in no position to stand a siege; the Church party, protected by France, was appearing in its robber-gangs everywhere; and the Juarez Government had to retire from the capital. How long a sort of resistance may yet be prolonged we cannot judge, but the ultimate subjugation of the country may be regarded as certain. General Forey's march upon Mexico, and triumphant entrance into the city, are fresh in the memory of every one. We have all read in the journal immediately published by the conqueror himself what a danger he and his *suite* underwent of being crushed by the flowers which the Mexican ladies showered on them. No doubt there is a considerable Church party in Mexico, and there, as everywhere, the women for the most part stand by the priests. The conquerors gave a grand ball, and the ladies who went there acknowledged themselves willing captives. All this was told in much finer language than we could possibly attempt by Marshal Forey's newly-founded journal. The account was copied into the Paris *Moniteur*, which, while quoting it as from a Mexican paper, omitted unaccountably to mention that the paper was one founded on the spot by the gallant Forey, for the purpose of registering his decrees and recording his triumphs.

Of course we attach to the official narratives in Marshal Forey's journal just the importance, and give them just the confidence they deserve. But we do not mean to deny that the triumphal entry into Mexico was the occasion of a large concourse of people, that hundreds ran out of mere ignorant curiosity to see the sight, and that hundreds more applauded the conqueror with sincere and heartfelt joy. We have already noticed the fact that the Church party in Mexico, although a very small minority, could muster a considerable number of individuals, and Mexico, like most other places, has many cliques of persons base enough to welcome a sectarian triumph at the expense of their country's independence. We must add to these the number who were only too happy to find that Mexico was not to be bombarded, and that anybody was coming who would save them from any more of war. We must likewise recollect that the conquering hero who entered Mexico was the master of twenty legions; that he had proved at Puebla his inexorable determination to conquer at any price; that it was well known by what sharp process he had taught loyalty to his own countrymen in Paris; and that the year and more during which Mexico had been occupied by the Allies had abundantly proved the futility of resistance. We cannot be surprised then, that the Mexican capital, from which its defenders had withdrawn, submitted to its conqueror without daring to resist. There is probably no capital in Europe which would not have submitted in the same manner under similar circumstances. We must not condemn Mexico because it yielded to General Forey without any greater resistance than New Orleans offered to the soldiers of the Federal Government. But lest any one should imagine that the non-resistance of the capital meant willing submission to French rule, we think it right to quote from one who knew to the contrary, and whose authority is not likely to be questioned. Although the official paper to which we have referred painted the position of the French as that of honoured guests in the midst of a delighted and welcoming population, we shall see that General Forey did not believe any of this nonsense or attempt to palm it off on his Government. That sort of thing about the enthusiastic population, the rain of flowers, the weeping and embracing women, was for the French public. But in a report to the French War Minister, despatched very soon after the triumphal entry into Mexico, General Forey thus describes some of the operations which he found necessary to ensure a continuance of the enthusiastic welcome his historiographer had described:—

"Before thinking of sending troops to a distance, it was first indispensable to purge the environs of the capital of the bands *which keep it in a kind of blockade.* On the other hand, Negrette, seconded by Aurellano, Carbajal, &c., was organizing considerable forces at Tlascala to operate in the State of Puebla and cut off our communications. The occupation of that place thus became indispensable. I have therefore taken measures to meet these requirements.

"A French column, under the orders of Colonel de la Canorgue, is marching on Tlascala with a Mexican detachment commanded by

General Guttierez, who will establish himself at Apan. The troops of General Vicario occupy Tlalpau and Tepepa. Some of the troops of General Marquez guard the embankments of Guanhtitlan and Zumpango. Colonel Aymard, of the 62nd, is in position at Pachuca. General Mejia, who has great influence in Queretaro, is going to that town with a sufficient force. Another column will soon go to take possession of Toluca. Lastly, the cavalry is stationed in the environs of Mexico, where it can best find forage and assure tranquillity.

"By these arrangements I assure security in a rather extensive zone round Mexico, and shall maintain my communications with Puebla uninterrupted. Nor have I, at the same time, neglected the occupation of the coast."

We invite particular attention to General Forey's display of unconscious humour when he announces that General Mejia (a name of mournful omen in Mexico), "who has great influence in Queretaro," is going to that town "with a sufficient force."

The remainder of General Forey's proceedings seem to belong to the domain of the burlesque. He becomes a genuine conqueror of the *Opera Comique* style. He formed a ProvisionalGovernment, composed of General Almonte, General Salas (known in connexion with the Jecker loan), and Monsignore Labastida, Archbishop of Mexico. The latter dignitary was about that time basking in the hospitable patronage of the Empress of the French at St. Cloud. Then a Council of Notables was convened by sound of drum or other suitable process, and the Council of Notables having held a meeting, at the opening of which General Forey and his staff were present, decreed, in a few minutes, and with a wonderful unanimity, that Mexico should thenceforward be an Empire under a Roman Catholic prince. In an equally prompt and harmonious manner they tendered the Imperial Crown to Maximilian of Austria; and in the event of that Prince declining the offer, they humbly petitioned that the Emperor of the French would be good enough to select a Sovereign for them, and send him out by return of post. Then there was a ball, at which the French officers waltzed charmingly, and made themselves quite delightful to the Mexican ladies. So Mexico woke up in the morning a Republic, and fell asleep an Empire.

We should have stated that in the meantime General Forey had granted a Constitution to the new Empire, a significant clause of which declared that the Roman Catholic religion was to be maintained and protected. The gallant general likewise transferred to Mexico the admirable system of laws for the regulation of the press which works so conveniently in France. Therefore we shall find no insolent comment upon French rule or criticism of French proconsuls appearing in print to unsettle the minds of the loyal population of Mexico. In order further to encourage all true lovers of Imperialism in Mexico, the conqueror issued a proclamation confiscating the property of every one who declined to give in his adhesion to the new system. A spirited measure, but which perhaps went a little too far, and was rather liable to misconstruction. The press of Europe raised a general cry of indignation; and even the Paris papers commented on the inconvenience of addressing Imperial remonstrances to Russia touching General Mouravieff's confiscations in Lithuania, while Forey was carrying the same system a step or two further in Mexico. For there was this unpleasant difference between the position and acts of the two warriors. The insurgents of Lithuania were undoubtedly rebels against Mouravieff's master; but how could the recusants of Mexico be rebels against Forey's master, seeing that the French Government was never acknowledged in Mexico, and had, indeed, been telling all the world for the previous year and a half that it could not, under any circumstances, presume to interfere in the internal affairs of the Mexican Republic? So the ministerial papers of Paris first insisted that the whole story was a calumny, and that Forey had never issued any confiscation decrees at all, and then stated that the decrees were only temporary, and that the Emperor had cancelled them. In fact, the Emperor did cancel them. They would never do for publication in Europe. Whatever a conqueror in General Forey's position may do, it is a great mistake to write and publish decrees. They are sure to get into the papers now-a-days, and then the government has to take some step for the sake of its own decent reputation. So the French recording angel dropped a tear, and blotted out General Forey's confiscation orders.

The remainder of the history of the Mexican conquest has to be written hereafter. Whether the Archduke Maximilian will accept the throne, what consideration France will receive for it, and how long France is to occupy the country, we shall very soon learn, if it be not indeed all made known before these pages are transferred to print. One fact is obvious, that whatever be the name of the gentleman who is permitted to sit on the Mexican throne, the country of which he is styled the Sovereign will be a French military province. Even Marshal Forey does not pretend that the Mexican Empire would outlive by one day the recall of the French troops. But, whatever be the fate of that oddly-founded Empire, the moral of the proceedings by which it was called into existence remains the same. It seems hardly necessary for us to point that moral. We have given faithfully, and from the best sources, the history of the Mexican conquest; compressed indeed, but accurate, and chapter by chapter. We have shown that it was from the beginning a planned and deliberate conquest, developed and realized by the aid of the most unscrupulous deceit, the most unblushing treachery. To that considerable number of persons in this country who tacitly hold the opinion that any powerful Sovereign is perfectly justified in invading, devastating, and subjugating a foreign country because he thinks it is badly governed and believes he could govern it better, we have only to say that even that plea—the plea of Alexander, and Cæsar, and Napoleon I.—does not avail Napoleon III., for the latter expressly disclaimed, from the opening to the *éclaircissement* of his project, any intention to interfere in Mexican affairs. At every step of the progress he made a new protest of non-intervention, and pledged himself so solemnly that he was actually believed. In fact, he repeated in Mexico with equal success the policy of the Paris *coup d'état*. By vowing up to the last moment that he meant to adhere to a certain pledge, he succeeded to the last moment in deceiving those who might have marred his plans had they known that the pledge was already and deliberately broken.

We have previously intimated a belief that this conquest of Mexico, odious as it is in principle and in means, has yet its prospect of advantage to the conquered country and to the world. In the first place, it may give a breathing time to a disorganized country, and secure an interval of enforced tranquillity during which resources may be developed and political character strengthened. No doubt the French police *régime*, whatever Sovereign may enjoy the benefit of it, will secure something like order in the country, will make the rights of property more respected and the principle of life more sacred. All this is something to be taken into account on the side of compensation. We are not indeed inclined to admire what it is the fashion to call "strong government," or to believe that a people can be drilled and dragooned into a capacity for self-rule. But Mexico unhappily wants rest, rest at any price: as a fevered man needs repose although it be procured by the agency of the opiate, or as one in a delirious moment may require the coercion of the strait-waistcoat. The invasion too may teach Mexico a sharp and stern lesson, and may serve as a warning to other nations. The blind disunion and discord, the absence of that patriotic feeling which inspires forbearance, have been the main cause of the fall of the Mexican Republic. It may be added too that the lesson will perhaps do good to another Republic as well. The United States will no doubt feel the intrusion of France to be an insult and a menace. But their disunion has helped to bring it about, and their conduct has tended to deprive them of the world's sympathy. The occupation of Mexico is the extinction of the Monroe doctrine. That doctrine, it must be owned, is both absurd and arrogant in theory and in practice. A State going to war to support such a principle would be guilty of a political crime and blunder still greater than the conquest of Mexico itself involves. We have heard it well observed that for the Federal Government to go to war in sustainment of the Monroe doctrine would in essential principle be to pursue the same course as that which the European States followed so blindly and disastrously when they invaded France to destroy her revolutionary Republic. In either case the object is the same—not to repel an attack, not even to avert a certain danger, but to oppose a danger which is ideal, problematical, merely constructive. The sooner America entirely abandons the fantastic Monroe doctrine the better. Any real and imminent danger the Federal Republic can always repel. but it only provokes and originates peril to itself by arrogantly attempting to lay down great political laws for the future which are to apply not to its own conduct but to that of its neighbours. Let it be remembered, too, that America's own hands are not clean of Mexican plunder and blood. The conduct of the United States towards its neighbour was quite as lawless as that of France, if perhaps somewhat less treacherous. Should we be reminded that the wrongs done by America to Mexico were entirely the offspring of Southern policy, we cannot help remembering how one of the noblest and wisest of Americans, Dr. Channing, inveighed against the apathy and composure with which the Free States regarded those iniquitous acts. If, therefore, the Federal Government of America should now feel that its dignity is wounded, that its strength is menaced by the conduct of France in Mexico, it should remember that the rebuke is not wholly unmerited, and should accept it as a lesson and a warning for the future. It is the destiny of arrogance and aggression in politics to beget arrogance and aggression, and the world in general is little disposed to sympathize with the sufferings of the engineer hoist by his own petard.

But while we thus acknowledge that the subjugation of Mexico cannot be wholly unproductive of good, and has not been wholly undeserved, we need hardly repeat that the conduct of the French Government is in no wise extenuated by these considerations. We cannot enter into the exultation with which the "monied classes," as they are called, in London, and their organs, have received the news of the French success; an exultation which frankly disavows all regard for the political and moral aspects of the case, and openly professes to consider only its own pecuniary interests. There is something amusing in the *naïve* declaration of the *Times*, which has boldly championed the Mexican conquest all through, that "the consideration that France has used objectionable native instruments—one of them an avowed felon of the meanest kind, and another so notorious for savage cruelty that his mere name had become a terror—although it may increase the satisfaction that England has not taken any share in the affair, can in no way modify the question as regards the Mexicans themselves." Certainly this consideration does in some way "modify the question" as regards the French Government, and adds one other stain to the many which rest upon its honour, its good faith, its humanity, its decency, in connexion with the conquest of Mexico. The Emperor Napoleon is said to have declared that the Mexican invasion would be the greatest event of his reign. Perhaps it may prove so. In one sense the invasion of Russia may be pronounced the greatest event in the reign of the elder Napoleon. Certainly, if unprincipled aggression, carried out by the aid of almost unparalleled treachery could bode ultimate evil to the policy which planned it, we might expect to find Mexico prove the Moscow of the Second Empire.

ART. II.—ROMOLA.

Romola. By GEORGE ELIOT. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1863.

IT cannot be denied that "Romola" is less popular than its predecessors, but we do not hesitate to say that it is its author's greatest work. We hope we shall be able, in the course of the following observations, in some degree to explain this apparent contradiction. In the minds of a great majority of her readers George Eliot's name is indissolubly connected with the remembrance of Mrs. Poyser, the Dodsons, and Dolly Winthrop, and they cannot dispense with the pleasure they have heretofore derived from such quaint and original humour; it is not sufficient that there are passages in "Romola" full of refined wit and as deeply humorous as any to be found in "Adam Bede," "The Mill on the Floss," or in "Silas Marner;" they are not, indeed, set in a homely *entourage* which demands no thought, but rather call for habits of reflection but little cultivated by most novel-readers. Indeed, we have seen it insinuated that the circle of the author's powers had been already filled, and that the recourse to a foreign background for her fable was a sign of weakness and exhaustion. This is an inexcusable criticism; the critic must be himself weak indeed who fancies he can discern any sign of failing powers in "Romola." It is quite another question whether the selection of a foreign and historical background was judicious. This point is doubtless open to debate, and in our opinion is the only one worth discussion. The strong hold which George Eliot lays on the intellectual and ethical side of all that comes before her mind, and the predominant critical tendency of her mode of thought, make it more necessary with her than with other authors that she should have the direct support of personal experience for the external circumstances in which she places her characters. Her imagination has a strong bias towards moral conceptions rather than towards sensuous, much less passionate ones; with her passion and direct action lie strangled in thought, and deeds present themselves to her rather as problems than as facts. In those dramatic conceptions which give force, unity, and rapid action to a tale she is comparatively deficient. The keenness of her mind urges her on to results, and thought and feeling have so much the upper hand that the lower and more picturesque qualities of our nature have but little attraction for her. The moral progress of mankind is a far higher thing to her than the finest poetry, which is but an instrument in that progress. This bias leads her to treat the events by which she developes the characters of her stories with too great an arbitrariness, and to disregard their natural sequence in a manner which strongly contrasts with the inexorable consecutiveness of every step in the development of the characters themselves. In the minute analysis of moral growth she has no equal; no one has so fully seized the great truth that we can none of us escape the consequences of our conduct, that each action has not only a character of its own, but also an influence on the character of the actor from which there is no escape; "our deeds are like children that are born to us; they live and act apart from our own will. Nay, children may be strangled, but deeds never: they have an indestructible life, both in and out of our consciousness." The strength with which this truth is here expressed shows the deep feeling from which it arises. To this deep moral maxim George Eliot constantly recurs, not in "Romola" only, but in "Romola" it forms the central idea to which all else is made subservient; the external machinery of the tale is but the means by which it shall be set in an adequate light, considerations of probability are comparatively small matters, and the most fortuitous coincidences are accepted without a pang so that they do but aid in the display of that which is of more importance to the author than any superficial likelihood. If it were possible for her to consider the external circumstances in which she places her hero, apart from the influence those circumstances are intended to exercise on him, and as governed by laws of their own, she would be the first to recognise how remarkable an accumulation of improbable coincidences she heaps on Tito's head. But this is the greatness of George Eliot, that where others are feeble she is strong, and it is only to be regretted that she is too regardless of that much less difficult accomplishment which is within the reach of any one with one tenth her genius. On this account we think it is to be regretted that Romola is an Italian story, and a story of the fifteenth century. By departing so far from the life around her she enters into a more full command of her whole material, which forces her to rely upon her imagination for those parts of her fable which the character of her mind strongly leads her to neglect. It would have been more difficult had Romola lived among us to arrange with such facile opportuneness the incidents of Tito's downward course. It is true the remembrance of similar features in Silas Marner forces us to allow that even in that case they might have had much of this character, but the greater familiarity of the incidents would have afforded some disguise. The beneficial influence of such a direct study from nature is manifest in the first two volumes of the "Mill on the Floss," the complete harmony between the Tullivers and Dodsons and the external circumstances in which they are placed, affords the best illustration of our meaning, unless, indeed, that wonderful scene at the Rainbow, in "Silas Marner," be not a more striking example. No care and labour have been spared to give an objective character to the portraiture of ancient Florence, but this care has resulted only in an accumulation of details. The three great parties which divided the state at the close of the fifteenth century are displayed rather in their thoughts than in their actions, their violent passions and unscrupulous deeds are so treated in the light of their results that they are sicklied over with the pale cast of thought, and lose a great part of their local colour. All the minute details of Florentine life with which the canvas is crowded do not produce a lasting and enduring impression. The picture contains too much of the substance of the author's studies, and is brightened rather by the deep and profound general views which they suggested to her than by those living characteristic touches which make a departed age to live before the reader. There is to our feeling a most characteristic difference between the impression produced by the pictures of Italian life and by those which she draws of the personal conflicts in the minds of the characters which are really hers; in these her reflections drop from her like ripe fruit come to its fullest maturity, there is a spontaneousness about them that has an irresistible charm, but in all that concerns the surroundings of her characters there is an evident sign of labour, not indeed upon the surface, but at too short a distance beneath it. The fullest knowledge is insufficient where the mind resists, or does not go forward without effort. This difference is difficult to seize and perhaps impossible fully to analyse; but it resembles that which is always found between a fine original picture and a copy by another artist, however able. The two shall be identical, line for line, and yet no one is deceived by the copy; there is a something wanting, which can only be described as the result of perfect freedom of movement.

Again, we do not recognise the truth of detail in a description of public life so remote from us as we should the features of our own time, and the author has not the power to carry us away with the description she gives. This historical background, too, somewhat oppresses the human interest of the tale, and in its ultimate impression affects us like a mediæval painted window, in which the action has to be disentangled from the blaze of colour and overwhelming accessories. To this source may be traced much of that want of appreciation with which the book has met. The general novel-reader is impatient at such details as those of the entry of Charles VIII., and of the Auto-da-fê of Vanities, and longs to hear more of that struggle between Romola and her husband which comes home to his business and bosom. There is another reason why "Romola" is not popular with the crowd. George Eliot's deep insight into the self-questioning human mind places her among those "neutrals who alone can see the finer shades of fact which soften the antithesis of virtue and vice, who are not distressed to discern some folly in martyrs and some judiciousness in those who burn them." The lofty superiority from which she draws the inspiration of that neutrality meets with no answering voice in the souls of the multitude. How few in these questions are not in some sense partisans, and where will they find a weapon to their hands in the pages of "Romola?" There is another result of this scientific insight, which, from the point of view of art, exercises a hostile influence over the power of the author's best scenes: they are so philosophically treated, and so full of the subtlest analysis of the varying motives which struggle for the mastery in the actors, that we are in constant danger of being more attracted by the treatment of the moral question than interested by its bearing on the fate of those whom it affects. We have heard many say that they cannot interest themselves in Tito and Romola, but we never heard any one who was capable of entering into the special purpose of this history who thought himself fully able to express his admiration either of the deep insight displayed in it or of the delicate beauty of the distinctions and qualifications by which it is preserved from any excess or exaggeration. If it is said of any book that it offers in every page some food for thought or some rare beauty of expression, it is not generally found to conduce to its immediate perusal. Festus' more convenient season is time enough for such things. How then shall a book which touches on the finest chords of the human heart with a delicacy that proclaims the last results of modern culture be heard among the coarse appeals to curiosity or passion which occupy the public ear?

We cannot but think, however, that this long and elaborate disquisition on the relations between the sexes as a moral question is set forth by George Eliot too much in the colours of the nineteenth century. The conception of the marriage tie which underlies the whole story seems to us antedated by the whole interval which separates the age of Alexander VI. from our own. We think it would be very difficult to produce any evidence of claims to the kind of union to which Romola aspired as existing in the minds of the women of the fifteenth century, much more to prove them so universal as to be within the immediate appreciation of a man merely clever and self-seeking like Tito; and here again we find another reason for wishing that Romola had been a modern Englishwoman, she having so much more the character of one than that of an Italian lady of four centuries since. It is an insufficient excuse to plead that the great features of human life and character are determined by conditions too permanent to offer any radical distinctions between their manifestations from century to century. The hills indeed are, as George Eliot says, where they were of old, and the rivers flow in their accustomed beds; but many and great are the changes which four hundred years produce in these great features of physical nature, and greater far the differences which such a lapse of time brings with it in the form of the moral questions which are offered to each generation of mankind. We cannot escape from the feeling that the chief interest of "Romola" reposes on ideas of moral duty and of right which are of very modern growth, and that they would have been more appropriately displayed on a modern stage. The lovely and noble Romola would even now be more admired than loved, and surely we have not retrograded in devotion to all that is good and beautiful. It is not yet given to every one to love a Romola. Tito, too, seems to us to smack more of the intellectual strength and moral weakness of the nineteenth century than of the strong faith and equally strong passions of the age of Cæsar Borgia and Machiavelli. Nothing can surpass the skill with which he is displayed, gradually entangled in the web of his own subtleties; but he would have cut short his trials with steel or poison in the age in which he is represented as enduring them. Instead of being content with frightening a wife he no longer loved when she threatened him with exposure and ruin, he would have relieved himself from that fear in a very different way within twenty-four hours. But he is a child of the nineteenth century, and shrinks from the more practical procedure of the fifteenth. He is Hetty, but a man, and not a fool. Indeed, the deepest and most powerful conception of the whole book is this of Tito—amiable, with great abilities and no vices, but living in other men's regards, and shunning every form of personal discomfort; weak, but not naturally wicked. How sad the view of life which at last leads such a man to commit some of the basest deeds, and yet who can say one feature of this wonderful portrait is at all exaggerated? Where was there ever a moral more forcibly set forth? Let no man sport with his existence. *Ernst ist das Leben.* No wonder a doctrine that calls on every one to take heed unto his ways is not universally popular. The novel-reader who takes up a volume to escape from or fill up the void of thought, may well exclaim when he meets with such a lion in his path, that he does not find in "Romola" the amusement of which he was in search; the terrible earnestness of what really comes home to him, is as little welcome as the learning which he either does not appreciate or prefers to seek elsewhere. No! "Romola" is not likely to be generally popular; it is too great both in mind and heart.

There are few things requiring a more delicate touch than such stories as that of Tessa and her little ones; yet what an air of idyllic beauty is thrown over the whole episode by her ignorance and their innocence. George Eliot is always charming in her treatment of children; they have not yet become the theatre of those conflicts which she hates, and she loves them without distrust or remorse. How admirably this episode is made to show that a man may be a villain and yet have soft affections, and a noble woman be jealous of something higher than mere personal fidelity to herself. In her treatment of Baldassare the author displays all the qualities on which we have remarked. His remorseless vindictiveness and thirst for blood seems to her so near an approach to lunacy, that she makes him mad whenever he has a chance of action. It might be insinuated that this is done in order that the avenging sword may hang a little longer over Tito's head, and that it is but an artifice to prolong the effect of the hovering Nemesis of his hate. But there are no artifices in George Eliot's art. The true reason is, that she does not sufficiently sympathize with such depths of passion to give them adequate expression; they are so repugnant to her that she hardly compassionates the wronged old man, and certainly does not sufficiently display those features of his character which caused him to be successively forsaken by the woman he loved and by the boy he had adopted and tenderly cared for. How was it that he who so longed to be loved was denied all answer to his yearnings where he had set his heart? It can only be because his vindictive hate had so debased him, even in the mind that conceived his character, that no room was left for sympathy; and the savage animalism of his passions lowering him to the brutes made George Eliot less than humane to one who had put off what alone interests her as distinctively human. This concentration of self in the reckless pursuit of a personal gratification is the strongest expression of that tendency in our race which is uniformly decried throughout "Romola," whether it shows itself in the luxurious self-indulgence of Tito or in the noble Romola when she essays to throw off the trammels of a life that no longer answers to her ideal. The same idea is prolonged into the treatment of Savonarola, whose personal aims and longings for the glory that he thought his due are made to be his ruin, and to furnish the road to his defeat and death. That this is a true view of his character is in accordance with all we know of him, and connects him in a peculiar way with the ethical basis of the tale. His influence on its progress is but slight; the power which he exerted for a time over the imagination of Romola was not so much personal as the effect of the new views of duty which he brought before her; Christian morality could have found its way to an intellect like hers without the necessity of an intermediate human idol, and would not then have so failed her when she could no longer lean on his character for support. We do not mean that there is not much profound psychological insight displayed in the treatment of their mutual relations, but that all else in the story which is concerned with Savonarola leaves the reader but slightly moved and but feebly interested; it sinks down into that picture of ancient Florence which is so full of learned detail, and which stands in such grievous need of a central light which shall harmonize the whole.

The conclusion of the story is its weakest part, because here, if anywhere, there was need of action. Few, we think, can be fully satisfied with the manner of Tito's death. It may be said that he fell a victim to a popular tumult which had been indirectly brought about by his own treachery; that he was swept from the scene of his plottings by a side wind of the storm he had called forth by his betrayal of Savonarola; but this conclusion is hardly led up to with sufficient clearness. Rather does it seem to us that the author wishes to indicate how impossible it is for the cleverest schemer to be prepared for every contingency to which his wiles expose him; that all his ingenuity was insufficient to guard him against the low cunning of a Ceccone and a chance opportunity. That he should escape the infuriated mob to fall helpless into the hands of his powerless enemy is so painfully improbable that few have read it without some shock to their feelings. Here, again, we may observe the tendency in George Eliot to avoid all violent action; Tito is too exhausted to resist his murderer, and has only strength enough to recognise the retributive avenger before he dies. Romola's history after her second flight is strangely disconnected with the rest of the tale. The pestilential village and its call upon her sympathies is another of those extravagantly fortuitous circumstances of which the author makes such free use. All sense of probability is here sacrificed for a moral effect, which yet jars upon us like an isolated light that does not harmonize with the rest of the picture. But any road is welcome that leads us to the lovely Epilogue, and to that eloquent summary of the whole purpose of the book with which Romola warns her husband's son against the faults of him he knew not was his father :—

> "It is not easy, my Lillo, to be something that will make you a great man, and very happy besides—something that would not hinder you from having a good deal of pleasure. It is only a poor sort of happiness that could ever come by caring very much about our own narrow pleasures. We can only have the highest happiness, such as goes along with being a great man, by having wide thoughts, and much feeling for the rest of the world as well as ourselves; and this sort of happiness often brings so much pain with it, that we can only tell it from pain by its being that we would choose before everything else,—because our souls see it is good. There are so many things wrong and difficult in the world, that no man can be great—he can hardly keep himself from wickedness—unless he gives up thinking much about pleasures and rewards, and gets strength to endure what is hard and painful. My father had the greatness that belongs to integrity; he chose poverty and obscurity rather than falsehood. And here was Fra Girolamo—you know why I keep to-morrow sacred; *he* had that greatness which belongs to a life spent in struggling against powerful wrong, and in trying to raise men to the highest deeds they are capable of. And so, my Lillo, if you mean to act nobly, and seek to know the best things God has put within the reach of man, you must learn to fix your mind on that end, and not on what will happen to you because of it. And remember, if you were to choose something lower, and make it the rule of your life to seek your own pleasure and escape from what is disagreeable, calamity might come just the same; and it would be calamity falling on a base mind, which is the one form of sorrow that has no balm in it, and that may well make a man say, —'It would have been better for me if I had never been born.' I will tell you something, Lillo. There was a man to whom I was very near, so that I could see a great deal of his life, who made almost every one fond of him, for he was young, and clever, and beautiful, and his manners to all were gentle and kind. I believe when I first knew him he never thought of doing anything cruel or base; but because he tried to slip away from everything that was unpleasant, and cared for nothing so much as his own safety, he came at last to commit some of

the basest deeds: such as make man infamous. He denied his father, and left him to misery; he betrayed every trust that was reposed in him that he might keep himself safe and get rich and prosperous. Yet calamity overtook him."

ART. III.—MIRACLES.

1. *Nature and the Supernatural, as together constituting the one System of God.* By HORACE BUSHNELL. New York: 1860.
2. *The Supernatural in Relation to the Natural.* By the Rev. J. M'COSH. London: 1862.
3. *An Inquiry into the Theories of History, Chance, Law, Will, with special reference to the Principles of the Positive Philosophy.* London: 1862.

DISSATISFACTION with the commonly received representation of the supernatural is the source of most of the sceptical tendencies of the present day. To this may be traced the dislike to dogmas which make large demands upon our faith, the indisposition to credit the modern miracle of the sacerdotal party and the special providences of the evangelical, and the desire generally for a form of theology more in accordance with the natural course of things. This is obviously the feeling which has animated the writers of the "Essays and Reviews," and led them to purge religion of the supernatural as far as it can be done without destroying what they believe to be its essential features. Those who have undertaken to reply to them have shown themselves to be perfectly sensible of this fact, by directing their efforts chiefly to the defence of the popular view of the supernatural. Though Bishop Colenso does not object to miracles as such, there can be no doubt he belongs to the same class as the writers just mentioned, inasmuch as in impugning the statements of an inspired volume on the ground of criticism, he, like the others, is opposing natural facts and possibilities to supernatural utterances. The same disposition is shown in science, where it manifests itself by restraining recourse to final causes, and in fearless attempts to explain phenomena which have hitherto been assumed to be miraculous. It is also shown in history and sociology: it is displayed in a readier acknowledgment of the concatenation of events and the evolution of the existing condition of things out of a prior condition according to natural law; in a better appreciation of the influence of individuals and circumstances apparently fortuitous compared with those general causes which in the end determine the course of events; and in an absence of satisfaction in those specious explanations that are afforded by invoking the divine interposition in favour of particular nations or creeds. This increasing dislike to the popular opinion of the supernatural on the one side, and on the other the tenacity with which it is adhered to as if it were essential to the very existence of religion, make the belief in it the special difficulty of our time. This antagonism is almost entirely to be attributed to the present state of civilization, and particularly the diffusion of more scientific habits of thought; but it must not be overlooked that it coincides with two opposite dispositions which have characterised men in all ages, and ranged them in rival schools: the disposition to look upon nature from the ideal side, to appeal to intuitive beliefs, in short, to subordinate the material world to mind; and the disposition to dwell upon facts of observation, to look to experience as the only palpable and certain basis of belief. The pursuit of science has promoted a distaste for studies in which it seems impossible to arrive at any fixed or definite principles, and in which there is no marked progress from elementary truths to higher results according to generally admitted principles of ratiocination. In science, the phenomena are palpable and open to the observation of all; the facts are definite, capable of expression with mathematical precision, and may be verified by all who can bring sufficient knowledge to their investigation. The higher generalizations are indissolubly linked to the more elementary facts, and new relations are being continually traced between the various sciences, showing that the whole constitutes one system, the parts of which hang together by a general consensus. Scientific men differ in opinion, it is true, on many points; but this difference is in all cases due to imperfect knowledge, or to imperfections of character incident to humanity: further investigation and increased knowledge invariably lead towards that unanimity which prevails with respect to all well-established generalizations. When we leave this world of facts and enter upon the domain of metaphysics and theology, we seem to have abandoned the noonday brightness for the twilight in which we think we perceive certain objects flitting about which appear to one man to have one shape and to another a different shape, and which even to ourselves at different times present dissimilar shapes, while to all and at all times they are vague, dreamy, and impalpable. If we attempt to define them, and then submit them to logical processes, we very soon discover, from the contradictory conclusions we obtain, that we are dealing in symbols which imperfectly represent their realities.

The more we torture them in vain attempts to extract some reliable results, the deeper we sink in error; so that extended investigation, instead of producing unanimity of opinion as in science, necessarily leads to greater diversity. The great difficulties with which these studies abound present themselves at the outset, are as patent to the unlearned as to the learned, and are no nearer a solution after all that has been thought and written on the subject than they were at the dawn of speculation.

The diffusion of scientific habits of thought has disposed men to regard the relations of co-existence and sequence among events; and this occupation of the mind has discouraged the primitive disposition which we inherit from an earlier civilization to seek for an explanation in the arbitrary disposition of a personal agent. In the most infantile state of the race mind and matter are confounded; the spirit and its material tenement are not differentiated; and as spontaneous motion is the great characteristic of life, and is also observed in the external world, or what we now regard as such, it is not wonderful that the distinction between man and the rest of creation should be unappreciated. As man advances in knowledge, this distinction comes out more definitely; the indwelling spirit in nature detaches itself from matter; Venus rises from the sea and assumes a personality as distinct as man's own; and though spirit predominates in the conception, the god receives a bodily form, perfect according to the highest ideal, as the only form in which spirit can be realized by the imagination. When the god has emerged from nature his activity is identified with human activity in its manifestations, and the explanation of events is sought for in the disposition of the god. As men increase in knowledge they estimate more highly the superiority of mind, and this superiority is displayed in the control of brute force. The gods are conceived as opposing natural forces after the manner of men but with superhuman power, and the presence of divinity is sought for in those events in which the natural course of things seems thwarted or turned aside. Religion has thus come to be identified with the marvellous and the rare, and has claimed for her peculiar province those departments of nature into which the light of science has not penetrated, and where its intrusion is regarded as an impertinence, as well as all those events in which natural uniformities are interfered with.* Science does not respect this claim set up for religion. It regards the universe as a cosmos, and if in any quarter it fails, as it must frequently do, to detect law or trace the operation of known causes, it never for a moment assumes that this is owing to any essential difference among phenomena, but finds a satisfactory explanation in the limitation of our knowledge, the feebleness of our capacity, or the imperfection of our means of observation. Nature then presents itself in a different aspect to minds habituated to its scientific study from what it does to those who regard it chiefly as the field upon which the divine is displayed by the mysteriousness of its operation, or the more obvious interposition with natural sequences; and these aspects are not only different but opposed. Science besides is becoming aggressive. It does not wait the tedious process of siege, but confident in its powers boldly advances to assault. By the laws it has established and the data it has obtained, it can to some extent predict the future, and thus regulate the course of action. As the past as well as the future are linked to the present by necessary sequences, and laws of nature are unaffected by time as well as place, there is a power of revealing the past corresponding to the power of prediction, and on this fact is based the validity of criticism. If events are alleged to have occurred which are plainly inconsistent with well established rules of induction, if well known causes are reported to have failed in producing their effects, or to have produced effects disproportionate to their forces, whilst no counteracting or concurring causes have intervened, we have no hesitation in discrediting these events, whatever may be the nature or amount of the testimony adduced to support them. This principle requires to be cautiously applied, as mistakes have been made which have given those who wish to overrate the strength of testimony an opportunity of denouncing what they are pleased to call scientific scepticism; though these mistakes by no means invalidate the principle, and are merely illustrations of the danger of a rash and inconsiderate application of it. Nor are they to be confounded with those mistakes which arise from that incredulity which springs from ignorance, and rejects unusual and startling facts on the ground that they are contrary to experience. Armed with this principle, we are enabled to discriminate between the possible and the impossible, to purge history of its legends; and if some miracles are left undisturbed, it is on condition they shall be recognised as rare and exceptive acts embraced within some unknown and higher law.

Various attempts have been made to overcome this scientific repugnance to the supernatural, which may be all included under two heads. On the one hand the supernatural is so represented as to assimilate it to law; on the other hand, the uniformities of nature upon which science is based, if they are admitted at all in the strictest sense, are regarded as the manifestation of a will which occasionally chooses to limit its freedom by rule in condescension to human weakness.

We are reminded that nature embraces more than our world of observation, and includes personal agency as well as physical force. In the free-will of man we have a creative force which interferes with the regular sequences of matter without any violence to its laws. Though this agency must be held to be natural, it is still a free agency in nature, and differs from all other natural phenomena which are merely links in a chain of causes and effects. The power which operates in the production of a miracle is of essentially the same character, and differs from it only as the greater differs from the less. The influence we can exert in controlling and guiding the natural forces in the midst of which we live is limited both by the small extent of the power we possess, and by our ignorance of the most effective modes of applying that power. All that is done by a personal agent beyond these limits, we are told, belongs to the miraculous. As we are conscious of a power in ourselves to influence the course of events, we have no difficulty in conceiving the existence of a power perfectly analogous, but infinitely greater; and as interference with the natural course of events in the one case does not imply any discontinuity of uniform sequences, it is not necessary to suppose that it does so in the other. Both operations are natural, and the extent of the power exerted does not essentially affect the question. The difficulty, therefore, cannot lie in conceiving God to be an agent influencing the course of events, but in the representation usually given of the mode in which the divine operation is conducted. This, we are commonly told, is direct and immediate; and as we are accustomed to accomplish our purposes by the use of means, we have a difficulty in conceiving how this can be done by a simple fiat, and without the use of means. This difficulty is thus disposed of. The ordinary government of God, it is said, is conducted by the use of means, and when there is an apparent departure from this method of procedure we have no reason for believing that it is more than apparent. When God seems to us simply to issue his fiat, he may in reality employ means, but means which are unknown to us, and which lie beyond the field of our observation. He may have stored up in inaccessible regions forces which his infinite power may call forth to perform his behests; or by his infinite knowledge he may make the recondite laws which lie beyond the reach of human science his servants to do his pleasure. In the miracle, then, there is no reason to suppose that God acts otherwise than in the ordinary course of events, and, therefore, no greater difficulty in conceiving the divine procedure in the one case than in the other.

We think it a mistake to suppose that this is the difficulty which the supernatural presents to the scientific mind. It is nothing more nor less than the old difficulty of conceiving how a cause can produce its effect without the intervention of some medium—a difficulty which has been disposed of long ago. The supposition of a medium does not, in the slightest degree, enable us to penetrate the mystery of causation. When a medium is discovered to exist between some cause and its effect, it is but an intermediate link in the chain of causation, and all we effect by the discovery is a resolution of a law of causation into other laws; we obtain no insight into the nature of causation itself. In considering the action of an agent the attention is occupied with the will which is the cause, and the change produced on the outward world which is the effect; but the slightest consideration will show us that the will is only the remote cause, and that the result is reached through one if not more intermediate causes. We throw a stone, and the motion of the stone through the air is without doubt the result of our free will; but the stone receives its impulse from the strength of our arm, and thus it was the force imparted to it by the contraction of our muscles which was the proximate cause of the stone's motion. Physical laws are in operation not merely after the stone has left the hand, but before as well. The will, through the brain and motor nerves, brings the muscles into action, and is the remote cause of the effect we are contemplating. The will sets in motion a train of causes which eventuates in a certain result, but we arrive at the ultimate fact that will causes changes in matter. We can offer no explanation of this ultimate fact, but neither can we explain the ultimate laws of causation in general. As man thus acts directly and immediately on matter in the last resort, there can be no difficulty in attributing immediate influence to God. The difference in the extent of the power exercised in the two cases is immeasurable, but the difficulty lies in conceiving that will can act upon matter at all. If we once admit this fact, which is testified to us by our experience, it is obvious that we cannot prescribe any limit to the power of will, seeing we are not cognizant of any will but our own. We cannot, on the ground of experience, affirm that miracles, as acts of superhuman power, are impossible, if we admit the existence of God at all. We know that the human will influences the nervous system alone, and even it to a limited extent, while it has no direct power over other natural agencies. Besides, the nervous system which it influences is peculiarly bound up with the destiny of the individual. We should have some difficulty, therefore, in conceiving the human will capable of acting upon the physical world in any other way than through the instrumentality of the body. Did we imagine the Deity to resemble man in bodily form as well as spiritual constitution, we should have the same difficulty in conceiving Him capable of influencing all kinds of natural agencies alike, but it would be most fallacious to argue, on the ground of our narrow experience, that will can act upon matter on certain conditions only, or to suppose that divine and human agency are in every respect alike. If the difficulty does not lie in the endeavour to conceive God as acting upon nature without the instrumentality of bodily organs, the supposition that He acts in all cases, even in such as seem miraculous, by the use of means, does not at all simplify the matter, for we must always fall back upon the ultimate fact that He directly sets in motion the train of causes which leads to the desired result.

The real difficulty does not lie so near the surface as the one we have noticed. By representing the divine power over nature to be analogous to the human, and as differing from it only in degree, we obtain a definite conception of miraculous agency, and avoid all necessity for affirming a violation or suspension of natural laws; but we get quit of one difficulty only to land ourselves in others equally great. If we assume the divine power to be analogous to the human, it follows that nature, in the restricted sense of the physical world, is related in a similar manner to both. Nature is a system of physical causes producing uniform results, but permitting of the interposition of personal agency without affecting its stability. It exists independent of man, and if left without interference would follow its own course of uniform sequence. Is nature equally independent of God? To suppose so is to represent God as an extra-mundane being, entirely separated from nature, unseen, but manifesting his existence by occasionally interposing to bring about some result not embraced in the natural sequence of events. This view excludes the Deity from the whole kingdom of law, which it represents as an independent power, to be resisted and controlled. God and nature are set up as two rival powers, and a well-defined distinction is drawn between what God does and what nature does, the power of the Deity being manifested by the action of arbitrary will, while natural forces are discriminated by the invariability of their action, and reveal fate alone. If miracles are thus made intelligible and credible, it is at a sacrifice to which many will be unwilling to submit. It may be said we cannot represent God except as a person, and if we fail to do so, we confound Him with nature, and involve ourselves in pantheism. This, without doubt, is one of the great difficulties involved in the question of miracle; and it is because the subject leads directly and inevitably to some of the great metaphysical puzzles which have in all ages divided mankind into opposing schools, that miracles have been so much discussed without any satisfactory result. In this matter it is difficult to avoid either extreme, and to steer a middle course. Most people are apt to identify God with nature, and thus lose all conception of His personality, unless they represent Him as a power interposing to bring about a result which would not otherwise take place. They can form no conception of the immanence of God in nature without confounding God with nature; nor recognise the laws of nature to be the expression of the will of God, seeing that that will is known to them only in the act of opposing these laws. Nevertheless there is no necessity for adopting either alternative. We may believe that the divine will finds expression in nature and not in opposition to it, and yet believe God to be a person. We may use abstract terms, such as reason, thought, intelligence, when speaking of God as revealed to us by natural laws, but we can form no conception of them whatever except as the reason, thought, and intelligence of a conscious being like ourselves. We have shown that God cannot be represented as standing apart from nature, and interposing occasionally to adjust it as a tradesman regulates the operation of some machine. In this respect, as in many others, God differs from a human agent, and the greater the difference we believe to exist between God and man, the more abstract and indefinite does our conception of the Divine Being become. This circumstance has led some writers incautiously to employ expressions which savour of pantheism; and the supporters of the primitive notion of interference have not been slow to take advantage of the fact to bring discredit upon those who favour a more rational view. Nor is the doctrine of the immanence of God in nature to be confounded with fetichism, the belief of savages, as if there were no alternative between atheism or fetichism and a gross form of anthropomorphitism. It can be no valid objection to a representation of the divine personality that it is somewhat indefinite. The primitive conception of God as a person possessed of bodily organs and differing from man only in priority of origin and the possession of certain transcendant qualities, is the most definite conception of all; but this recommendation has not prevented its being supplanted by a more abstract representation in a more advanced age. The very highest conception we are capable of forming is inadequate, and is merely a symbol of the Infinite One; but however far short it may come of expressing the full reality of His being, it is desirable that it should harmonize as closely as possible with the order and regularity which we observe in His works.

There are other considerations which serve to show that the analogy between the divine and human will is not so close as it has been frequently represented. We have already seen that if we identify the will of God with that of man, we avoid the assumption that there is a violation or suspension of the law of causation in the case of a miracle; but, on the other hand, we reduce the Deity to the level of a natural cause, and give to nature the position of an independent and co-ordinate power.

We shall now consider this assimilation of divine and natural causation in its relation to man. There can be no doubt that volition is a cause, and indeed some have regarded it as the only cause, in nature. The question then arises—Is God a cause in the same sense that the human mind is a cause? Man belongs to the system of nature, and is as much a part of creation as the dullest portion of matter. As we have already said, the force which he brings to bear on the external world is the physical strength of his own body, which becomes exhausted, and is renewed by nutrition and rest. The will directs this force, and must therefore act upon it in some way or other. In this respect it resembles other natural forces, and must be classed with them. If the law of the persistence of force holds good throughout nature (as we have every reason to believe it does, within the range of our experience, at least), we must believe that the will is exhausted by action, and requires to have its power replenished to sustain its renewed activity. Being correlative, like other natural forces, there is no impropriety in supposing that the force which it imparts to matter may have its source in matter; and we know that the brain is exhausted by mental work as surely as the muscles by physical exertion. God, on the contrary, does not belong to the system of nature, being its Author. He is not the first link of a chain of causes, in which the first link differs in no respect from the others, except that it is the first. God is not a cause in the same sense that a human agent is a cause. All natural causes, and human agency among the rest, unless we deify man, are themselves effects; they are causes only when viewed in relation to their effect; but effects when considered in relation to their antecedents. But God is an absolute cause, a cause which is not itself an effect; and if it is impossible for us to conceive an absolute cause, as it is denied to human faculties to grasp the infinite, still we know that there must be an essential distinction between human and divine causation—the one being relative and therefore knowable, the other unconditioned and therefore incomprehensible. There is, consequently, an essential difference between a miracle and human agency, and not merely a difference in extent of power, as has been represented. In the case of a miracle there is a new creation of force, an addition to the quantum of existence, which must perpetuate its effects in all future time, unless as miraculously withdrawn as it was introduced. This origination of force is incomprehensible by us; nor is creation rendered conceivable by representing it as an evolution of existence from potentiality into actuality, for we cannot conceive a potentiality passing into actuality without a corresponding degree of exhaustion, and this could never be said of the Deity. A miracle is a repetition of the creative force, the action of an absolute cause, and as incomprehensible by us as the primeval creation, or the nature of infinity itself. As such we can neither argue for its possibility or impossibility. The springing forth of matter from non-existence into existence is as incomprehensible to us as its infinite non-commencement; nor can we reason from the origination of a series which is inconceivable to the possibility of interference at other points of the series. The Divine Intelligence is manifested to us in the order of nature, and is not postulated to afford an explanation of its origin. It is a common prejudice that heaven was nearer the earth when it was young, and that the supernatural then played a more important part than it does now. The past is foreshortened to us as we look back upon it, and while the changes of the present day are seen gradually unfolding themselves before us according to natural law, the changes which have marked the past appear greater and more abrupt, and seem to us incapable of explanation except on the supposition of divine interposition.

It will be said, that if we thus distinguish between the divine and human will, we make the one incomprehensible, and degrade the other to the level of a mechanical necessity; and thus the vexed question of the inconceivability of the infinite and of the freedom of the will are also found lying at the root of the difficulty about miracles, rendering its perfect solution altogether impracticable. Of the incomprehensibility of the infinite few will doubt, but the co-existence of free-will with the law of causation has been ably maintained by many writers. It seems as if it were taken for granted that those who are averse to belief in miracles on the ground of their opposition to law, must necessarily be the advocates of fatalism; and the consciousness of the power of free-will in man is appealed to as sufficient evidence of the miraculous character assigned to the divine agency. As they are accused of losing sight of God in nature, so likewise are they blamed for sinking free-will in law. Those who object to miracles may nevertheless be as strenuous advocates of free-will as their opponents, and may find nothing in their consciousness which, when correctly interpreted, is at all inconsistent with the universality of laws. Even should they be sensible of some difficulty in reconciling the two facts, they are not required to abandon either of them on that account, nor have they any inducement to accept the views of their opponents in order to get rid of difficulties. If we believe that God is essentially different from man, we encounter the difficulty of his inconceivability; but on the other hand, if we assimilate the divine and human agency, making the difference one of degree alone, we either reduce the Deity to the rank of a natural cause or deify man. If again we recognise the two facts of the universality of law and the freedom of the will, it may be difficult for us to reconcile them; but if we attribute to the will the power of absolute origination, we are forced to admit that the law of causation does not hold universally. That there should be an exception to a natural law is surely as great a difficulty as that law and free-will should co-exist. If we base the law of causation on intuition, it would prove to us that our nature is delusive; if we base it upon experience, it would show that perfect dependence cannot be placed upon the most general and best established induction. If the law is given up in its integrity (as some seem willing to do to save miracles) and is reduced to an instinct of our nature which requires to be carefully guarded against, we cannot recognise any distinction between such a conclusion and absolute scepticism.

Any attempt to recommend the miraculous by assimilating it to the natural must necessarily end in failure. If miracles are brought within the compass of law, the aversion entertained towards them by scientific minds may be overcome; but their essential distinction is lost, and they differ in no respect from other natural phenomena. The supposition that they are brought about by higher laws, does not at all affect the question. Higher laws, we are told, counteract lower, and miracles may be in accordance with laws which lie beyond human knowledge: but higher laws make no approach to the supernatural. We can never transcend the region of the relative by climbing to more extended generalizations.

The other scheme by which it is sought to lessen the difficulty of belief in miracles aims at assimilating natural and supernatural agencies by elevating the former to the same rank as the latter, instead of embracing the latter within the former. Law, we are told, is no rigid, inflexible thing, but simply a mode in which the Divine agency is sometimes manifested. The forces of nature are unseen, but are imagined to satisfy the conditions of thought, and are resolvable into the will of God. Phenomena there are which might lead us inadvertently to infer the existence of uniform laws; but we are betrayed into this mistake by the circumstance that the Divine procedure in some cases is characterized by great regularity. We are not entitled, it is said, to assume that law is universal, for the uniformity of law is a matter of testimony, and testimony in this case must necessarily be very limited. Science itself, we are reminded, is but young and imperfect; many phenomena are too complicated to admit of a complete explanation; and our methods of observation and measurement are not sufficiently precise or delicate to justify us in assuming that any law of nature can be established with mathematical accuracy. From the difficulty of making an exact enumeration of all the forces involved in natural operations, or of observing with precision the conditions of their operation, we are unable in any case to assert from experience the strict accuracy even of the law of causation. In the first scheme we were considering, God was supposed to act by means, even when His interposition seemed to mankind to be immediate; and thus the difficulty of conceiving an effect produced without means was supposed to be avoided. In this scheme, on the contrary, the difficulty consists in supposing that God should ever employ means at all to effect His purposes; and that His invariable mode of action should not, as in the miracle, be direct and instantaneous. Miracles belong to nature as much as any other observable phenomena, and both alike are to be ascribed to the divine Will. They are not exclusive proofs of the divine agency, but as they are observed at certain periods of human history, and in evident relationship with the establishment and propagation of the Christian religion, they are held to give a divine sanction to that religion.

In this view a broad distinction is drawn between Will and Law,—arbitrary will being the ultimate cause of all things, and law, or what appears as law, the occasional condition assumed in its manifestation. The error lies in supposing that this distinction can be maintained. The antithesis of law is not will, but chance; and our efforts to demolish the one, were they successful, would simply result in establishing the other. If there were no law strictly so called, but merely an occasional semblance of it, it follows that will is something wholly unconnected with law; and creation is thus reduced to a phantasmagoria with chance installed as deity. Volition, however, is the action of an intelligent agent, and the laws of intelligence are as patent and as certain as the laws which regulate the physical world. Personality is wholly inconceivable without law. Were there no laws, there could be no consciousness of identity, no continuity of thought, no validity in argument, no steadiness of purpose, no consistency of belief, nor uniformity in morals. Some, indeed, as Bushnell, are disposed to admit that as regards certain faculties man belongs to nature, and manifests the operation of law, but maintain that in his volition, or rather "at the particular point of volition where his liberty culminates," he shows himself to be a power superior to law. There is in the minds of most people an impression, not easily got rid of, that personality and law are antagonistic. We are accustomed to see will manifested in an arbitrary manner, and we unconsciously assume that this is its essential characteristic. It seems to us a variable, inconstant, incalculable element, the mere impulse of the moment. Being that part of our mental constitution in which our self-activity, or spontaneity of action, is specially manifested, we are not impelled to seek for any explanation of an act which we imagine to have no necessary relations. The exemption from law is, however, only apparent. The less intelligent and cultivated a person is the more wayward and capricious is his course of action; but in proportion as one rises in the scale [illegible] intelligence or acquires cultivation, in the same proportion do his volitions approach uniformity; and it is possible to conceive a being so perfect that his conduct on all occasions will be as regular and as calculable as the laws of nature themselves. Even the most capricious determinations of the will are in accordance with the laws of the being who manifests them and the conditions by which he is surrounded; and the approach to regularity which we observe in more cultivated minds is not an approach to law from a state of chaos, but simply the manifestation of laws of greater generality and less dependence upon varying conditions.

We cannot dispense with law in nature, and proceed to consider the Divine Will as the supreme cause, as if there were no such thing in existence as law. If there were no law there could be no personality, and no necessity for believing that there is a supreme cause at all. In the highest intelligence we do not look for an arbitrary manifestation of will which cannot be discriminated from chance, but of will which accords with perfect reason, and consequently with uniform law. We have no conception of the laws of the Divine Being except in so far as they are reflected in our own consciousness, nor can we comprehend the mystery of that necessity which God apparently is under to act in accordance with the laws of His own nature; but if we are to represent God as a person at all, we can never suppose that His will is indifferent, for this would be merely to deify chance. So far from arbitrariness being the special characteristic of God, will and law are identified in Him. As law is found in the highest intelligence, we may expect to find it in nature which is the manifestation of that intelligence. The immutability of God has its correlative in the uniformity of law. The order and regularity of creation has its root and explanation in the perfection of the divine intelligence, while chance in nature would consist only with arbitrariness in God. Some speak as if matter and mind yielded two opposite conceptions of God—as if the conclusions derived from the former were erroneous, and required to be corrected by those derived from the latter. There can be no antagonism between the conception of God derived exclusively from mind, and that inferred from the universality of law and order. Mind is no more exempt from law than matter; nor does it reveal to us any arbitrariness in God which is inconsistent with the prevalence of law. We derive the idea of God from our own consciousness, and not from matter solely, which is nothing to us unless perceived under the conditions of consciousness; but the contemplation of matter does not tend to obscure the conception, but rather illustrates it, seeing that the more we learn of law the more we know of Him whose will it expresses. Much less does it give a contradictory conception, since mind and matter are equally under law, and the absence of law is simply chance. God reveals Himself in the conscience immediately, and then mediately to the intelligence through the study of His works. If we rest satisfied with law, and never seek to rise to a higher conception, nature will appear a realm of fate, and law a dire necessity; and there is no wonder that in the recoil from such a dismal view, most people should be disposed to regard personality as something emancipated from law, and opposed to nature. But when we reflect that the uniformity we observe in nature is the expression of the Divine will, and that perfect will, which is nothing less than the mind of God, is as invariable as law, we cease to look upon this constancy with aversion, and arbitrariness loses its recommendation, and is identified with chance.

As there is a limit to our knowledge of the Divine Being and no limit to divine power, there is no warrant for the assertion that miracles are impossible; but our readiness to accept them will depend on their conformity or non-conformity to the conception we have formed of His character. If we regard Him as an arbitrary Being, we shall expect incoherence in nature, and the incompatibility of miracle and law will not be felt by us. If on the contrary we believe Him to be unchangeable, we shall be disposed to look for the expression of His will not in temporary expedients to meet passing emergencies, but in laws which are as permanent as His being. The more we know of nature, the more deeply are we impressed with the uniformity which pervades it, and the higher our conception of mind, the more orderly and calculable do we find its operations; so that increase of knowledge tends to correct our first impressions of arbitrariness in God and a corresponding discontinuity in nature. Science thus modifies our conception of God, and this reacts upon our views of nature, till miracles are felt to be inconsistent with both.

All miracle is in its essence special. Natural events are brought about by forces which existed previous to the events, and which will survive them at least as correlative forces; and these forces operate in conditions of which the same may be said. A miracle, on the other hand, is a special exertion of power not traceable in nature in any form as an antecedent force, and designed to produce a special end at a particular conjuncture of affairs, in favour of or against some individual, corporation, race, or nation. Law and miracle are thus perfectly distinct, the one being general and the other special; and though it is possible to conceive a system in which both may be found, miracles would be inconceivable anomalies in a system in which law universally prevails. The two may co-exist, but the one cannot be included within the other. If we believe that nature is everywhere and at all times under the dominion of law, and that this uniformity of nature has its source in the perfect and immutable nature of God, in whom the highest intelligence becomes identified with law, we leave no room whatever for miracle or chance. Being inconsistent with law it is necessarily excluded from a system which manifests law in all its parts. A particular providence must not be confounded with a providence which consists of special interpositions and is not at all inconsistent with law. It is simply providence considered in its details, and is included in a general providence, as the part is contained in the whole; whereas a special providence is not embraced within a general providence, but is something superadded to it to bring about a result which it did not contemplate. This explanation is necessary, as the denial of special providence is represented by many as a denial of providence altogether.

While it must be admitted that law and miracle may co-exist, we cannot avoid thinking that they are so inconsistent as to render it very improbable that they should ever be found together. We are told that we must take into consideration moral laws as well as physical, and that miracles, though violations of natural laws, subserve a final purpose as regards man, and are therefore consistent with the character of God, and form a part of the plan on which the universe is governed. Man, we are told, seeing nothing in nature but an unbroken series of events linked together by the iron law of necessity, would be apt to fall under the power of outward things, and would lose all knowledge of a Divine Being, were there no interruption of the uniform sequences which make nature a realm of fate. To prevent this result is the final cause or purpose of miracle; and thus occasional suspensions of natural law, being necessary for human welfare, are no disparagement of the divine perfection, but on the contrary illustrate the divine wisdom and goodness. In this case it is frankly admitted that miracles are opposed at least to physical laws, and indeed owe their significance wholly to this circumstance; but we are warned against drawing any inference regarding the probability or possibility of miracles from the prevalence of laws in nature, without taking into consideration moral laws. If miracles are inconsistent with physical law and harmonise with the law of the Divine Nature, this necessarily involves a discordance between the will of God as expressed in His moral purposes towards man and His will as expressed in the laws of matter. According to Hooker, the seat of law "is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world;" but we cannot understand how two opposing laws can have their seat in the same bosom, or that the voice of God in his moral purposes should contradict His voice in nature. Miracles may be vindicated by representing them as consistent with moral law, but only by establishing an inconsistency between moral and physical law. Now we refuse to believe that there is any such inconsistency in the nature or works of God, or that one department of existence should demand the violation of another; but, on the contrary, affirm that one harmony of law and order pervades the whole. The mistake lies in assuming a final cause and a corresponding action which exist nowhere but in the imagination of those who favour a certain mode of thinking on this subject. If we conceive nature as a realm independent of God, over which fate alone presides, its contemplation no doubt would incline us to atheism; and an occasional suspension of its inevitable sequences would be required to bear evidence to us of the existence of a power superior to nature and capable of controlling it at will. But an enlightened theist does not so regard nature, and demands no such evidence. To him such a final cause has no application, for he is in no danger of falling into atheism from the constant observance of uniformity in nature. He hears God's voice in law, he traces His footsteps in natural sequences, he recognises His unchangeableness in uniformity, and what appears as fate to others is to him steadiness of purpose and perfection of wisdom. A power opposed to nature is no evidence to him of divine agency, but on the contrary of anarchy and confusion.

In the case we have supposed, the miracle is not simply a mere force added to nature to supplement it, but is necessarily opposed to law in order to evidence a superiority over it. This must be admitted to be the general case; the miracle being wrought not for the effect on nature, but in the interest of the parties who witness it. When the miracle is wrought directly and solely for the sake of the result, it is more difficult to show the inconsistency between it and law. It may be argued that God may express His will by other modes than that of natural law, and that an addition, which is superinduced upon something already existing, does not imply any imperfection in it, nor any inconsistency with it. If we are to confine our conception of miracles to such as answer the above description, what are we to make of those which notoriously violate natural law, and commend themselves to our belief on this very ground? If we regard as miraculous only such supernatural powers as concur with, and exalt natural law, we must discard the great mass of miracles which have been handed down to us by testimony, and thus leave a very small residuum for our belief. The introduction of a new force does appear to imply imperfection in what already exists, particularly to those who are observant of the wonderful evolution and interdependence of natural phenomena. In nature we observe a beautiful provision for individual cases and special occasions in a system of uniform law; and it certainly does appear as if the moral wants of man were provided for in a manner less perfect than that which we trace in the physical world, if we are to believe that particular emergencies are not anticipated in the system itself, but must be met by special creative efforts. Though concurring with natural forces, and in no sense counteracting them, such an addition to existing agencies is still special, and consequently opposed to law. It is introduced to bring about a special result not provided for by existing forces, and this purpose being obtained, is no longer necessary. If not withdrawn it will continue to influence, in proportion to its extent, the course of events in all future time, and will mingle with, and be indistinguishable from, other natural agencies. Even then it must be regarded as special inasmuch as its operation is confined to the time subsequent to its introduction. As by the supposition it was created to effect a special end, the presumption is that it will be withdrawn after the purpose is accomplished, the modification of natural sequences which would be produced by its continuance not being desired. But that which is special cannot be according to law, which is general, and is therefore excluded from a system pervaded by law, and designed by an all-wise and consequently immutable God, and is relegated to the limbo of chance and chaos.

Whatever difficulty there may be in connexion with the philosophical consideration of the miraculous, there can be no doubt that the popular view implies special interposition in opposition to the ordinary course of providence, and is wholly inconsistent with the universality of law. Those who believe miracles most readily and most firmly, are those who have the most imperfect conception of uniformity in nature. Natural law is alike to all, and even the differences which exist amongst men in personal qualities and position in life and which are usually attributed to the divine sovereignty, are themselves due to law. Providence, on the other hand, is essentially special according to the popular apprehension, and is exercised for the benefit of some favoured individual, dynasty, sect, or nation. Some guardian angel watches over the individual, and makes him his special care. The favours which are allotted him and the calamities which attend him do not come in the ordinary course of things, but are rewards or punishments sent by Heaven. There is no firm belief, or even distinct conception, of the constitution of things as a system in which virtuous conduct leads to happiness and vicious conduct to misery as certainly as fire produces heat or the spark explodes gunpowder. The immoral man takes encouragement to himself from the hope that he will escape the consequences of his conduct by some happy turn of fortune; and the religious man regards life as a series of special providences in which every event is arranged with reference to his spiritual welfare, but without any uniform relation to the rest of nature. Both alike worship chance and disbelieve in law. History also is the chosen region of special providence, and it is counted sacrilege in science to attempt to invade its province. Language, laws, civilization, and polity are believed to be supernatural in their origin. The prosperity which some nations have enjoyed is not connected with natural advantages, beneficial institutions, wise legislation, or industrial or orderly habits amongst the people, but is attributed to the special favour of Heaven. The rise and fall of nations are considered only as they subserve religious ends, and if natural causes are admitted at all, they are not regarded as parts of a system of general law, but as an instrumentality employed for a special purpose. The wars which nations have waged have been prosperous or otherwise, not because of the skill of the commanders and the spirit and organization of the armies, or the absence of these conditions of success, but because the result is subservient to some scheme of providence which we are unable to fathom. The gods have in general been national gods, confining their favour and protection to the people who worshipped them. The act of worship has consequently been degraded by unworthy conceptions of its object. It is an attempt to propitiate the favour of God and avert his wrath by services which are thought to be pleasing to him, as if that favour could be had without submitting to those conditions which are requisite to its attainment, or that wrath appeased without enduring the consequences which vice entails. In their prayers they ask God to depart from his usual course of procedure so far as their supposed interests are concerned, to grant them blessings without the labour of which they are the reward, and to relieve them from evils which are simply natural sequences. They consider only their own inclinations and desires, and never reflect on the compatibility of their gratification with the established course of nature. The consequence is that different men are found preferring requests which are mutually contradictory; one praying for an east wind whilst another petitions for a west; the Protestant praying for the downfall of Rome, and the Romanist for the extirpation of Protestantism. Such cases illustrate by a *reductio ad absurdum* the difficulties that attend all departure in thought and action from the great and all-pervading principle of law.

All attempts to break down the distinction between miracle and law must necessarily end in failure. The two we have considered are the most important, if not the only possible attempts. The one seeks to identify miracle with law, and thus to commend it to the scientific mind; the other to disparage law by representing all natural operations as the expression of arbitrary will, which may assume in some instances the semblance of regularity. The first attempt breaks down by failing to establish its assumption. Besides, by identifying miracle and law, the former is deprived of all moral significance, inasmuch as it is its incoherence with the natural course of things which induces the belief that it is an arbitrary exercise of the divine will operating immediately and without the intervention of means. The second attempt errs in assuming that personality and law are opposed to each other. Personality is spoken of as something which excludes law, whereas it is not intelligible without law; and to establish the former at the expense of the latter is simply to deify chance. As God is immutable in His nature and perfect in wisdom and knowledge, whatever proceeds from Him will partake of His own perfection, and harmonize with the order and uniformity which we observe in nature. Every new revelation of Himself will be judged to be such, not because it interferes with natural sequences, but because it manifests the same perfection of love and wisdom which is displayed in His other works. Those who believe will and law to be compatible, who do not think they sacrifice the freedom of the one when they accept the universality of the other, and who accustom themselves to regard the laws of nature as the thoughts of God without losing hold of the divine personality, will cease to look for special indications of God's presence in obscure and unresolvable events, and will accept the testimony adduced in favour of some special manifestation of creative power only when the evidence is satisfactory, and when the act itself harmonises with the most enlightened views of God's character and the existing constitution of things.

ART. IV.—GERVINUS ON SHAKESPEARE.

Shakespeare Commentaries. By Dr. G. G. GERVINUS, Professor at Heidelberg. Translated, under the author's superintendence, by F. E. BUNNETT. 2 vols. London: Smith and Elder. 1863.

"NEXT to the Bible, I believe in Shakespeare," was the spontaneous avowal of an intelligent woman, who, like most of us, had felt something of the catholic wisdom enshrined in the writings of the world's greatest poet. "His works," echoes a learned professor, "have been often called a secular Bible." Common sense and erudition thus agree in recognising the same broad simplicity and universal nature in the splendid utterances of Hebrew and English intelligence preserved in these two perennially popular books. Both alike deal with the greatest problems of life; both open those questions which knock for answer at every heart; both reflect the humanity which is common to us all; both delineate the features which mark and distinguish individual men. In both we find earnest thought and profound conviction; subtile and homely wisdom, deep historical interest, and poetic truth; soaring imagination, sweet lyrical effusion, and grand prophetic insight. Both draw on legend, on fancy, on nature; both have the same kind of relative veracity, and both are at once authentic and fallible.

The parallel may be carried farther. These foremost books of the universal library are those which demand the most careful editing and the most acute and cultivated criticism. The gross number of different readings in the New Testament alone is said to amount to no fewer than a hundred thousand. What may be the entire amount of textual variations in the canonical writings of Shakespeare has never, we presume, been ascertained. Ordinary readers, indeed, are hardly aware of the corrupt state of Shakespeare's text, and are ignorant how much we already owe to the professional commentator or amateur critic. Our poet's plays were not primarily intended for reading. Of his dramas, only half were printed during his life, and not a single one under his superintendence and revision. In 1623, seven years after his death, appeared the folio edition of his works, collected by his fellow-actors, John Heminge and Henry Condell. In 1632, this edition was republished. Its value is said to be uncertain and unwarranted. About ten years after this date, the great civil war began; the current of national life shifted; Puritan precision triumphed over the too liberal stage, and the theatres were closed. On the restoration of the Stuart dynasty, the playhouses were reopened, and the admiration of the people for their favourite drama momentarily revived, to be speedily extinguished under the frigid rule of French literature. Addison then succeeded to Shakespeare; "Hamlet" was dethroned by "Cato," and "enlightened criticism" was represented by Thomas Rymer, who ascribed to an ape more taste and knowledge than Shakespeare possessed, and pretended to find often more meaning, expression, and humanity in the neighing of a horse and in the growling of a mastiff than in Shakespeare's tragical flights."

With the literary resuscitation of the eighteenth century the interest in Shakespeare again revived. In 1709, Nicholas Rowe supplied a traditionary sketch of the poet's life, and published an edition of his works. Rowe was followed at intervals by Pope, Theobald (famous for his happy restoration of the corrupt passage in Mrs. Quickly's account of Falstaff's death*), Hanmer, Warburton, Johnson, Capell, Steevens, Malone, Reed, Chalmers, and Boswell, followed by Knight, Payne Collier, Dyce, Singer, Staunton, and Halliwell; while at the present moment that careful collation of the text which has so long been a desideratum is likely to be effected by the combined labours of Mr. Clark, the Public Orator of Cambridge, and Mr. Wright, the Librarian of Trinity College.

We have seen the depth of degradation to which æsthetic criticism had fallen in England exemplified in Thomas Rymer. In France, Voltaire, who had been the first to introduce the English poet to his countrymen, after Letourneur's declared preference (in 1766) of the barbarian dramatist to Corneille and Racine, modified his estimate of Shakespeare, asserting that nature had blended in him all that is most great and elevating with all the basest qualities that belong to rudeness without genius, and even calling "Hamlet" the product of the imagination of an intoxicated savage.† In Germany, Lessing, courageously opposing the narrow prepossessions of French taste, drew attention to Wieland's translation of the English dramatist at a time when the latter was almost unknown to his compatriots. Following Lessing, whom Gervinus applauds as "the man who first valued Shakespeare according to his full desert," came Goethe, with his masterly review of "Hamlet" in "Wilhelm Meister," and the striking verdict that "Shakespeare's characters are like watches with dial-plates of transparent crystal; they show you the hour like others, and the inward mechanism is also visible." Later still (1808), Schlegel read at Vienna the lectures substantially preserved in the *Dramaturgische Vorlesungen.* About the same time, apparently, Coleridge first made known his critical opinions on the genius of Shakespeare—opinions which have a general coincidence with those of Schlegel, but which may possibly have had an independent origin. In 1812, again, the German expositor reviewed Shakespeare's plays in his "Dramatic Lectures," while his English competitor, a little before him (1811-12), defended both the matter and the æsthetic form of the great poet. In 1823 came Franz Horn, with his five volumes on Shakespeare, "diluting the Schlegel characteristics;" and in 1839 "Ulrici attempted to tread the path pointed out by Goethe."

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* And 'a babbled of green fields, for "a table of green fields," the reading of the Folio.

† "Gervinus," Introduction, p. 15.

It was reserved, however, to our critic to accomplish what others had only attempted; for in Gervinus the secular Bible has undoubtedly found its wisest and completest interpreter.* Following the *natural* method of critical inquiry, Gervinus endeavours, by a detailed appreciation of the constituent parts, to form an estimate of the subordinate agencies, the ultimate purpose, and prevailing significance of the Shakespearian drama. Conformably to the bias of his genius and his historical predilections, he seeks in the events of the poet's time and the poet's life an explanation of the poet's book. He examines both the phenomena of the age in the records which report it, and those of the poet's nature as he reads it in his actions and in his writings; and availing himself of the light derived from this examination, he interprets afresh for us the works of the great master. We are far from thinking, however, that Gervinus is infallible. On certain generalities, no less than on points of detail, we are inclined to differ from him. The conclusions of the interpreter may sometimes be biassed, not only by the philosophical faith which he professes, but by his own characteristic qualities. The activity of Fichte probably did much to determine the metaphysical creed of Fichte, the champion of free personal volition. Similarly Gervinus, sharing the general reaction against revolutionary politics, has no mercy on the enthusiasts of ideas; has no belief in international amity; shows no disposition to indulge in any day-dream of millennial peace, and is altogether of opinion that the wolf has not, and never will, have any conscientious scruples to dine upon lamb. We do not quarrel with the last article of this negative creed;

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* The "Shakespeare Commentaries," by Gervinus, first published in Germany about thirteen years ago, are now rendered accessible to the English reader through the medium of a translation made, under the author's superintendence, by Miss F. E. Bunnett; seemingly a very competent interpreter.

and if the pious procedure enjoined in the first half of Cromwell's well known advice, "Pray to God, and keep your powder dry," is gone out of fashion, we should certainly endeavour to act in the prudential spirit of the second half. But granting that war is still a fatal necessity, and soldiership an heroic virtue, may we not be allowed to anticipate, with Mr. Carlyle, who is certainly not given to *believe in rainbows*, that "in the course of centuries such delirious ferocity in nations, as in individuals it already is, may be proscribed and become obsolete for ever"? As is the philosopher so is the critic; and thus for the romanticists in art, as for visionaries in politics, Gervinus has no sympathy. The contemplative life is, in his eyes, inferior to the practical; and if the sovereign authority of the greatest philosopher of antiquity be quoted against him, he shelters himself from the assaults of Aristotle under the sevenfold shield of his favourite poet, Shakespeare, and his literary counterpart, Bacon. To discuss these questions here is impossible; we only wish to point out that any important error in his interpretation of Shakespeare probably originates in the premisses with which he introduces it. Shakespeare's uniform preference for action is one of the assumptions which he makes; and this alleged preference is constantly presumed as an article of the poet's faith, even when perhaps no such predilection is intended, as in the play of "Cymbeline," where the natural love of adventure and sight-seeing in youth seems the proper subject of description. But we must leave particular details for the broader art-criticism of the professor himself, from whose valuable commentary we shall borrow much of the material of the present paper.

We have said that Gervinus interprets the Shakespearian drama by the light reflected on it from a study of the life and times of the great dramatist. The history of Shakespeare's mental development has its necessary starting-point in his own external history. True it is, that tradition is not always trustworthy, and to read the secret joys or sorrows of a poet's life between the lines which he has written is not the most satisfactory way of discovering how he lived, and loved, and died. Some facts, however, in Shakespeare's career are known; some part of the traditionary narrative is probably not without foundation; and some inferences are provisionally warranted by the admitted premisses. "The masqued lore" of friendship and love in the sonnets, in particular, offers a golden key for unlocking Shakespeare's heart, for plucking out its mysteries, and making him, as it were, his own biographer.

The Shakespeare name, whether as that of our poet's family or not, was known in Warwickshire as far back as the fourteenth century. Richard Shakespeare, of Frutterfield, near Stratford, the grandfather presumptive of the poet, is supposed to have been a tenant of Robert Arden's, of Wilmecote, and John Shakespeare, his undeniable father, is conjectured to have first settled in Stratford about the year 1551. A few years after, John married Maria, the youngest of the seven daughters of the Lord of Wilmecote, thus forming a union between the Arden and Shakespeare families, an alliance which seems to indicate the high social estimation in which the traditionary glover, yeoman, or butcher was held, for the Ardens were the rivals of the Dudleys when Leicester held the foremost place in the great queen's favour. William Shakespeare, the eldest of eight children, was baptised (the day of his birth is unknown) on the 26th of April, 1564. Seven years of mundane existence qualified him for admission into the grammar school of his native town, where he acquired, we will presume, the little Latin and less Greek for which Ben Jonson gives him credit. In or about his fourteenth year, as is conjectured, he brought his studies abruptly to a close to become an attorney's clerk, a dealer in wool, or a butcher's apprentice. His premature withdrawal from school and temporary adoption of a useful, if not very dignified profession, is sufficiently explained by the embarrassed circumstances of his father. In 1578-79, John and Mary Shakespeare, under the pressure of declining fortune, mortgaged their estate of Ashbies, and sold their existing interest in the Snitterfield tenements, together with a valuable reversion in the same property. Worse days were to come. Embarrassment was succeeded by insolvency, and insolvency closed in legal restraint. Meanwhile a tragical event occurred in the family of the poet's mother. The then representative of that family was Edward Arden, of Park Hall. At the time of the celebrated Kenilworth festivities some years before, when Leicester at once entertained and wooed his royal mistress, Arden had upbraided him with a contemporary criminal attachment for Lettice, the Countess of Essex. Leicester, resenting this interference, and conceiving an implacable hatred against Arden, contrived afterwards to involve him in a charge of high treason, and on this charge Edward was executed in 1583, our poet not having then attained his nineteenth year. Before the completion of that year, and ere his kinsman's violent doom had brought sorrow on the ancient house of Arden, the youth had assumed the most serious of all human responsibilities. Towards the end of 1582, accompanied by two of his friends and his intended wife, Ann Hathaway, a village maiden eight years older than himself, he hastened to Worcester, and there entered into a bond for the celebration of his marriage "with once asking of the banns." The marriage itself probably took place soon after November the 28th of the same year, and six months from this date, Susanna, the first child of William and Ann Shakespeare, was born. Thus, the epoch of the birth, the flight from Stratford, and the dispensation for abridgment of time, all indicate "the haste and secrecy" asserted in Mr. Collier's condemnatory remark. Some of Shakespeare's biographers have attempted to justify the lovers' impatience by the allegation of a pre-contract, then commonly regarded as tantamount to an actual marriage; but Gervinus refuses to admit the plea, and, like Mr. Collier, sees in "the anticipation of conjugal affection" the main reason for the small degree of happiness which accompanied Shakespeare's married life.

Another trait of "youthful levity" is supplied by the famous poaching tradition, which had, it is likely enough, some foundation in fact. The story goes, that the future dramatist, like his favourite hero, the madcap Prince of Wales, fell into the company of some wild disorderly youths, and engaged with them in a deer-stealing escapade in the park of the old Knight of Charlecote, Sir Thomas Lucy, of immortal memory. The tradition receives a presumptive attestation from the satirical allusions in "The Merry Wives of Windsor," so unmistakeably directed against the Lucy family. Independently, however, of all circumstantial corroboration, the anecdote, argues Gervinus, carries with it a distinctive stamp of authenticity:

> "It seems as little possible in the domain of literature and art as in that of politics that rapid and great changes in these branches of the cultivation of a people can take place, without an anarchical transition state which is wont to reflect itself most glaringly in the irregular strong-minded characters of the first vehicle of those changes. The men who were instrumental in a complete revolution in our German dramatic poetry—Wagner and Lenz—those greater ones also who sooner mastered themselves in moral dignity and honour—Klinger, Goethe, and Schiller—appear in their youth as the prey of the same strong passion, the same Titanlike nature, the same disregard of conventional habits and restraints as they depicted in their early poems."

A similarly anarchical nature characterized the dramatists of Shakespeare's time. The blaspheming Marlowe was slain in a shameless brawl; Robert Greene is said to have died of immoderate drinking; Peele, Nash, and Lodge led an unruly life. That Shakespeare himself ultimately triumphed over the chaos of his passions we may well believe, his intellect being in magnificent equipoise to his emotional nature.

Some four years after his marriage, this "chief of Diana's foresters," this first of "the gentlemen of the shade and minions of the moon,"* flying, shall we guess? before the various allied forces of a persecuting Nemesis—the vindictive Lord of Charlecote—the paternal embarrassments, the visions of coming glory suggested by the simultaneous arrival of *two* young Shakespeares, abandoned his native town and settled in London. An irresistible attraction to the stage, the necessity of seeking some lucrative vocation, the impossibility of self-development in the narrow circle of Stratford, may all be pleaded in extenuation of Shakespeare's domestic pretermissions. It is not easy, however, to explain away the continued rustication of his family. For, as Robert Greene kept his wife in Lincolnshire, William Shakespeare kept his in Warwickshire. During fifteen years an annual visit to Stratford was all the proof he gave of his "eternal attachment" to the wife of his youth. Can we resist the conviction that Shakespeare liked her "better as the watcher over his economical circumstances at home than as witness of his fame in the capital?" Or shall we reject the testimony of the sonnets as well as the evidence afforded by the *nature of the case,* and dispute the justice of the austere verdict of Gervinus, "that no regard to a dear wife and a happy family circle appeared to restrain him?" Rather is there not ground to believe that Shakespeare's first experience in love, like that of more than one poetical successor, was a disappointment, and that he indemnified himself for its failure by accepting the usual available consolations? Is it base to think that our great poet himself exemplified the dangerous doctrine which he broached as dramatist:

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* "Henry IV.," Part I., act i. scene 2.

"They say best men are moulded out of faults."*

Till we have convincing counter-evidence we shall incline to the belief that Shakespeare recorded his sins, his sufferings, and his repentence in that priceless passage of personal history his "Sonnets." He outlived his errors, he survived his sorrows, and his retirement, in his strong and sober manhood, may augur something more than a mere distaste for a player's profession—it may have been accompanied by that moral purification and transformation which is a necessary phase of progress observable in all striving and deeply impassioned natures:

"Alas! 'tis true, I have gone here and there,
   And made myself a motley to the view.
Gored mine own thoughts, sold cheap what is most dear,
   Made old affections of offences new;
Most true it is that I have looked on truth
   Askance and strangely; but by all above,
These blenches gave my heart another youth."†

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* Compare:
"Oh, if we held the doctrine sound
   For life, outliving heats of youth,
Yet who would preach it as a truth
   To those that eddy round and round?"—*In Memoriam*, liii.

† Sonnet cx.

This shadowy outline of the poet's life was indispensable to our purpose, but it is nearly all that our purpose requires. It helps us to understand what Shakespeare's earliest experiences were, it shows us not only the boy playing with the blue-veined violets and pied daisies that paint the meadows of the Avon, or wandering in the sweet woodlands of Stratford "filled with the soft green light made by the budding leaves," but the youth whose wild frolics, whose contact with common life, whose errors and struggles, "subsequently became rich sources for his poetic creations." This preliminary task accomplished, we will now, borrowing the pencil of Gervinus, trace the history of the poet's mental development. The period in which Shakespeare lived was marked by great natural force and a vigorous sensuous life; happily the preposterous conclusions to which this exuberant vitality tended to impel its possessors were modified or averted by that balance of faculties in which "one scale of reason, aided by religious habit and tender conscience, poises another of sensuality."* As the time, so was the poet. In his youth Shakespeare exulted in the free play of his physical energies; but as life advanced his magnificent intellect withdrew him from the dissolute circle of his weaker contemporaries. Like Goethe, he was perhaps endowed with that double nature which unites passion with self-command, and preserves composure in the midst of tumult. This double nature is strikingly exhibited in his two earliest poems. In the "Lucrece" and in the "Venus and Adonis," both dedicated to the Earl of Southampton, the form and matter correspond to that springtide of passion which distinguished the poet's youth and originated in the glow and warmth of its glorious April. In the "Venus and Adonis" he depicts the struggle between Desire and Reason. Love is described as a spirit all compact of fire, in language the most brilliant and voluptuous; but the realistic sensuality of the picture is indirectly confronted with its antagonist element. By a wonderful act of artistic suspension, related to the double nature with which the poet was endowed, he pauses in his gorgeous celebration of animal desire to recall "shame's pure blush," and in the episode of the wooing of Adonis' horse, placing it not in opposition, but in juxtaposition, compares, and so reproves, that of the goddess, forgetful of honour and repellent of reason. In "Lucrece," the purer thought latent in the "Venus and Adonis" "lies in the subject itself, which seems intentionally to be selected as a counterpart to the first poem." The conquest of passion here is not effected, but "the captive victor that hath lost in gain" attests the worthlessness of such possession; and the tragical triumph of the Roman wife over the constraint of dreadful circumstance, the introduction of an historical background, and the exhibition of Troy's painted woes, caused by a similar outrage, indicate a higher standard of morality and a profounder sense of the social consequences of human action. If from the matter we turn to the form of these poems, we shall find that Shakespeare's genius was, as yet, subjugated by the prevailing mannerism of the period. The artificial wit, logical contrast, epigrammatic sparkle, waste of thought, and remote conceit which characterized Italian pastoral poetry, reappear in these early productions of Shakespeare's muse. This initial pedantry and conventionalism the great high-priest of nature in good time ridiculed and discarded. Gervinus thinks this error at the commencement of his career more easily conceivable in a poet of Shakespeare's common sense than its rapid and almost sudden abandonment. The chivalric inspiration of the middle ages had expired; the old romances had supplied Ariosto and Tasso with the subject-matter of their songs; but as the unreality of that subject-matter was recognised, the world's interest in them began to decline, though with the educated their structural merits, their refined language, and harmonious versification, were held in high esteem. An allegorical and pastoral poetry succeeded in Spain and Italy to the vanishing epos of chivalry. This taste penetrated even into England, where, ever since the time of Chaucer, who had introduced Boccaccio, the Italian literature had been domesticated. Following Chaucer, Surrey adopted Petrarch; while Sir Philip Sidney, who died in the year (1586) of Shakespeare's reputed arrival in London, 1587 at latest, first attempted to naturalize pastoral poetry in England. The art of the South attained its highest northern development in "The Faerie Queene" of Edmund Spenser, whom Milton pronounces a better moral teacher than Scotus or Aquinas. The Petrarchists and sonnet-writers extended from the time of Surrey to the youth of Shakespeare. Among them were Daniel and Drayton. Both these poets had been in Italy; so also had the dramatists Lily and Greene, and Rich, the translator of Italian tales. Under such influences it was scarcely possible for Shakespeare to escape the literary fever of the times, or to prefer to the artificial and harmonious lyric of Italy "the homely sincerity of national Saxon song." It is not surprising, therefore, that he should borrow Daniel's forms, or commend Drayton as a better spirit than himself, or produce those artificial and exotic poems which he dedicated to his patrician friend. The wonder is that he should so soon forsake "the learned and courtly art" to become the national poet; that he should so early outgrow the dominant taste for the foreign epic to become the supreme dramatist who made all epics forgotten—the great naturalist in art who has rendered most ideals tame or questionable.

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* "Othello," Act i. scene 3.

The dramatic susceptibilities of Shakespeare were, it is not improbable, early evoked. His native town was always the resort of the histrionic travelling companies. Five years after the poet's birth, when his father, John Shakespeare, was high-bailiff, the Queen's Players performed in the Guildhall of the borough, and were patronised by the corporation. In 1573, the Earl of Leicester's players visited the town, and in 1576, the companies of Warwick and Worcester performed there. In 1587, touching on the very time of Shakespeare's arrival in London, no fewer than five companies visited Stratford. To one of them the young poet may have attached himself. Several of the players with whom he was subsequently associated were Warwickshire men, a circumstance that may have influenced him in his choice of a profession. Thomas Greene was his fellow-townsman; Heminge, Burbage, Slye, Tooley, and perhaps Pope, were all natives of the same midland county.

The company which Shakespeare entered after his flight from Stratford—the Earl of Leicester's company—certainly comprised his Warwickshire compatriots. Known since 1559 as the "Queen's Players," this company took the highest histrionic rank. Besides its central theatre, founded by James Barbage in the monastery of Blackfriars, it built a second and more spacious one, called "The Globe," near the Southwark foot of London Bridge. The stage of Blackfriars was then regarded as "the most refined and cultivated in London." During the reign of Elizabeth, the theatres were open daily throughout the year. For the drama, a thoroughly popular and spontaneous pastime, had then become a sort of national institution. Unfortunately for Shakespeare, the actor's profession was not a respected one; on the contrary, it was looked on as positively degrading; and the first of poets continued to chafe under the indignities which attended it, till in 1599 his family acquired the right of impaling the arms of Arden, and he was thus enabled to conceal professional demerit under the heraldic honours of an acknowledged gentleman. Long before this period, which perhaps preceded his retirement by but three or four years, the player had gained a more splendid promotion: he had become a dramatist in his own right—nay, he had created a new species of drama, for his predecessors in the art were but bunglers and pupils, not poets or masters. Still, as the conditions and materials of this new creation undoubtedly existed before Shakespeare, we shall endeavour to trace the connexion between the consummate workmanship of its great representative and the crude efforts of his precursors by briefly sketching the historical and literary preliminaries of that drama.

Dramatic representation has universally had a religious origin. In pagan Greece it arose in the sacred chorus which celebrated the praises of the Wine God Dionysus. In Christian Europe, its principal source lay in the Easter festival. The rites with which the Catholic Church commemorated the passion and resurrection of its glorified Head were called Mysteries. Such also was the name by which the sacred plays representing the sufferings and death of Christ were known in Mediæval Europe. The representation sometimes took the form of a Miracle play, got up in honour of the Saint on whose festival it was exhibited. Sometimes it was an aggregation of thirty or forty plays, connecting in one pictorial whole the related events of the Old and New Testament, and requiring many days for its performance. Buffoonery and irreverence seemed to be considered as by no means incompatible with the generic character of these sacred dramas. In one of them the following colloquy occurs between God the Father, asleep on his throne during the crucifixion, and an angel, highly indignant at this celestial indifference to the great tragedy enacting below:—

Angel.—Eternal Father, you are doing what is not right, and will cover yourself with shame. Your much-beloved son is just dead, and you sleep like a drunkard.

God the Father.—Is he, then, dead?

Angel.—Ay, that he is.

God the Father.—Devil take me if I knew anything about it.*

With this singular imaginary conversation we may compare the fable of a play written by the Protestant convert Hans Sachs, and particularly recommended by Luther and Melancthon as abounding in edification for the juvenile moralist. Adam and Eve are introduced washing and dressing their children to appear before the Lord, who is coming from heaven to hear them their lessons. The Lord himself soon appears, seated like a schoolmaster, with his scholars standing round him. Presently Cain, who of course is after time, comes running in with evident signs of having been in the wars, and with his head covered, and is rebuked by Adam, who exclaims, "What! with your hat on." The young pugilist then goes up to shake hands with the Almighty, and gives the wrong one; whereupon his father cuffs him, calling out, "Ah, would you give your left hand to the Lord?" To crown all, when Cain takes his place in the class, and begins to say the Lord's Prayer, the Devil, who is always present on such occasions, gets behind him, and begins to whisper in his ear. Thus prompted, Cain, by transposing the words reverses the meaning, "exactly as an obstinate child would answer who knows his lesson yet does not choose to say it." A fine poetical justice is "executed" in the last scene. The good children are to ride in carriages covered with gold and drawn by richly-caparisoned horses, and be lords and lord mayors; while Cain and the naughty boys and girls are to be made cobblers and tinkers, and have only cobblers and tinkers for their companions.*

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* See Lewes' "Life of Goethe," vol. ii. p. 288.

Scarcely less undesignedly ludicrous than this droll extravaganza of the Protestant playwright of Nürnberg seems to have been the sacred drama of our older Catholic ancestors. This unconscious burlesque was evidently not repugnant to the religious feelings of a childish half-reasoning age. Nay, it seems certain that "The Mystery" was not the less popular for the combination of the comic element with the serious which was afterwards intentionally effected. This combination is attributable to the courtly action of the minstrels, storytellers, and merry-makers collected round the princely patrons of the science of amusement. To this Bohemian race, apparently, we owe the interlude, brought into this country from France as early as the reign of Edward III. The masque and pastoral play—fashionable entertainments in the times of bluff King Harry—had their origin in the same courtly or aristocratic source. In both of these dramatic performances allegory predominated. In the fifteenth century allegory had already furnished material for a new species of drama, "The Morality"—a didactic exhibition in which the actors are personified passions, crimes, and virtues. As "The Mystery" originated in the church or cloister, so "The Morality" originated in the schools, and the interlude in the court. The sixteenth century was rich in humour, fancy, art, and satire. To it belong Cervantes, Rabelais, the poets of the Italian burlesque, the popular jesters, and those "droll figures of unconscious humour, the clowns, or natural fools, as distinguished from the fine court fools who with conscious art ridiculed the follies of mankind, and were the predecessors of the Dogberrys of the English stage. Descending from the church to the street, from the clergy to the laity, the sacred drama became the possession first of artisan amateurs, and then of professional jugglers. Wandering from town to village, and attending fair and market, these children of the English Thespis continued even till Shakespeare's time. Early in the sixteenth century, John Heywood—perhaps recognisable as a direct precursor of the great dramatist—produced his comic court plays. These plays, which discarded allegory and dealt with the everyday life of men, marked a kind of epoch in the reign of Henry VIII. In Henry's reign, too, Plautus was first represented, and in that of Elizabeth a Menæchmi (?) or "History of Error," was performed at court, while translations from Euripides and Terence now began to influence the English school of poets. The naturalization of Plautus and Seneca was preceded or accompanied by the composition of three farces suggested by Latin comedies—"Ralph Roister Doister," "Jack Juggler," and "Gammer Gurton's Needle." The first English tragedy, called "Ferrex and Porrex," and sometimes "Gorboduc," was written by Lord Buckhurst and Thomas Norton. It drew its inspiration from Seneca. First represented in 1561, it indicated a second epoch in the history of the English theatre. Preston's "Cambyses" and the "Damon and Pythias" of Richard Edwards followed. Before 1580 John Lilly ruled the court stage. From the "Alexander and Campaspe" of this poet Shakespeare is thought to have learned most directly the prose of his comic scenes. So in the "Promos and Cassandra" (1578) of George Whetstone, it is said, lay the foundation of our dramatist's "Measure for Measure." Before this, appeared (1568) the "Tancred and Gismunda" of Robert Wilmot and other pupils of the Temple. The "Ferrex and Porrex" of Lord Buckhurst would seem to be the centre around which a homogeneous group of tragedies grew up. In these tragedies—tragedies mostly of a sanguinary character—the English drama had its new birth. The foremost of these was Marlowe's "Tamburlaine," in 1586; the revolution in dramatic poetry being coincident with Shakespeare's arrival in London. The spirit of the age was thus reflected in its literature. Three years before this date Shakespeare's relative, Edward Arden, had been brought to the block. In this very eventful year London beheld the execution of Babington and his associates. In the following year Mary Stuart perished on the scaffold, and the year after witnessed the destruction of the Spanish Armada. Thus if the "Titus Andronicus" be really a genuine work of our poet's, Shakespeare would have written it in the *Sturm und Drang* period of his career, and under the influence of the poetical alcohol of the popular drama. To Gervinus, however, it appears more probable that Shakespeare, employed at first as an elaborator, merely revised an old play, inserting occasional touches of his own. Another of these dramas attributed to our poet, "Pericles, Prince of Tyre" (though his "large utterance" from time to time can hardly fail to be recognised) was perhaps rather re-edited than written by him. Neither can "Henry VI." be well regarded as essentially the work of the great dramatist, though we are far from denying that the finer breath of his wonder-working muse has infused into it a nobler life than it primarily possessed. Mr. Knight, it is true, maintains that the original drafts of the second and third parts of this play, printed without Shakespeare's name in 1594 and 1595, are the substantive productions of that poet. But the famous accusation of Robert Greene, who died in 1592, is held to militate against his conclusion. The sarcastic picture of "the upstart crow, beautified with our feathers, the only Shake-scene in a country," surely contains a charge of plagiarism against the younger poet, while the parody "his tiger's heart wrapt in a *player's hide*"* *has been thought to point the charge specially to the Third Part of "Henry VI." That Shakespeare's revision*, however, was executed in all honour, may be inferred from the known practice of the time, and from the panegyrical apology of Chettle, who published Greene's accusatory tract.

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* Coleridge: "Notes and Lectures on Shakespeare," &c., vol. ii. p. 17.

The three Parts of "Henry VI.," the blood-tragedy of "Titus Andronicus," the Greek romance of "Pericles" (Apollonius of Tyre) the "Comedy of Errors," and the "Taming of the Shrew," are assumed to belong to the outset of Shakespeare's dramatic career. In these early pieces the influence of Seneca, Plautus, and the Italian school has been traced. The poet thus appears to have served a regular apprenticeship to his art, practising on foreign masters, working up the plays of predecessors, and yet, while seemingly careless of originality, never really forfeiting his independence.

But the age of apprenticeship was now to close. The first period of Shakespeare's dramatic existence was distinguished by Ovidian luxuriance, Italian predilection, and imitative effort. The second period (from about 1590 to 1600) shows a marvellous advance towards mature power and original invention. During this period the popular English element attained its final predominance in the genius of Shakespeare. In the festive spirit, the exuberant energy, and joyous freedom which appear in all the comedies of this epoch, we seem to find a presumption of the poet's happy and prosperous condition. His success as an actor, his triumph as a dramatist, his social importance, honourable friendships, and the partial retrieval of his parents' fortunes through his own agency, seem to have animated him with that soul of vigorous and playful joy which laughs out of his corresponding humorous productions. We shall find that as the shadows of life or careful thought gathered around the poet in after years, his third productive period was marked by the ascendancy of tragedy or serious drama.

The creations of the intermediate decade are no less remarkable for the many-sidedness which they exhibit, regarded as a collective whole, than for their individual value and significance. Following the method adopted by Gervinus, we look on them as divisible into three groups. The first group belonging to the commencement of this period, and consisting of the "Two Gentlemen of Verona," "Love's Labour Lost," "All's Well that Ends Well," "Midsummer Night's Dream," and "Romeo and Juliet," may be denoted the erotic group, the central interest in all being supplied by the passions or exploits of love. By the side of these are ranged all the great English-history plays, with the exception of "Henry VIII." and the three Parts of "Henry VI."—plays which deal with the real business of life, and contrast, as if intentionally, the sphere of our external activity with the subjective world of feeling and fancy. "At the close of this period lies a third group of comedies closely clustered together—comedies in which Shakespeare, in the merriest freedom and joyfulness of mind, has raised this branch of art to the highest degree of perfection, and has maintained its cheerful character most pure and untroubled, thus making the sudden transition to the tragedies, in the third period of his poetry, all the more interesting." It should be understood here that the "Shakespeare Commentator" insists on no strict chronological sequence, nor does he think any precise determinations of time possible. Acquiescing in that concurrence of critical authorities which assigns these plays as a whole to the period specified, or extends them but very little beyond it, our commentator does not scrupulously follow the dates of their genesis, but accepting such presumptions of probable chronology as present themselves, he examines and analyses each work separately with masterly power, deep insight, and fine discriminating taste. Into his more minute investigations we do not propose to accompany him. We shall content ourselves with giving a general indication of his point of view, and with selecting some illustrations of his critical treatment from those dramas which seem to us most strikingly to exemplify Shakespeare's theories, or the philosophical speculation or ethical teaching which may be fairly conjectured to have been coloured or dictated by his own personal experiences: we mean the "Midsummer Night's Dream," in the erotic group; and the two Parts of "Henry IV.," together with "Henry V.," in the historical series.

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* Oh, tiger's heart, wrapped in a woman's hide.—Act i. scene 4. Marlowe, Lodge, and Peele, are the singing bir[illegible] w[illegible]m the upstart crow has robbed of their plumes.

In his general comments on the erotic group, Gervinus recurs to that brilliant but transient period in Shakespeare's life when the poet was personally swayed by the passion of love, and poetically preoccupied with it. In the erotic dramas, the essence and nature of love are more [illegible] less exclusively represented, while in the tragedies love forms only one phase of our various and many-coloured existence. Shakespeare, however, at no time in his career surrendered himself absolutely to this poetic absorption. In the grandeur of "his doublesidedness," he never omitted to maintain a due equilibrium between the despotism of feeling and the obligations of action. Even when love is the characteristic argument of his song, he does not invest it with that mystical predominance or that sensuous tyranny which in modern poetry imparts "one uniform colouring," one monotonous aspect, to its dramatic representation. Gervinus instances the ideal love-heroes of Schiller, the weak sensual characters of Goethe, and in general the entire *dramatis personæ* of Italian, French, and Spanish amatory composition, in which all the relations of love are exhibited with a "damnable iteration" of the same model and idea. This mannerism, transmitted by chivalrous usage, which had raised the love of woman from low desire to extravagant adoration, Shakespeare was too wise and too robust to adopt. Without denying to this romantic ideal of love its elevating influence or luminous grace, he saw its perils, its weaknesses, and its dark and blinding aspects. "He had experienced also its shadow side: how it is just as capable of paralyzing the power of action, of endangering morals, of plunging a man in destruction and crime as of tending to purity of life and ennoblement of mind." Early penetrating into the heart of this mystery, Shakespeare treated the great passion in his own regal "myriad-minded" way, depicting it in all its combinations, varieties, and related phases, proportioning it as a part to the great whole of human life, and noting its malignant as well as beneficent qualities. Thus, in that "great song of love," "Romeo and Juliet," into which, as Schlegel so eloquently says, the poet has breathed whatever is "most intoxicating in the odour of a sudden spring, languishing in the lay of the nightingale, or voluptuous in the first opening of the rose,"—he shows us the wasting omnipotence of this tyrannical power over two sensitive natures—natures which, "incapable of self-command as inaccessible to consolation," the poet could not allow to live, because they destroyed themselves. In the "Two Gentlemen of Verona," again, he exhibits the effect of this violent and suicidal property on the idle Proteus who abandons himself entirely to its magical impulsion, in contrast to the energetic Valentine who is a stranger to every tender emotion. In "Love's Labour Lost," a play in which euphuistic exaggeration and affected romance are caricatured, the dramatist exposes the futility of the unnatural attempt to crush the passion by an ascetic vow, and the self-vindication of love on the youthful votaries. In "All's Well that Ends Well," he glorifies the victory of love, through fidelity and devotion, over manly haughtiness and conventional pride. "The Merchant of Venice," stripped of "its garment of romance and poetic enhancement of passion," reflects the reality of common life, and places love in a secondary position, so that the great topic is not in this play directly moralized.

In the "Midsummer Night's Dream," however, the ethical teaching reappears, and we are made spectators of the errors of a blind and unreasonable affection, which carries man forward unthinking, unresisting, in a luxurious dream of life. But before we trace the course of these errors, we will take a preliminary glance at the external elements of interest which centre round Shakespeare's glorious vision of fairyland. This exquisite creation of fancy derives an adventitious attraction from the real or conjectural allusions to the events and circumstances of the Elizabethan period which ingenious criticism has detected. Among the most conspicuous of these passages is the splendid eulogium on the English Queen, possibly admitting of an extended interpretation which gives it increased beauty and significance. The description in the fifth act of "the thrice three Muses mourning for the death of Learning, late deceased in beggary," is less determinate in its reference than that which points to Elizabeth as "the fair vestal throned by the West," but it is certainly possible that it may have been suggested by the death of Robert Greene in 1592, since Shakespeare must have known, and could not fail to appreciate the circumstance that Greene was indebted for support, during his last illness, to the charity of a humble shoemaker living in one of the lowest wards of London. Again, it is argued that the disastrous consequences of fairy dissension enumerated by the Queen of the Elves had a parallel in the contemporary world of mortals. In the year 1594 "there was literally no summer in England; people sat by the fire in July, fruits and cattle perished from the incessant rains and floods, and the corn rotted in the fields." The jealous Oberon and proud Titania had quarrelled. Hence this "progeny of evils."

"Therefore the winds, piping to us in vain
As in revenge, have sucked up from the sea
Contagious fogs, which, falling on the land,
Have every pelting river made so proud
That they have overborne their continents.
The ox hath therefore stretched his yoke in vain,
The ploughman lost his sweat, and the green corn
Hath rotted, ere his youth attained a beard;
The fold stands empty in the drowned field,
And crows are fatted with the murrain flock,
And the quaint mazes on the wanton green,
For lack of tread, are undistinguishable."*

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* Act ii. scene 2.—See Introduction to this play in Chambers' "Household Shakespeare," vol. iii.

In the description of the mermaid on the dolphin's back, we have another possible reference to the Kenilworth entertainment. The representative of Arion, however, would seem to have borne but a distant resemblance to the harmonious sea-maid. for, finding his voice to be very hoarse and unpleasant, he tore off his disguise, and swore, to the Queen's great delight, that "he was none of Arion, not he, but even honest Harry Goldingham." This well-known passage also embodies the delicate compliment to Elizabeth—a compliment which, as interpreted by Mr. Halpin, is full of strange beauty and significance. Even if we cannot, as Gervinus does, adopt the interpretation which identifies the little western flower with a human prototype, the explanation is too ingenious and too interesting to be omitted.

It is contended then, that in this finely-finished picture Shakespeare makes his courtly adulation subservient to an æsthetic or moral end, and it is remarked that at the Kenilworth festivities were found all the characteristic details in Oberon's specification—the singing mermaid, the smooth water, the shooting stars. Cupid, all armed, is regarded as the representative of Leicester, prepared to entertain and woo the Queen amid the regal splendours of his magnificent castle. The execution of Shakespeare's maternal relative, Edward Arden, being closely connected with this royal fête, the poet might have learned, it is urged, what was a mystery to others. Hence Oberon's reservation, when he says—"That very time I saw, but thou couldst not."* A still weightier reason for secrecy is thought to lie in the fact that Robert Devereux, an early patron of the poet, was unfortunate enough to have incurred the royal displeasure, this Robert Devereux being the son of Lettice, Countess of Essex, the clandestine lady-love of Leicester. Lettice then was the little western flower, milkwhite or innocent before, but now purple with Love's wound, a symbolical discoloration denoting the crimson shame of her fall, or the deeper blush of her husband's murder. The associated name, "Love in Idleness," is supposed to refer to the listless, unoccupied state of her heart during her lord's absence, this popular epithet of the pansy serving elsewhere in Shakespeare to characterize a love which surprises indolent and undisciplined natures. So interpreted, the passage becomes an allegorical episode. Elizabeth is taken out of the realm of Fairy. Unapproachable by the world of Fancy, she remains proof against the fiery shafts of Cupid. Her maiden contemplativeness is exalted, while the sorcery of love is reproved in the poetical symbolism of the description. Thus historical reality, the immunity from love on the one hand, and the blind passion and crime of actual life on the other, is forcibly laid under contribution, and made to combine with the visionary elements which are moulded into this beautiful creation. The ensnaring charm of that overpowering affection which prompted the dissolute acts of the Elizabethan age is embodied in a flower, which, in the very process of embodiment, passes by a sort of poetic incantation into the play, and exerts a magical influence on the perplexed fortunes of the people of that world of dream. For whether we accept or reject the interpretation, we must regard this fairy drama as in nature and intention a dream. We shall see, on close inspection, that the Epilogue, Oberon, Titania, and Bottom all attest the dreamlike character of the play. Fairies themselves, who are in great part the actors, have displaced the gods of the old mythology. The presence of Cupid, however, is felt throughout. He is described by Helena as having wings, but no eyes, as perjured, as beguiled in choice, as transposing things base and vile to form and dignity. But Cupid, though exercising ubiquitous power, exercises it by deputy and is himself invisible. The stage is occupied by Fairies, to whom the poet has committed the functions of the God of Love. The workings of each, adds Gervinus, on the passions of men are the same. The infidelities of Theseus, which old fable would ascribe to Cupid or the intoxication of sensuous love, are imputed, in the "Midsummer Night's Dream," to Oberon, the fairy king. The strange perplexities of the lovers—of Hermia, Helena, Lysander, Demetrius, are all brought about by fairy agency. The drama has the true elf-atmosphere over it. "'Tis almost fairy time when the play begins. The warm season, the first night in May, is the ghost-hour of the mystic powers;" the beautiful but ever misleading spirit of youth is laughing round the world when Oberon drops the magic juice on Titania's eyes. Reason is laid to sleep. Conscience is unknown in fairyland. Cupid delights in the breach of faith, and Jove laughs at lovers' perjuries. The sensuous life of love is a twilight, a dreamlife, and, continues our critic, "the exchange of functions between

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* That very time I saw (but thou could'st not)
Flying between the cold moon and the earth
Cupid all arm'd; a certain aim he took
At a fair vestal throned by the west;
And loos'd his love-shaft smartly from his bow,
As it should pierce a hundred thousand hearts:
But I might see young Cupid's fiery shaft
Quench'd in the chaste beams of the wat'ry moon;
And the imperial votaress passed on,
In maiden meditation fancy-free.
Yet mark'd I where the bolt of Cupid fell:
It fell upon a little western flower—
Before milk-white, now purple with love's wound—
And maidens call it love-in-idleness.
Act ii. scene 2.

Cupid and the fairies is the true poetic embodiment of this comparison." For not only does fancy produce these "personified dream-gods," but it produces also "the caprice of superficial love."

> "They lead a luxurious merry life, given up to the pleasure of the senses; the secrets of nature, the powers of flowers and herbs are confided to them. To sleep on flowers, lulled in dances and songs, with the wings of painted butterflies to fan the moonbeams from their eyes —this is their pleasure; the gorgeous apparel of flowers and dewdrops are their joy. When Titania wishes to allure her beloved, she offers him honey, apricocks, purple grapes, and dancing. This life of sense and nature they season by the power of fancy, with delight in and desires after all that is most choice, most beautiful, and agreeable. They harmonize with nightingales and butterflies; they wage war with all ugly creatures, with hedgehogs, spiders, and bats; dancing, play, and song are their greatest pleasures; they steal lovely children, and substitute changelings; they torment decrepit old age, toothless gossips, aunts, and the awkward company of the players of 'Pyramus and Thisbe,' but they love and recompense all that is clean and pretty. . . . . The sense of the beautiful is the one thing which elevates the fairies, not only above the beasts, but also above the low mortal, when he is devoid of all fancy and uninfluenced by beauty. Thus in the spirit of the fairies, in which the sense of the beautiful is so refined, it is intensely ludicrous that the elegant Titania should fall in love with an ass's head. The only pain which agitates these beings is jealousy, the desire of possessing the beautiful sooner than others; they shun the distorting quarrel: their steadfast aim and longing is for undisturbed enjoyment."

In striking contrast with this dainty people of the "flower-scented Indies," the poet places the rude mechanicals and clowns who form the company of players in the burlesque piece, and whose prototypes he had often seen in the old Warwickshire villages in the merry days of good Queen Bess, when he took his virtue with cakes and ale.

> "The contrast of the material and clumsy to the aerial, of the awkward to the beautiful, of the utterly unimaginative to that which, itself fancy, is entirely woven out of fancy, this contrast gives prominence to both. The play acted by the clowns is, as it were, the reverse of the poet's own work, which demands all the spectator's reflective and meditative fancy to open to him this aerial world, whilst in the other nothing at all is left to the imagination of the spectator."

But these homely mechanics and delicate fairies are not the only persons brought into contrast or juxtaposition by the reconciling art of the poet. While the fairy chiefs disturb with their raillery the rude doings of these ignorant artisans, who believe themselves obliged to represent Moon and Moonshine by words, the lovers also, who are equally the subjects and creations of fancy, mock at the clumsy performance of these wooden-headed victims of coarse matter of fact. Theseus again, who, according to Gervinus, typifies quiet and thoughtful contemplation, draws back in turn from the strange fables of love and witchcraft that the "lovers speak of," and pronounces "the best in this kind are but shawdows and the worst no worse if imagination amend them," regarding the one as art and poetry, the other as the suggestion of simpleness and duty, "and what poor duty cannot do, noble respect takes it in might, not merit."

The whole fairy vision closes, as it began, in a dreamlike reappearance of Oberon and Puck at "fairy time." But before the final song, the perplexities of the lovers have been resolved. The deliverance, like the entanglement, comes from without. This deliverance consists essentially in the awaking and recovery of consciousness. The sleep of reason is over. Demetrius resumes his love for Helena, his old playfellow, and leaves Lysander free to marry Hermia; while the opposition of Egeus, his father, is overborne by Theseus, on the eve of his marriage with Queen Hippolyta.

Such, in the judgment of the eloquent Gervinus, is the "Midsummer Night's Dream," "and such the interpretation thereof." This critical appreciation, though it may require some correction, is on the whole, we think, as accurate as it is beautiful. A suspicion may occasionally obtrude itself that the commentator is more definite and more serious than the dramatist, but this excess of limitation and intensity is perhaps really attributable to the unconquerable necessities of philosophical exposition which, in seeking to be distinct, becomes exclusive, and tends to harden a free poetic significance into a vigorous prose definition. For art allows of "liberal applications," which criticism perforce ignores when it "hooks" the poet's story to some "useful end." Yet that a moral element underlies Shakespeare's dramatic creations, as it does all high poetry, is a proposition of unassailable veracity. Shakespeare, indeed, though he rarely preaches, is pre-eminently a moralist. His drama has a purpose, though that purpose is not obtrusively announced. For Shakespeare's method was not that of the school or of the pulpit, but of nature and life. He knew that "one noble impulse does more towards the elevation of men than a hundred good precepts, and that a bad passion is best subdued by the excitement of a better." He aimed at the reconciliation of passion with reason, of sense and mind, and accepting life as a whole, with its feeling, its action, and its intellect, he has depicted life as a whole, teaching us "by the mastering of the passions represented to master those of life." This sympathy with the outward world of man and nature, embracing deeds as well as thoughts, conflict as well poetic repose, finds its fittest expression in Shakespeare's historical presentations, and in the creation of that famous group of plays which Schlegel, not without reason, regarded as England's national epic. To this new species of dramatic creation the age of Elizabeth was peculiarly favourable, as the age before Elizabeth—at least from the reign of Henry V.—was singularly adverse to it, affording no material for an ideal delineation of the nation's political life. With the Tudor period the glories of the "small island people," who under the leading of the Third Edward and the Fifth Henry, stood as conquerors in the midst of France, began to revive. The sentiment of religious freedom, of national independence, of exultation in English prowess, made itself felt in the great collective heart of the kingdom when Elizabeth vanquished foreign intrigue, established Protestantism, resisted Spanish ascendancy, triumphed in Ireland, and asserted England's soldiership in Belgium, France, and Scotland; when she circled the world with her vessels; when for statesmanly capacity she could point to Burleigh, for naval heroes to Howard and Drake, for poets to Spenser, Sidney, and Shakespeare; when her mercantile glory was represented by Gresham; and, when, to record these victories of peace and war, she could command the services of an historian like Camden. The growth of literature, power, wealth, the sense of freedom and self-reliance, which distinguished Elizabethan England, created a national spirit and patriotism which its imperial poet was foremost to appreciate and celebrate. This proud love for England, this sense of England's glory, and zeal for England's liberty, are expressed alike in "King John," in "Richard II.," in "Henry VIII.," no less than in "Henry IV." and "Henry V.," that famous Lancaster trilogy, which, leaving the byeway of digression, and returning to the broad road of criticism already trodden by Gervinus, we now intend to characterize.

Endowed though our poet was with a true sense of the worth and meaning of continuous national life and individual heroic achievement, strict historical accuracy is not to be looked for in these or in any of the chronicle plays. In "Henry IV.," Shakespeare follows Holinshed in his misstatements. In "Henry V.," he displays a narrow-minded antagonism to the French, an intolerant insular pride, painfully contrasting with his characteristically catholic humanity. Regarding genuine ambition as virtue, and war itself as noble work, he assumes the validity of his hero's title to the crown of France, not knowing or not caring to remember that Henry had no legal claim to that inviting sovereignty. Guided instinctively by a principle of inward truth, and not by mere chronological sequence, Shakespeare selects the material supplied by outward fact in general conformity to the law of unity of action and the essential nature of his subject. Thus, in "Henry IV." he accepts the vague indications of the youthful excesses of the "Madcap Prince," borrowing from the nomenclature of an earlier play, the "Tavern at Eastcheap," Gadshill and Ned, no less than the redoubtable Sir John Oldcastle, the title originally given to Falstaff, but ultimately withdrawn, in deference to the memory of the famous Lollard, who having suffered the extreme penalty for heresy under Henry V., was thus made to suffer posthumously in name and fame, with an apologetic avowal that "Oldcastle died a martyr, and this is not the man." But if Shakespeare, in writing the play, took his history too much upon trust, he has treated with ease, skill, and delicacy the legendary matter which forms its groundwork, and which, as part and parcel of the people's faith, he knew was capable of being turned to such splendid account.

In dramatic connexion and doctrinal purpose, "Henry IV." may be regarded as a direct continuation of "Richard II.," an expansion of the political theme enunciated in that play. The moral philosophy of Shakespeare, in its application to public life, is now very forcibly brought out in the double judgment which the poet passes on the incapable representative of the House of York and the able and crafty Bolingbroke. On the one hand, Richard, it is intimated, had justly forfeited the crown by his non-fulfilment of the kingly function. In him the bad use had destroyed the royal right. Bolingbroke, on the other hand, with all his native nobleness and wise policy, wanted the divine consecration of legitimate possession. His usurpation, which had much to justify it, still implied guilt, and all his merit and statesmanly ability could not secure the illegally acquired kingdom from commotion, nor its proprietor from the fear of an impending retribution. The character of the usurper is worked out with consummate art. Bolingbroke is not an ordinary dissembler, but a "Prometheus of diplomatic subtlety, a king of smiles," who conceals rather than counterfeits, who does not feign grace that he has not, but really exhibits "the good side of his nature." Worldly-minded as he is, he is yet not without a certain seriousness, but his devoutness ebbs and flows with the tide of circumstance. Thus "he is in earnest about the crusade, but mostly when he is ill;" and his zeal for the sepulchre of Christ is quickened by the dictates of policy that seeks to cancel, by creating an intense interest in the present, "the memory of the former days." With all his greatness, Henry IV. is not without the littleness of suspicion, and the charge of intentional and wilful betrayal which he brings against Mortimer occasions the defection of his friends, and unites them in one purpose with their enemies. Conspicuous among these enemies is young Harry Percy, the soul of the enterprise against the King, the prince of rebels, the ideal of manhood, the impersonation of the active nature in which, according to Gervinus, real manhood consists. At the opening of the play, Percy is already a renowned soldier. He has defeated the Earl of Douglas on the plains of Holmedon, and is recognised by the King himself as "the theme of honour's tongue, sweet Fortune's minion and her pride." Ambitious, enterprising, thirsting for action, the lion-hearted youth recoils from no peril. He "would send danger from the east unto the west, so honour cross it from the north to south, and let them grapple." Contradictions, however, coexist with this straightforward and soldierly simplicity of character. Thus, spurred by courage, he becomes a sophist; prompted by passion, he flashes into statesmanship. Easily provoked when crossed, he is patient and yielding in repose. Imagination of some great exploit drives him beyond the bounds of patience. An enemy of all crooked policy, and of extremely passionate nature, he is hurried into a confederation with traitors, cowards, and imbeciles. He hates all the vainglorious pretension of the superstitious and marvel-loving Glendower. He detests all affectation, and "would rather be a kitten and cry mew, than one of these same metre ballad-mongers." Sentimentality is so foreign to his nature that he conceals his love for his wife under a disguise of bantering irony. Deficient in self-command, he is ostentatious in his heroism and intemperate in his ebullitions of anger. Wanting in discernment, he distrusts upright and candid advisers, because he cannot believe in the dishonesty of his confederates or the impolicy of their designs. These are the blemishes in the beauty of his character, as the revolt, for the purpose of subdividing the kingdom, is the blot, the sole blot, on his shield of honour. Associated with Percy we find the brave and blustering Douglas, a man of instinctive valour, who, with a kind of rough external resemblance to his nobler brother-in-arms, wants the intellect, the chivalry, the poetic beauty, which give such a princely grace to the gallant Hotspur. A third associate, "the irregular and wild Glendower," is an admirable counterpart to the young Englishman, whose romantic exaggeration requires the foil of a still more exaggerated romance. Beside the thaumaturgic pretension of the Welsh magician, the boastful ardour of Percy is subdued into rational and modest confidence. When Glendower tells him that the earth trembled like a coward at his nativity, he coolly replies that the same event would have occurred at the same time if his mother's cat had but kittened, and he not been born; and when Glendower, vaunting his "tedious ways of art," offers to teach him to *command* the devil, he rejoins that he can teach him, by the plain simplicity of truth, to *shame* the devil.

Passing from an estimate of these three associates in arms, Gervinus analyses with singular acuteness and penetration the character of the second Harry of the play—Henry Plantagenet, the rival of Henry Percy. The young prince appears at the outset of the action as the close ally and boon companion of profligate and lawless men. He screens their misdeeds, he conceals their persons, he abets them in their robberies. He bears with all people, and in all places, the reputation of a worthless scapegrace. Yet from the very first we have an insight into his better nature. We see that he only upholds for a time "the unyoked humour of idleness," and purposes gloriously to falsify the common expectations which men form of him. He means to work, but he will have his holiday first. He escapes, in the vernal exuberance of youth, from the dull routine and winterly commonplace of life. The witty, frolicsome Prince accordingly chooses for his associates men quite out of the pale of convention, men in whom he finds the novelty, the piquancy, the variety and adventure which civilization and respectability usually exclude or inhibit. In this mixed society he finds endless material for mirth and raillery. His plain, homely courtesy, which contrasts so strikingly with the knightly aristocratic bearing of Percy, makes him the friend of all the good fellows of Eastcheap. On the other hand, though he is with them he is never really of them. If he joins in a robbery it is for the sake of a joke, and he makes amends for the fraud by restoring the money. In the midst of his levity he always retains his self-command; when he is most disorderly he sees his error and submits to the authority of law. Frolicsome with Falstaff and Poins, he is grave, childlike, and dutiful in the presence of his father. He has none of the romance of chivalry, but he is not without a strong rational ambition. He has not the ardour of Percy, who would fain *win* a kingdom, but the composure of the king's son, who is the born inheritor of royalty, and who, when he pleases, can prove himself deserving of his inheritance. "Thus urged by the smouldering fire of ambition he encounters Percy's flaming passion for glory; the modest man meets his despiser, the idler in knightly deeds meets the master in chivalry and overcomes;" and this, not from the arbitrary volition of the poet, but from the really superior qualities which the Prince possessed. There is nothing exaggerated, nothing overstrained in his nature. His serene self-consciousness can dispense with outward distinction, and with a beautiful renunciation he allows Falstaff to appropriate the glory of Percy's death only that he may re-establish his old friend's sullied reputation. It is true that when his promised reformation is completed (in "Henry V."), his ambition takes a scornful tone, and throughout the war he displays an eagerness and concentration, even a fury and violence, that seem opposed to his old habitual self-possession; but this deliberate rage is evoked by the legitimate occasion, "his opinion being that it is the task of human life to do justice to every circumstance." This rich diversity of nature is magnificently exhibited on the day of battle and the night which precedes it. His martial excitement, his frankness, his humour, his confidence, his modesty, and his devoutness, all appear in turns in his proud declaration to the French herald, his quarrel with Williams, his solution of the soldier's difficulty arising out of the assumed injustice of the royal cause; his touching soliloquy, his earnest prayer, and his merry wooing. Thus the Prince, by the power of his will, fulfils his own prediction, and breaks, sunlike, through the base contagious clouds that smothered up his beauty from the world.

Of these contagious clouds, if we may venture to *personify* them, the central and most conspicuous is Falstaff. The incarnation of humorous animalism, Falstaff stands beside the two heroes of honour, a realized privation of shame, a huge vacuity of self-respect. He is without conscience, without spiritual apprehension, without dignity and refinement. Representing the sensual and inferior side of human nature, he cares only for tipsy mirth, the jovial carouse, and the low amour. He is lazy, cynical, cowardly, and treacherous,—not as Hazlitt erroneously maintains, in appearance and by designed simulation, but in reality, and not out of that amiable hypocrisy of which that critic accuses him. He cares only for his animal rights, and lives only that he may live. He is a thief and a liar without scruple and without compunction. He misuses the king's warrant, he cheats his landlady, he proposes the abolition of all law. To counterbalance all this moral evil he has but one good quality, his extraordinary wit, embodied in scenes which more than any other attest Shakespeare's marvellous genius for comic creation. In the last analysis, Falstaff is the ideal form of the vulgar realist. Without hopes or fears, honour or refinement, passion, ambition, envy or love, shyness or shame, he laughs and makes others laugh. Gifted with the true mother wit, the humorous genius which lies half-way between consciousness and instinct, he at once possesses the double nature of the plebeian and aristocratic jester, the fool of the mob and the fool of the court. Witty out of self-defence, for "men of all sorts take a pride to gird" at him, he can be witty in attack, though his unwieldy laziness perhaps makes the passive phase of his wit more easy to him and more original. We have no quarrel with Falstaff, because we regard him as a witty animal, not as a rational man. We forgive him, partly because he can't help it and partly because he amuses us. Circe has enchanted him, and we say perforce, "let Gryll be Gryll and have his hoggish mind." There lies a profound moral in this astounding creation. Shakespeare, with his far-seeing wisdom, has not failed to point it, nor his discriminating critic, in opposition to many, if not all, his predecessors, to justify the poet. The banishment of Falstaff is too often looked on as an uncalled-for, and even an unpardonable severity on the part of the young king. The Prince and the poet, however, were quite right; Falstaff deserved the stately reproof of the young king; and the sentence which, while it pronounced the offender an exile from court, provided competent means, and promised advancement in proportion to desert, seems to us a rare combination of clemency and justice. Besides, it was impossible that the king, the centre of all law and order, and himself pledged to a noble and heroic life, could tolerate longer the close fellowship of a coward, a liar, a thief, and a rascal. The brilliant wit and irresistible humour of the mean and wicked old man could not save him from the righteous judgment of the great Nemesis that essays to put, finally, the right man in the right place.

The wonderful power of characterization in the plays which we have now been considering, gives them, to our thought, a very high place, taken as a whole. The Second Part of "Henry IV.," however, reads but feebly after the first, while the real, if not sole interest of "Henry V." lies in the ethical development of the hero. Yet, in the former play we may admire, with Hazlitt, "the thorough knowledge of the stuff we are made of, the practical wisdom with the seeming fooleries in the whole of the garden scene at Shallow's country seat, and just before in the exquisite dialogue between him and Silence on the death of Old Double."

But whatever of power or beauty we may find in the complementary portions of the trilogy, it is the First Part of "Henry IV." that best reflects the ripeness, fulness, and vivacious spirit of the poet's glorious youth. His own quick blood pulses in every vein. We cannot too much admire the vigorous versification, the epical character of the action, the lucid sense of the thought, and the spontaneous intelligibility of the language. If in the third period of his dramatic career he sometimes writes finer poetry, he also sometimes resorts to a crabbed, obscure, inverted diction, very unlike the crystal clearness of this English "Henriade."

Of the life of Shakespeare during this third period we have little to tell. The poet had attained to comfort, prosperity, respectability, heraldic honour, pecuniary competency. A monied gentleman instead of a degraded actor subsisting on "public means," Shakespeare now discarded "the public manners" which he had perforce adopted when his nature, "like the dyer's hand, was almost subdued to what it worked in."[*] Shakespeare's final retirement from the hated stage probably took place in or about 1603. In that year he performed in Ben Jonson's tragedy of "Sejanus." After this his name does not again occur in playhouse annals. We may now suppose the successful dramatist to have achieved his great ambition, and picture him once more among the orchards and meadows of his native Stratford, living in friendly understanding with his wife, marrying his daughter Susanna to the chief medical practitioner in the town, following his old mother the year after that marriage to her last rest (1608), busying himself in "financial and economical affairs," or doing noble work as poet in creating "Hamlet," "King Lear," "Macbeth," and "The Tempest." Meanwhile, sad experiences had accompanied all this outward prosperity. His only son had died in 1596; 1601 was marked by the rebellion and execution of Essex, in which his friend Southampton was implicated, and for his participation in which that nobleman suffered imprisonment. The year 1603 witnessed the conspiracy which cost Clarke and Watson their lives, and the long confinement of the renowned Raleigh, "who certainly stood high in Shakespeare's esteem, if not in closer relation to him." Harmonizing with all this tragical incident, and corresponding with the maturity of character ascribed to him, we find the dramatic genius of Shakespeare in his third period distinguished by a preference for the serious and ethically appalling. A peculiar moral element now appears in the foreground, and under various modifications recurs in his later productions. "The unnatural dissolving of natural bonds, oppression, falsehood, treachery, and ingratitude towards benefactors, friends, and relatives, towards those to whom the most sacred duties should be dedicated—this is the new tragical conception which now most powerfully and profoundly occupies the poet in the most various works of this epoch of his life." Thus, in "Julius Cæsar" the defection of Brutus, in "Henry VIII." the self-seeking of Wolsey, in "Macbeth" the usurper's treason towards his benefactor, in "King Lear" the profligate alienation of children and the rebellion of kindred blood in the bosom of the family, with the contrasting instances of fidelity in the dutiful Cordelia and the true-hearted wife in "Cymbeline;" in "Troilus and Cressida" the faithlessness of the fair daughter of Calchas and the treachery of the Greeks, in "Antony and Cleopatra" the disloyal rupture of old ties, in "Coriolanus" the hero's apostacy from his country; and in "Timon" and "The Tempest" the shameless ingratitude of false friends and the usurpation of fraternal rights, alike testify to the prevalence of the same sorrowful and profound contemplation of the world and humanity. The character of our great poet was evidently ripening into a sedate wisdom as age advanced. For the laughing, frivolous, shallow characters which we find in his romantic comedies, we have now high actions, high passions, great sufferings. Gervinus, however, is far from agreeing with Schlegel in attributing to Shakespeare an austerely tragic, isolated, and reserved disposition. "Even in 'Hamlet,'" he observes, "Shakespeare has delineated with such objective acuteness this weary depression and unsatisfied frame of mind, this too close search into the gloomy side of life, and he stands himself in such clear and distinct light above this mental disorder, that this very play must be regarded as a triumph in which he must have overcome his vein of melancholy, if any such existed within him." This protest, however, is not meant to oppose the more moderate opinion which claims for a drama bearing the name of Shakespeare's deceased son a pathological interest, and considers it as a vehicle for the elegiac humour of the poet. We are even permitted to think that the hero may be the intended counterpart of Prince Henry, that the lord of intellect who cannot act may here be purposely though latently contrasted with the master of action who *thinks* that he *may act,* and that in both types united, Shakespeare displayed the various points of his own nature in greater fulness than had been possible in one alone.

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[*] "O, for my sake do you with fortune chide,
 The guilty goddess of my harmful deeds,
That did not better for my life provide
 Than public means, which public manners breeds.
Thence comes it that my name receives a brand;
 And almost thence my nature is subdu'd
To what it works in, like the dyer's hand."

It is remarkable that the same moral sentiment which we find in "Henry V." reappears in "Measure for Measure," and that "the vein of deep thought which so strikingly distinguishes the works of Shakespeare's closing period, beats in its fullest pulse" in the drama which is most nearly linked to the comedies of that period. "Measure for Measure," combining the nature of comedy and tragedy, is the transition play between the laughing and serious phases of the second and third epochs of Shakespeare's poetry. Man's feeling of his value and vocation was in our poet's judgment the true ground and soil in which all human virtues and crimes have their root." With Shakespeare the tragic principle lies in egotism; the comic in self-love. "In Much Ado about Nothing," Claudio's honour is grounded on self-love; in "Twelfth Night," self-love forms the soul of the prominent characters; in "Henry V." Shakespeare shows us the completion which belongs to human nature, attained through trials and waverings, and a beautiful equilibrium preserved between jest and earnest, freedom and coercion. "Measure for Measure" has the seriousness of tragedy and the cheerful conclusion of comedy. As of Henry Monmouth it is said, "wholesome berries thrive and ripen best neighboured by fruit of baser quality," so for Angelo the plea is put in—"best men are moulded out of faults, and for the most become much more the better for being a little bad." As in Prince Henry the contempt of show is founded on the absence of selfishness, so in Angelo the love of show is exhibited in a man too great for the "dangerous projects of an ambitious selfishness, too noble for the weak errors of a vain self-love." The would-be master of politics and the would-be saint aspires, wavers, and fails. In his moral life he proves himself base and hypocritical, in his public administration false and tyrannical. Still there is a germ of good in him, and Mariana, with a woman's loving trustfulness, confides in his original nobility and wishes to take him with all his faults. Show or outward repute is gone for him. He can never again impose on others. He may become a great criminal, or he may attain through virtue to genuine honour. In early life Angelo's anxiety had been to preserve an irreproachable reputation. A respectable man, he coveted social advancement, and now, through long study of law and politics, he has repressed his affectionate nature, and set up an austere and rigid ideal of life, hoping through his legal knowledge, uncompromising principles, and pedantic morality, to attain to outward rank and dignity. In a period of profligate and vicious disorder, of licentious and shameless excess, the reigning Duke of Vienna determines to revive an old statute which awards the punishment of death to unchastity. Moderate, gentle, cautious, and retiring, fond of experimenting on his own nature and that of others, and believing that it would ill become the man whose mistaken lenity had encouraged this general dissolution of morals to attempt its correction, the Duke determines on a temporary abdication, and on the establishment of a vicegerency which he intends to watch during his retreat. The young Angelo, whose Puritan morals recommend him as a suitable instrument for the revival of the sharper discipline which has fallen into disuse, is appointed deputy in the Duke's absence. He commences his official career by the proclamation of a policy of unexceptional justice, subordinating the welfare of the world to the triumph of law. To secure this triumph he sentences his friend Claudio to death, though Claudio has only postponed for prudential reasons the marriage ceremony which love has anticipated. In the crisis of his fate the Duke intervenes. He is aware that Angelo, who promises Claudio his life at the price of his sister's dishonour, had previously been affianced to Mariana, and that when her brother had perished at sea and her dowry was lost to him, he had broken off the engagement in the belief that his interests would not be promoted by the marriage. Turning this knowledge to account, the Duke has recourse to an artifice, justifying the proposed substitution of Mariana for Isabella by the plea that Angelo is her husband by a pre-contract. The artifice succeeds; Angelo is duped, and personally breaks the law which he has undertaken to vindicate. His seeming sanctity is at an end. His spotless reputation is gone. The show of honour has departed. The sinner is exposed and the sinner's life forfeited. Under the sense of moral degradation the delinquent craves death more willingly than mercy. But his fall, in the hope and prophetic purpose of the poet, was to make him rise, through the germ of goodness and wise resolution innate in his character. Coleridge objects to the pardon. He considers the repentance of Claudio an impossibility. He also demands severe indignant justice. But, in addition to the extenuating circumstances of the case, Gervinus argues "that jealous justice is not true justice, but that circumspect equity alone which suffers neither mercy nor the severe letter of the law to rule without exception, which awards punishment not measure *for* measure, but *with* measure." The poet, indeed, seems anxious to emphasize this lesson. A general amnesty is conceded, and not only Claudio, but Barnadine and Lucio are forgiven. Thus neither over-severity nor weak indulgence, neither licence nor intimidation, have the sanction of the great dramatist. Hence it is that "this play, in its strikingly practical character, has become like a defence of the corrective system, the only system of punishment which a poet's moral intuition could pronounce to be suitable to the world."

In dramatic effect, as in ethical significance, "Measure for Measure" must rank very high. The reflective, speculative, and doctrinal tendencies of Shakespeare are magnificently exhibited in it. There are scenes of unsurpassed beauty, and passages which attest the penetrative insight of the poet. In regard to its composition generally, we incline to subscribe to the criticism in "Chambers's Household Shakespeare," that the drama was "poured forth in eager haste from a full mind and teeming imagination. The grand situations and contrasts, the philosophical dogmas, the impassioned speeches, the broad Alsatian scenes, seem all to have been struck off in the glow of rapid composition, without effort at lucidity of expression, at delicacy or nice management of details."

We have intentionally selected this drama,—for its biographical and moral significance, in preference to the more imposing creations of the universal poet,—as the subject of the critical exposition which we have drawn from the pages of Gervinus. We would willingly follow our accomplished guide step by step in his masterly analysis of the imperial dramas of this creative intellect; but we must content ourselves with a hasty survey of his philosophical appreciation of the characteristics of some of the remaining plays of Shakespeare's third period.

The most important public event which occurred in this latter period of his life was the death of Elizabeth, the accession of James I., and the union of the three kingdoms. Of these changes Shakespeare presents us with a poetical celebration in the most vivid and picturesque of all his plays, "Macbeth." The direct salutation to the first king who carried "twofold ball and treble sceptre," as well as the flattering reference to the Scottish dynasty implied in the subject itself, sufficiently attest the patriotic purpose of the poet. In this splendid creation—at once an eternal drama and an occasional poem—Shakespeare sought, as in "King Lear," "Cymbeline," and "Hamlet," the tragic elements which lie in the powerful passions of a mythical past, "in the dark backward and abysm of time." As in "Hamlet" Gervinus sees "a man of a civilized period standing in the centre of an heroic age, of rough manners and physical daring," so in "Macbeth" he sees "a man with the old strivings of the heroic age standing on a similar boundary-line," in a milder and more civilized time, but belonging to the wilder past, by the self-imposed necessities of action, as it seemed the task of Hamlet to maintain the usages of the older time by the exercise of his revenge. Macbeth, who has all the physical strength which Hamlet wants, complains of the moral perturbations produced by the sense of crime, and contrasts his internal self-persecution with the immunity of those criminals who lived in a prior age, "ere human statute purged the gentle weal." The sentiment recurs in "King Lear." "Men are as the time is," exclaims Edmund, "and to be tender-minded does not become a sword." In this drama of family horrors, this most tragic of tragedies, we are carried back into that sinful antique world pictured in the "Phædrus" of Plato, a world of preternatural crime followed by preternatural suffering, and transmitted continually by the successive representatives of wicked and grand old houses, till a remedy was found in the inspirations of prophetic madness. The time in which the drama is laid is characterized by the ancient prediction quoted by Edmund—"Death, dearth, dissolution of ancient amities; diseases in states, menaces and maledictions against king and nobles; needless diffidences, banishment of friends, dissipation of cohorts, and nuptial breaches." Gervinus defends, on good grounds we think, the opening scene, against Goethe, who calls it absurd. Lear, it is urged, was always eccentric and always passionate; the subject of a *muliebris impotentia,* and capable even of hysterical excitement. Though not at first actually mad, he has, as Dr. Bucknill observes, entered on the domain of unsoundness. Gervinus, indeed, does not so explicitly postulate an incipient insanity, but there is, perhaps, no great difference between his view and that which we have now indicated, since he makes a life-long haughtiness and egotistical absoluteness, aggravated by the unruly waywardness, the weakness and sensitiveness of his infirm years, as well as the custom of the time, the antecedents of his rash confidence and his extravagant renunciation. When his irrational insistence on the gratitude of his daughters proves fruitless, and his capricious experiment is defeated, the passionate explosion which ensues occasions a violent mental shock, and an originally "royal and heroic" mind is prostrated before the whirlwinds of intense emotional agitation. So interpreted, there is no contradiction, no improbability in the character of King Lear. His was never a feeble and sterile mind transformed by madness into a vigorous and inspired intellect; but a mind profound in its insight and comprehensive in its reach, which, "when the barriers of conventional restraint are broken down, displays all its "native and naked force" with a terrible eloquence and an uncompromising sincerity.* With the unchecked passion and confusion in "Lear," the calm resistance and virtuous repose in "Cymbeline" form a splendid contrast. Cymbeline, like Lear, belongs to the heathen times of the aboriginal Britons, not indeed to a period of barbarism, but to the golden age of Roman civilization under Augustus Cæsar. As the fresh delight in an active career is a distinctive characteristic of "Henry IV.," profoundness of design that of "Othello," power of contending passion that of "Lear," so the triumph of moral principle is that of "Cymbeline." This drama is the song of Fidelity, the foremost virtue of heroic times. It is pre-eminently illustrated in Imogen—"the sum and aggregate of fair womanhood;" and with subordinate importance in Bellarius and Pisanio, the faithful steward who, by a harmless dissimulation, maintains his trust in the same way that Imogen allows herself a similar deviation from strict truth; the poet thus asserting his conviction that no outward law can embody the rule of moral action in cut-and-dry precepts, but that the perplexities of the moment must be decided by the sovereign voice of the inward moral life, which suspends the external enactment in virtue of a justifying integrity of purpose, so that an innocent concealment or prevarication is made subservient to the highest fidelity. In this beautiful drama Gervinus sees a representation of the world's ordinary course; in the relation of the cipher king to the tried sufferers he discovers the intention of a poetic Theodicæa—the inward impulse to evil and the external conflict with it attesting, in the opposition which they evoke, the nobility and worth of virtue, and its necessary co-existence with vice, without which virtue would not be virtue. Thus he justifies the introduction of Jupiter, which Ulrici regards as a blunder, on the ground that if this supernatural intrusion of Providence neutralises the wonder of the incidents on which the progress of the story is dependent, it testifies to a deep and remarkable instinct on the part of the poet, who needed a happy ending to his drama, because a tragic termination would have been an impeachment of the world's government.

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* Dr. Bucknill.

As "Cymbeline" is the glorification of pure and noble faithfulness, "Troilus and Cressida" is a sort of poetical commination of faithlessness. Gervinus calls it a dramatic farce, and subscribes to the generally-received view that it is a parody on "the crown of all heroic tales," the Tale of Troy. Shakespeare's sympathies were Trojan. He shared the Virgilian predilection in favour of Troy, and it is not easy to comprehend his exact purpose in this polemic comedy. Was it merely the poet's wish to treat with humorous freedom the orthodox version of the "tale divine?" or was there "a deeper meaning in this negation of the Homeric point of view?" Is it a Cervantes-like romance in a dramatic form? or from ignorant prepossessions, wilful bias, and want of the proper historical knowledge, is it, with all its fine poetry and all its splendid studies in language, an artistic failure?

In "Timon of Athens" we have another somewhat incoherent and undisciplined production. With all its intensity it wants connexion. It is unequal, abrupt, and, in point of art, unfinished. The poet's object may have been to describe a particular form of mental disease; but here again, as in other plays of the third period, we have the subject of disloyalty or false friendship prominently brought before us; for the vindictive misanthropy of Timon is represented as arising out of his shattered faith in human nature, in contrast to the ostentatious and educated malice of the snarling Apemantus, who never indulged in any glorious vision of constant friendship. We are disposed to bracket Coriolanus with Timon as a study of character—a drama of intellect rather than a tragedy of passion. In estimating the hero we agree with Gervinus as against Hazlitt, that Shakespeare's characteristic impartiality reappears in the portrait which he draws of this "personified aristocracy." The dazzling qualities of Coriolanus are associated with a haughty self-love and superhuman arrogance, which on meeting with a check hurry the vindictive noble into a course of treason to his country, and compel him to take up a position which ends in his own self-frustration and death.

"Coriolanus" was perhaps composed in 1610. There is historical evidence to show that "The Tempest" was performed before King James at Whitehall on Hallowmas Night (Nov. 1) 1611. How different from the intellectual power and painful intensity of Coriolanus are the grace, the celestial purity, the enchanting loveliness of the "dream of the vexed Bermoothes." What a proof of the versatility and self-command of genius lies in the quick and easy transition with which Shakespeare passed from the majestic gloom of Roman tragedy to the serene loveliness and the "glad light and liberty of imaginative romance." That universal mind understood the claims of all circumstance and all relation, asserting its own freedom and maintaining its own sanity and integral character free from all partisanship by its exhaustive survey of the whole horizon of life and its faithful report of all objects that passed across its field of vision. It is interesting to observe that the magic element which Shakespeare introduced in his great Accession tragedy reappears in "The Tempest." Was it in compliment to his royal patron that the world-poet created his witches in "Macbeth," and his Ariel, Caliban, Sycorax, and Setebos in "The Tempest?" The "Demonology" of King James was published a year or two only before the earlier play; and one of the editors of the Household Shakespeare finds "some of the coarser fabric of the later drama imbedded in that famous work. Another point of interest in "The Tempest" is the evidence it affords of Shakespeare's reading, and the use he made of it. The autograph copy of Florio's "Montaigne" is still cited in proof that our poet read the renowned Essays of that delightful egotist. Farther proof is furnished by a comparison of Gonzalo's description of his Utopian commonwealth in "The Tempest," and a corresponding passage in the old translation of Montaigne, published in 1603.* Golding's version of the speech of Medea in Ovid supplied our poet with some of the materials which make up the poetical address of Prospero: with his "elves of hills, brooks, and standing lakes;" his "bedimmed noontide sun;" his "roaring war;" his "sleepers waked from their graves;" his "mutinous winds and shaking promontory." In Lord Sterling's tragedy of "Darius" (1603) occurs the original of another still more famous peroration:—

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* *Gonzalo.*—"I' the commonwealth I would, by contraries,
Execute all things: for no kind of traffic
Would I admit; no name of magistrate;
Letters should not be known; no use of service,
Of riches, or of poverty; no contract, succession,
Bourn, bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none;
No use of metal, corn, or wine, or oil:
No occupation; all men idle, all."
The Tempest, Act ii. scene 1.

"It is a nation, would I answer Plato, that hath no kind of traffic, no knowledge of letters, no intelligence of numbers, no name of magistrates nor of politic superiority; no use of service, of riches or of poverty; no contracts, no successions, no dividences, no occupation but idle; no respect of kindred but common; no apparel but natural; no manuring of lands, no use of wine, corn, or metal."—*Florio's Translation of Montaigne,* Book i. ch. xxx., published 1603.

> "Let greatness of her glassy sceptres vaunt,
> Not sceptres, no, but reeds soon bruised, soon broken;
> And let this worldly pomp our wits enchant,
> All fades, and scarcely leaves behind a token.
> These golden palaces, these gorgeous halls,
> With furniture superficiously fair,
> Those stately courts, those sky-encountering walls,
> [Do] vanish all like vapour in the air."

Are we mistaken in supposing that the versification of this play presents yet a third point of interest? In "Henry IV." the blank verse of Shakespeare is written with an almost epical fulness and compactness. It is buoyant with life and animal spirits. The rhythm is very sustained, and. the endings are mostly monosyllabic. This "square" system of verse is not the system adopted in "The Tempest," nor, we may add, in "The Winter's Tale." Is it not a fact that Shakespeare inclined, in the earlier part of his career, to the statelier march of the English blank verse? And did he not subsequently modify the massive regularity of his mighty line on æsthetic grounds, till in his latest productions something of graceful negligence and feminine wilfulness relaxed the sedate movement and masculine structure of his earlier style? In particular, are not the double endings in "The Tempest" conspicuously and characteristically frequent? If this be the case we can understand that the versification of "Henry VIII.," probably Shakespeare's last play, may have a really Fletcher-like movement in it, and yet be the genuine production of Shakespeare. We agree with Gervinus that the main characters of "Henry VIII." are unmistakeably Shakesperian. Critics have placed the scene in which Griffith relates the death of Cardinal Wolsey to Katherine to the credit of Fletcher. It is at once like and unlike the workmanship of the superior dramatist; but, on the whole, we think more like than unlike. The incoherent and impracticable nature of the subject, the laxer versification of Shakespeare's later style, a want of any profound interest in it, and the special circumstances under which we can easily conceive it to have been written, account sufficiently, we think, for the incompleteness, feebleness, and want of moral and æsthetic consistency in the drama. "Henry VIII." was first printed in 1623. In 1613 the Globe Theatre was burned down. The calamity occurred, Sir Henry Wotton says, during the acting of a new play, called "All is True," which represented some principal pieces of the reign of Henry VIII. The name here given was possibly a second title of our drama, the "chosen truth" of which is proclaimed in the prologue. If, however, the Interlude entered as "King Henry the Eighth" in the registers of the Stationers' Company in 1604 (O.S.), was identical with our drama, it would be very far from being Shakespeare's last play, and our argument would require revision. But in this case Fletcher could hardly have been Shakespeare's coadjutor, as the "Woman-hater," produced in 1606-7, is the former poet's earliest recorded work. Moreover, Fletcher was twelve years younger than Shakespeare; and we should require strong evidence to induce us to believe that the experienced dramatist of forty would exceptionally have written in concert with the untried aspirant of twenty-eight.

With "Henry VIII.," which was perhaps a court play* designed to glorify the House of Tudor or celebrate the victory of Protestantism, Shakespeare's professional career in all probability terminated. After his final retirement to Stratford in 1612, he ceased to write for the stage. In the six years which elapsed between 1589 and 1603, Shakespeare wrote on the average two plays a year; from 1604 to 1612 only one play a year. "With the 'Winter's Tale' and 'The Tempest' (if not with 'Henry VIII.') he closed his great career, and buried fathom deep, like Prospero, his poetic wand."

Having thus, through the eyes of Gervinus, scanned some of the separate features in the life and works of the magician of a prouder island than that of Prospero, we will now with him "bring forward and contemplate as a whole the portrait of the poet and his poetry."

If great men are the products of their age, they are also its representatives and organs. The hour of Shakespeare's spiritual birth was, so to speak, a predestined hour: it was the great spring-time of religious freedom; it was the first bloom of Protestantism. Appearing immediately after the suppression of the old Catholic faith in England, and sufficiently before the outburst of Puritan enthusiasm, Shakespeare found an intervening period, the fitting and the only possible season for the creation of the drama which he gave to the world. The traditions of the old social life, the saints, the knights, the troubadours, the pilgrims, the lords and ladies of romance and chivalry, were dying out with the feudal and Catholic *régime* of which they were the products and exponents. The world of Shakespeare was a far larger world than the world of Dante, of Chaucer, and the old minstrels who essayed in vain to develope an European epos. In Elizabeth's days "the drama was recognised throughout Europe as the poetic form most suitable to modern times and races—as the appropriate embodiment of that new and ample spirit of life, thought, action, and morality which was contemporary with her. To make his art co-extensive with the nature which it represented, Shakespeare threw down the old boundaries and enlarged its sphere. For the economy of the Greek drama—an economy dependent on the æsthetic exigencies of the time—he substituted the rational prodigality of the English drama, with its variety of action, its abundance of matter, its complexity of situation, motive, and passion; its revolution of character, and affluence of thought and sentiment. In his combination of the tragic with the comic he showed himself an audacious but happy innovator, justified alike by the precedents of nature, the success of the experiment, and in some instances by the demands of the subject, as in "Henry IV.," where the serious and humorous constituents form one inseparable whole, or in "King Lear," where the ideal comedy is the complement of the sublime passion which is the master element of the terrific drama. In this expansion of form and inclusion of matter Shakespeare indicated the supreme claims of nature over all artificial legislation. To unity of time, place, or person he preferred unity of action, and perhaps, to unity of action development of character, as the source and origin of action. His appreciation of life and reality carried the poet out of the hothouse of conventional art into the freedom and open air of nature. "Devoted to the holy spirit of the senses," and averse to an absorbing speculation, he sought his revelation in nature, his wisdom in experience. "His sense," says his commentator, "must have been the soundest that ever man possessed; his eye a smooth mirror, his ear an echo, which repeated all sounds and images with the utmost fidelity." But to this delicate and sensitive external organization he united an intellect that penetrated into the essence of every object—a creative impulse and a conscious meditation. He grasped the secret life in man, woman, plant, or tree, and re-embodied it in poetry in its purest and intensest essence. For Shakespeare was not a mere copyist of nature; he at once imitated and emulated nature, removing excrescences, rejecting the accidental and superfluous, repairing imperfections, and making good deficiencies. Thus, while he imitates he ennobles—he makes a fairer existence a splendid possibility; he gives through art what history denies; and working in the spirit of Bacon's recommendation, since the satisfying reality is not to be had, he satisfies the mind with the appearance of "a more perfect order and a nobler greatness than are to be found in nature." It were an error, however, to suppose that the ideal of Shakespeare was an outlying or transcendental ideal; it was the ideal latent in nature, the type which nature tends to realize, and which, working half consciously half unconsciously in the mind of our poet, nature *did* realize in the still and beautiful world which he has made for us.

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* In honour of the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth, in Feb., 1612. (?)

With this recognition of nature's sufficiency is closely connected our poet's religious fidelity to truth. Impelled by a healthy love of reality, he discarded the ordinary conventional ideals of chivalry, romantic life, and religion. Protestantism, again, enabled him to keep free of the supernatural, "to banish mysteries and moralities, miracles and miracle workers;" or where he employed the supernatural, to use it with poetic freedom or symbolical significance. For the witches of "Macbeth" and the fairies of the "Midsummer Night's Dream," if they had any objective reality for the poet, had it by a sort of provisional acquiescence, being essentially the offspring of the imaginative instinct, and deriving their true *raison-d'être* from the ethical purpose for which they were evoked. If "Bacon was an interpreter of lifeless nature," Shakespeare "was an interpreter of the secrets of history and of human nature;" and as the mysteries of the soul and the possibilities of existence are rather divined than uttered, the poet represented them in the forms and by the processes of his own glorious art-magic.

But the enchantments to which Shakespeare resorted were not those of the ordinary poetic sorcerer. In drawing a parallel between the great dramatist and his celebrated philosophical contemporary, Gervinus adopts the latter's own comparison: "Bacon says of the alchemists and magicians in natural science, that they stand in similar relation to true knowledge as the deeds of Amadis to those of Cæsar, and so does Shakespeare's true poetry stand in relation to the fantastic romance of Amadis." Balancing the errors of imagination by the action of reason, as Bacon opposed experience to the *delusions* of reason, Shakespeare never lost sight of the domain of reality, even when he most seemed to transcend it. Thus the character of Caliban excited the admiration of Dryden and Schlegel for the profound truth, depth, and consistency of its delineation; the inner meaning and external adjustments going far to make the supernatural natural. This fidelity to fact, this loyal love of reality, reappear in Shakespeare's conception of religion. Shakespeare, in general the most secular of poets, is distinguished by the imperial indifference with which he surveys, or rather overlooks, all religious systems, banishing, it has been said, religion from art, as Bacon banished it from science. Shakespeare lived in an inquisitive time. There was much bold speculation in the age of Elizabeth. Freethinking, even to the verge of Atheism, was not then unknown; and that Shakespeare had sounded the dark and perilous depths of scepticism is shown by the startling revelations of his "Hamlet." We need not, however, on this account regard the great poet as himself an Atheist. Though it is clear that Shakespeare was no fanatic, we are not justified in concluding that he was no Christian. His religion possibly was not very definite, nor very dogmatic, but he seems to have accepted the doctrine of a Divine superintendence. Thus, in "Cymbeline," "the inexplicable severity of Providence is shown to be protecting love;" and if in general the poet administers complete justice within this visible diurnal sphere, his belief in a future compensation, in order to justify the treatment of the innocent victims in some of his tragedies, must, his commentator is of opinion, be presumed. Too great for sects, too wise for the coarse supernaturalism of the old creed, Shakespeare perhaps worshipped more truly than most "unattached" Christians in the Cathedral of Immensity, while good-humouredly accommodating himself to the less ambitious proportions of the parish church. Ethnic as Goethe in his tendencies, Shakespeare excludes no human worth, and admits no irrationality. "Prophecies are with him under the law of nature, and miracles below the line of reason." As a dramatist, Shakespeare had to do with action and not with speculation; and if, as we are told, the Divine in action is morality, we must look for its presence in his characters and ethical views.

Foremost, then, among the morals of Shakespeare must be reckoned his humanity. His ethics are essentially human. He presupposes a soul of goodness in things evil; he ascribes even to his villains some sense of right and wrong, some recognition, as in Iago's case, of the daily beauty of an honourable life. Like a well-known moralist in our own day, he places the vocation of man not in thought but in action, making, not personal happiness, but the common welfare, the object of all our activity. Acknowledging the priceless value of habit, he lays superior emphasis on the existence of noble impulses indicating and making noble aims. The kindly nature, the womanly instinct of virtue which opposes and conquers temptation; the natural goodness and angelical purity which triumph by force of a spontaneous volition, are qualities which Shakespeare pre-eminently admired—qualities associating with completeness of life in action a kind of victorious quietness in the mode of operation. Thus, moderation is in itself a cardinal principle with our poet. He thoroughly believes in the wisdom of the golden mean. Temperance in action is not less important with him than action itself. But "he seeks the medium, not in suppressing the power which lies in passion, but in restraining it by the yoke of work; not in the weakness of passiveness, but in the sparing of the power, the use of which is indeed his first law." In giving practical expression to this doctrine of moderation, Shakespeare did not hesitate, in Gervinus's opinion, to oppose Christian precepts "which demand an overstraining of human nature." Thus, he indicated "the wise and human medium between the Christian and heathen precepts of love and hatred of our enemies. We are to avoid making enemies, but when we have them, we should so act that they may shun us." Thus also he taught that over-conscientiousness in Hamlet was faulty, defective conscientiousness in Faulconbridge praiseworthy; Jessica's violation of child-like piety and Desdemona's transgression of truth innocent, holding that there is no absolute inflexible morality, and that occasional deviation from the "king's highway" in ethics is justified by "the will to do right and to prevent wrong."

The characteristics of Shakespeare's genius in its moral, intellectual, and imaginative aspects, which we have thus noted down, establish his claim to that proud title which Emerson gives him. He is indeed "this man of men"—a type and representative of human nature—humanity condensed. Hence we can all feel our relationship to him, for he has a side every one can appreciate. His universality has domesticated him in Germany. Even in Paris his "Macbeth" can be represented now without any derisive explosion. He is the poet of Northern action and enterprise, the poet of the whole Teutonic race.

ART. V.—THE TREATY OF VIENNA: POLAND.

Les Traités de 1815. Paris: 1859.

THE present condition of Europe is such as may well inspire all true friends of peace with feelings of the most lively alarm. An aggressive State of immense power, looking about for a pretext to increase its possessions; another aggressive State, crippled, but still presenting a defiant front to the menaces of an alliance enfeebled by mutual distrust; nationalities eagerly watching for an opportunity to shake off the hated yoke of effete despotisms; and, in the midst of all these highly combustible elements, a steady blaze of insurrection which may at any moment kindle them into a general conflagration; such are the signs, everywhere presenting themselves, of a coming tempest on the Continent of Europe, which it is the interest of every one to avert, and which it may not even yet be too late to conjure away. The origin of the disorders which have produced these alarming symptoms is neither very obscure nor perhaps very difficult of access. In a constitutional country, an internal derangement of this kind would probably be attributed either to the badness of the laws or to their not being respected by the people. The European malady of which we speak may be traced in a great measure to both of these causes. The bad law is the Treaty of Vienna; and it has been violated with impunity, over and over again. A knowledge of the history of this Treaty, the objects it was intended to fulfil, the circumstances of its frequent violation, and the duties it imposes upon us, is therefore indispensable to a correct understanding of the crisis; and this knowledge it is the object of the present article to supply, in the clearest and most condensed possible form.

Of all human laws, those which regulate the international relations of States are unquestionably the most important and sacred. Upon them hang the fates of millions of human beings, the security of weak States, and the peace and prosperity of a large portion of the civilized world. And as it is often inexpedient or impossible to compel the observance of a treaty on a strong Power which violates it, it is evident that treaties would lose all their value, and become mere temporary arrangements, liable to be altered at any moment by the caprice or interest of one of the contracting parties, unless any unauthorized violation of them is regarded as a political crime, drawing down upon the offender the loud reprobation of all civilized nations, and all the other consequences which, in private society, are made the penalty of a breach of faith. This principle, though seldom requiring to be put in practice in the case of ordinary treaties, which are made for the mutual advantage of the contracting parties, without any reference to the general interests of the rest of Europe, and are therefore seldom violated, is of the highest importance when applied to a European Treaty like that of Vienna. Such a treaty offers no direct advantages to powerful States; on the contrary, by defining their limits and their relations with the other Powers of Europe, it rather places obstacles in the way of their ambition, and forbids them to extend their power in any direction but that of internal development. The temptations to break such a treaty are therefore many and frequent. And yet it is of the highest importance to the peace of the world that a European Treaty should be preserved in the most scrupulous manner; for, not to mention the dangerous precedent afforded by an unpunished violation of it, such violation, however insignificant in itself, may directly produce the most unfortunate results. The object of all European Treaties has been to adjust the mutual relations of the various States of Europe according to that much-maligned and little-understood principle called "the balance of power." It is not our intention to enter into a controversy here with the enthusiastic theorists who have pointed out, with more or less truth, the faults and shortcomings of the political system which is based on this principle. It is sufficient for our present purpose to know that the system exists, that the principle is generally recognised, and that it has an excellent object—the preservation of the peace of Europe. The principle of the balance of power, although certainly not taking a very high view of the moral character of the States of Europe, is an eminently practical one. It proceeds on the assumption that every powerful State, unless prevented, will do its best to increase its territory by invading neighbouring States which are less powerful; and accordingly it teaches that every effort should be made by the community of European nations to preserve such a balance among themselves, as to make it practically impossible for a strong Power to attack a weaker neighbour, except by setting in motion other Powers which would attack him in turn, and thus render nugatory his plans of conquest. To set up this kind of political machine is the object of a European Treaty; and it is obvious that any derangement, however slight, of any portion of it, must put the whole system out of gear. Of course, if the balance were a perfect one, any such derangement would be impossible. But European Treaties have, if anything, rather more than their average share of the imperfections of all human enactments; and moreover the complicated interests with which they have to deal must render anything more than a tolerably practical approximation to a perfect political balance an impossibility. That such an approximation, however, may very successfully carry out the required object, is proved by the fact, that for nearly three hundred years since the first recognition of the principle of the balance of power by the nations of Europe in the fifteenth century, no considerable increase of territory to any State took place.

We have thought it necessary to make the above remarks in order to show the real importance and meaning of so extensive and little known a branch of the public law of Europe as the Treaty of Vienna. The general opinion about this Treaty seems to be that it is now obsolete, Napoleon III. having given it its death-blow when he emancipated Italy. This notion is very far from being a correct one. The Treaty of Vienna, though considerably modified and altered, still belongs to the public law of Europe, and continues to be the charter under which many of the nations of Europe hold their political rights. A brief sketch of the history and provisions of this Treaty, to whose significance and character we hope we have now given due prominence, will make this clearly apparent.

It was in November, 1814, that the famous Committee of the Eight Powers* met at Vienna, under the presidency of Prince Metternich, to draw up a treaty which was to be henceforth the written law of Europe. The necessity of such a treaty was most pressing, and the moment seemed propitious. In the lawless grasp of Napoleon, Europe had become a conglomeration of States without fixed boundaries or acknowledged rights to political existence. The old landmarks were swept away; the balance of power was destroyed; strong States had become weak, and weak ones strong. The armies of Russia were in occupation of Poland; those of Austria, of all Italy except Naples; those of England and Sweden, of Holland and Belgium; those of Prussia, of Saxony; those of Wurtemberg and Baden, of the Rhine Provinces; and those of England and Portugal, of part of Spain. At length the hand which had wrought all this evil was believed to have been effectually paralyzed, and the sooner the normal state of things was restored the better. Such was the train of ideas which led to the formation of the Congress of Vienna. But while strongly impressed with the necessity of restoring Europe as much as possible to the condition in which it was before the wars of Napoleon, the members of the Congress could not leave out of consideration the great change which had been working in the minds of the whole civilized world in the interval. The principle that governments were made for nations, not nations for governments—that great principle which the terrible Revolution of 1789 had stamped in letters of blood on the page of history—was recognised, though partially and unwillingly, by the reactionist framers of the Treaty of Vienna; and in that treaty for the first time appeared the word "nationality," a word which has since conveyed ideas of such dreadful import to the despotisms of Europe. With these objects and sentiments the members of the Committee set themselves to their task. The questions before them were numerous and important, and were treated in the following order:—Poland, Saxony, Belgium and Holland, Germany, Italy, and Switzerland.

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* Austria, England, France, Prussia, Russia, Spain, Portugal, and Sweden.

Poland has ever been the great stumbling-block of the diplomacy of Europe. Ever since the first great blow was dealt against the faith of treaties and the sacredness of the principle of the balance of power by her partition, Poland has risen up before assembled Europe, whenever any question of international law was being discussed, like a remorse and a mockery. Her independent existence as an important element of the balance of power, her rights as sanctioned by treaties both general and particular, have all been destroyed and trodden under foot, amid the silent indifference of Europe. She remains a sad monument of the narrow-minded selfishness of governments, and a warning to small States of the slender guarantees for their security afforded them by the boasted sacredness of European engagements. Nor has the crime of the partition been unaccompanied by a terrible retribution. For a century Poland has been a standing discredit to the established governments of Europe. At intervals of from fifteen to twenty years she has risen against her oppressors, and her cry for freedom has waked a responsive echo in the hearts of enslaved populations. Even Prince Talleyrand, who took the most active part in bringing about the Restoration, and was its representative at the Congress, acknowledged, in a note addressed by him to the plenipotentiaries, the partition of Poland to have been "the prelude, in part perhaps the cause, and even to a certain extent the excuse, of the disorders to which Europe had been a prey;" and that the established dynasties of Europe still regard the results of the partition of Poland with dread for their own safety, is proved by the fact, that the present insurrection has given rise to a diplomatic intervention on their part, which would certainly not have been offered had a breach of treaty alone been in question. It was with this nation, formidable by its very helplessness and disorganization, that the Congress had to deal. At that time Poland was almost entirely in the possession of Russia, which occupied the Lithuanian and Ruthenian provinces, the Grand Duchy of Warsaw created by Napoleon, and the towns of Kalisz, Cracow, Zamosc, and Thorn. The Russian Emperor, Alexander I., whose mind presented a curious, but by no means unusual, combination of worldly astuteness with chivalric sentiment, had proposed to the Congress that the whole of that portion of Poland which was in the possession of his troops should be united into a constitutional kingdom under his sceptre. To repair the partition, and to replace the Poles in their ancient condition as a free and independent nation, had been secret dreams of his youth, which he delighted to communicate to confidential friends;* and the Congress found him still eager to adhere to the plans he had formed when he first met the exiled Czartoryskis at the court of his grandmother Catherine. But all the other Powers, even including Prussia, which was then, as now, the submissive vassal of the Czar, entertained serious objections to the proposal. Lord Castlereagh, the British plenipotentiary, took the principal part in representing these objections to the Emperor. He pointed out that the proposal for the "forced annexation of nearly the entire of so important and populous a territory as the Duchy of Warsaw, containing about 4,000,000 of people, upon a principle of conquest, to the empire of Russia, so largely increased of late by her conquest of Finland, by her acquisitions in Moldavia, and by her recent extension on the side of Persia, her advance from the Niemen into the very heart of Germany, her possession of all the fortresses of the Duchy, and thereby totally exposing to her attack the capitals of Austria and Prussia, without any line of defence or frontier," had "necessarily created great alarm and consternation in the Courts of Austria and Prussia, and diffused general apprehension throughout the European States." Quoting the article of the Treaty of Kalisz, concluded between Russia and Prussia on the 28th of February, 1813, which provides for "the dissolution of the Duchy of Warsaw, and the partition of the provinces which constitute it between Austria, Prussia, and Russia," and the subsequent Treaty of the 9th of September of the same year between Austria and Prussia, in which they bound themselves to procure "an amicable arrangement between the three Courts of Austria, of Prussia, and of Russia, as to the future destiny of the Duchy of Warsaw," he argued that the measure in question was "not only against the tenour, but even more against the spirit, of those treaties." Finally, he disposed of the plea, advanced by the Emperor, of his moral duties towards the Poles, by the following pithy and somewhat aggressive sentences:—

"If moral duty requires that the situation of the Poles should be ameliorated by so decisive a change as the revival of their monarchy, let it be undertaken upon the broad and liberal principle of rendering them again really independent as a nation, instead of making two-thirds of them a more formidable military instrument in the hands of a single Power. Such a measure of liberality would be applauded by all Europe, and would not be opposed, but, on the contrary, would be cheerfully acquiesced in both by Austria and Prussia. It would be a measure, it is true, of sacrifice, in the ordinary calculation of States, on the part of Russia; but if His Imperial Majesty is not prepared for such sacrifices to moral duty on the part of his own Empire, he has no moral right to make such experiments at the expense of his allies and neighbours."*

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* Letters from Alexander to Prince Adam Czartoryski, Dec. 1810, Feb. 1811, Jan. 1813; to Prince Oginski, Nov. and Dec. 1811; and to Kosciuszko, May, 1814.

This curious diplomatic document displays the straightforwardness and practical good sense which are the comm[illegible] characteristics of English diplomatists. As an impartial treatment of the mere question of material balance of power, it is almost unexceptionable. But, regarding the subject from a higher point of view, we can only marvel at the short-sightedness and moral obliquity of the great Tory Minister. At every step he invokes the principle of the balance of power and the sacred obligations of treaties; he quotes against Alexander his own words:—"Henceforth treaties shall be no longer truces, but be observed with that scrupulous faith, that sacred inviolability, on which depend the consideration, the force, and the preservation of empires;" and yet he uses all his efforts to maintain the partition of Poland, that greatest violation of the principle of the balance of power and of the sacredness of treaties known in history; he appeals to treaties by which that gross violation of all law and right was effected, and he suggests the restoration of the independence of Poland, not as the redemption of a great crime, not as the only possible guarantee for restoring and preserving the balance of power, but as a mere rhetorical expedient to clench his arguments against the proposal of Alexander to undo the work of the partition.

Alexander was deeply indignant at the opposition which was offered to his favourite project. In due course of time an answer was returned to the British memorandum, in which the prevalent tone was that of sharp criticism both of the statements and the arguments of Lord Castlereagh. At the same time a personal correspondence took place between the Russian Emperor and the British plenipotentiary. The letters of Lord Castlereagh were blunt and dictatorial; those of Alexander haughtily indignant. It soon became evident that no good result could follow from such a mode of carrying on the negotiations. The controversy, which began by a discussion, ended in a quarrel. Lord Castlereagh openly imputed aggressive intentions to the Czar, and Alexander closed the correspondence with a curt note couched in terms of ill-concealed rage and mortification.*

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* "Correspondence relating to the Negotiations of the Years 1814 and 1815 respecting Poland. Presented to the House of Commons by Command of her Majesty. 1863."

The Austrian plenipotentiary now stepped into the arena. In concert with Lord Castlereagh and his Imperial Master, Prince Metternich had addressed a memorandum to the Prussian representative, urging him to join him in laying three alternatives for the settlement of the Polish question before the Czar. The following are the three plans alluded to, as described in the Austrian memorandum:†—

"1st. Animated with the most liberal principles, and those most in confor[illegible] with the establishment of a system of equilibrium in Europe, and *opposed since* 1772 *to all the plans for the partition of Poland,* Austria is ready to consent to the *re-establishment of that kingdom so as to be free and independent from all foreign influence on the scale of its dimensions before the first partition;* reserving to the neighbouring Powers the regulation of their respective frontiers on the principle of a mutual convenience.

"2nd. Admitting the little probability of such a project being even taken into consideration by the Court of Russia, Austria would equally agree to the *re-establishment of a free and independent Poland in its dimensions of the year* 1791, with the reservation specified in the first proposition. In this case Austria would be prepared to recognise the increases of territory Russia and Prussia might think fit to reserve to themselves out of this new kingdom, and which should not be incompatible with its existence as an independent body politic.

"3rd. In the supposition that the Emperor will regard this second proposition as equally inadmissible, Austria is ready to recognise the extension of the Russian frontier to the right bank of the Vistula, it being understood that the course of this river is to remain free and to be open for the common use of the inhabitants on its banks. Russia would keep on the left bank of the Vistula the town of Warsaw with a *rayon,* and give up to Prussia the town of Thorn on the right bank of the river."‡

These propositions Prince Metternich submitted to the Czar, supporting them by the same arguments as had already been brought forward by Lord Castlereagh. The rage of Alexander now knew no bounds. Indeed, his fury was so uncontrollable that, for the only time in his life, he broke through the caution with which he always surrounded himself in his dealings with the Western Powers. Throwing off the mask of European civilization and liberalism which he wore with such ease as to deceive the acutest of Western statesmen, he exclaimed, with all the unprincipled savagery of an Oriental despot: "I have 200,000 men in the Duchy of Warsaw; drive me out of it who can. You are always talking to me of principles. Your law of nations is nothing to me. What do I care, think you, for your parchments and your treaties? There is one thing which for me is above everything, and that is my word. Your law is a mere matter of European convention." But this was only a transient outburst of passion. Alexander's mind was too acute and subtle not to perceive and prompt him to use to the fullest extent all the advantages of his position. Although he had relatively expended infinitely less of blood and treasure than the other great European Powers in the terrible and desolating war which had just terminated, it was unquestionably to him that was due the main credit of having brought that war to a conclusion. At once the liberator and the strongest Power of Europe, he could impose both on her sense of gratitude and on her fears; and he was not the man to neglect these great advantages. Moreover, in his frequent conversations with the plenipotentiaries, he had arrived at the conclusion that none of them would offer any serious opposition to his plans. All of them concurred in the advisability of re-establishing an independent Poland in her limits of 1772; but such re-establishment was evidently held up as a menace rather than as a project that could be seriously entertained. We have already quoted the language held by Lord Castlereagh on the subject. Prince Talleyrand, who came forward as the apostle of legitimacy, was ready to sacrifice Poland to Saxony, whose king was the relative of Louis XVIII., and which it was known Alexander had offered to Prussia as the price of her subservience to his designs. But he strongly declared himself in favour of an independent Poland. "In Paris," said Alexander to him one day when he found him violently opposing his Polish propositions, "you appeared to me entirely favourable to the re-establishment of Poland." "Certainly, Sire," was the reply; "I would have seen with real joy, as all other Frenchmen would, the re-establishment of Poland—but of the real Poland. As for the Poland now in question, it interests us but little."* And a month later the French plenipotentiary was even more explicit. "If your Majesty," said he, "wishes to re-establish Poland in a complete state of independence, we are ready to support you."† Still, while admitting that, were there any hope of such a solution of the Polish question, it would have been "the first, the greatest, the most eminently European," he declared that there being no such hope, "the question of Saxony had become the most important of all"‡—a pitiful anti-climax, characteristic of that Restoration which inherited all the narrow-minded dynastic prejudices of the old *régime*, without its chivalrous ambition or its high-minded generosity. The language held by Austria was perhaps the most decisive and energetic. We have already quoted the remarkable despatch addressed by Prince Metternich to the Prussian plenipotentiary, in which, after declaring that Austria had always opposed herself to the partition of Poland, he added that she was prepared to make the necessary sacrifices to secure the restoration of that country. In his conversations with Alexander the Austrian statesman was even more precise. When the Emperor used his favourite argument of the necessity for restoring Poland to her rights, the acute diplomatist retorted that Austria, which was in possession of a large share of Polish territory, would be as ready as Russia to effect a restoration which could cost so little to the Power that achieved it. Alexander was deeply offended at this remark, and declared that Prince Metternich was the only Austrian who would have dared to address him in such a tone. But in the Prussian plenipotentiary he found a far more submissive and credulous hearer. It was no secret that, as has been already remarked, the territory of the King of Saxony, the last ally of Napoleon, was the payment intended by Alexander for Prussia* in return for her submission; and Prince Hardenberg naturally declined the Austrian and British proposals. He did more: actuated either by wonderful credulity or by the most profound dissimulation, he endeavoured to justify his refusal by showing that the proposal of Russia rather tended to the diminution than the aggrandizement of that Power. Describing the conversation he had with Alexander on the subject, he represents the Emperor as complaining of the obstinacy with which his plans are resisted, notwithstanding the great services he had rendered to Europe, and the increase of territory he had obtained for several of its States.

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* "Correspondence, &c., 1814 and 1815," p. 31.

† Id. p. 27.

‡ Id. p. 28.

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* Letters to Louis XVIII., 25th Oct. 1814. † Id. 17th Nov. 1814.
‡ Klüber, vol. vii. p. 48.

"His Majesty added," he continues, "that thinking he had a right to ask for a similar increase for himself, he yet confined himself to a measure which secured the peace of Europe, by at length tranquillizing a discontented and agitated nation, and by placing it under the direction of a Cabinet which would know how to restrain it; that his allies, far from regarding it as dangerous, should, on the contrary, support and favour it, the more so because by drawing closer the bonds of the alliance of Chaumont, the Emperor was ready to give them all imaginable guarantees, and particularly for their portions of ancient Poland; *that he would add to the new kingdom all the Russian provinces that were formerly Polish;* that he would give it a constitution which would separate it from Russia, and withdraw all the Russian troops, without exception, to behind the limits of this new kingdom; that, finally, the object of dispute, which was necessary, in the general opinion, for the end he proposed to himself, was too inconsiderable to justify the allies in attaching so much importance to it, and refusing it to him."

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* The following remarks were addressed to Prince Hardenberg by Lord Castlereagh on this subject, in his note of the 11th October, 1814:—"I have no hesitation in entertaining the principle of the proposed arrangement, if it shall be necessary to place Prussia in the station she should occupy for the interest of Europe; but if this incorporation (of Saxony) should be attempted as a means of compensating Prussia for unjust and dangerous encroachments on the part of Russia, *and as an arrangement to reconcile her, uncovered in point of frontier, to submit to an obvious relation of military dependence on that great Power*, in this latter alternative, which I should, for the honour and interest of all, and of none more than Prussia herself, deeply deplore, I do not feel myself justified in giving your Highness the smallest expectation that Great Britain could, in the face of Europe, be a party to such an arrangement."

If we are to believe Prince Hardenberg, he was overcome by this specious reasoning.

"The more I think of it," he writes, "the more I am of opinion that we on our side ought to yield on the political question, for in it I see much more profit than danger for the peace of Europe in general, and the neighbours of Russia in particular. I see the strength and power of the latter rather weakened than increased by this new kingdom of Poland under the sceptre of the same sovereign. *Russia, properly so called, loses some very considerable and fertile provinces. Joined to the Duchy of Warsaw these provinces will have a constitution quite different and much more liberal than that of the Empire.* The Poles will enjoy privileges which the Russians have not. Soon the spirit of the two nations will be entirely in opposition, their jealousies will prevent unity, embarrassments of all kinds will arise, and an Emperor of Russia who is at the same time King of Poland, will be less redoubtable than a sovereign of the Russian Empire who includes in the latter as a province the greater part of Poland which no one attempts to reclaim from him. I do not in the least fear that the subjects of Austria and Prussia who were formerly Poles will give rise to disturbances by their constant endeavours to join their fellow-countrymen. A wise and paternal administration will easily obviate all apprehensions of this kind."*

This strange specimen of sound reasoning on utterly fallacious premisses made no impression on the other representatives of the great Powers at the Congress. Finding that the attitude of Russia and Prussia daily grew more threatening, England, France, and Austria, by a secret treaty signed on the 3rd of January, 1815, entered into a defensive alliance "in consequence of the pretensions which have been latterly put forward," by which they bound themselves each to bring, if necessary, 150,000 men into the field.†

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* "Correspondence, &c., 1814 and 1815," p. 29.

† D'Angeberg: "Archives Diplomatiques—Pologne," p. 642. Paris, 1862.

This energetic proceeding brought Russia to her senses. Alexander abated some of his pretensions, and an arrangement was agreed to, by which a portion of the Duchy of Warsaw was divided between Austria and Prussia, the remaining portion (except Cracow, which was to be a free city) receiving a Constitution, and being united to the Russian crown as the "kingdom of Poland." As for the Polish provinces, they were to receive national institutions, and the Czar would reserve to himself the power to carry out the project to which he had always remained faithful, of uniting them to the kingdom at the first favourable opportunity. This point, the grant of national institutions to the Poles, both of the kingdom and the provinces, had been strongly insisted upon by Prince Metternich and Lord Castlereagh. The former, in a despatch to Prince Hardenberg, dated the 10th of December, 1814, had used the following remarkable words:—"The Emperor not having found in your Highness's verbal note anything relating to the constitutional question of Poland, *nor to that of the re-union of the ancient Ruthenian Polish provinces to the new acquisitions of Russia,* his Imperial Majesty directs me to call the attention of the Prussian Cabinet to *an object so essential. The demands which we have the right to make in this respect to Russia result from the engagements which the Emperor Alexander has spontaneously, and of his own accord, taken towards us, in order to compensate us in a degree for his pretensions to territorial acquisitions.* It seems impossible not to mention this condition in the course of our ulterior negotiations, by connecting the promises of the Emperor on this subject with *the guarantees we have the right to claim for our possessions formerly Polish.*"[*] Lord Castlereagh, in his circular to the plenipotentiaries dated the 12th of January, 1815, used language no less strong: "In cordial concurrence"—such are his words—"with the general sentiments which he has had the satisfaction to observe the respective Cabinets entertain on this subject," he "ardently desires that the illustrious monarchs to whom the destinies of the Polish nation are confided may be induced, before they depart from Vienna, to take an engagement with each other to treat *as Poles,* under whatever form of political institution they may think fit to govern them, *the portions of that nation that may be placed under their respective sovereignties.*"[†] This recommendation was adopted by the three Powers. Russia declared her intention of "re-uniting *a portion of the Polish nation* to her Empire by constitutional bonds;" Austria "shared the liberal views of the Emperor Alexander in favour of the national institutions which his Imperial Majesty had determined to give the

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[*] "Correspondence, &c., 1814 and 1815," p. 40.

[†] Id. p. 43.

Poles;" and Prussia informed Lord Castlereagh "that the principles developed in his note on the manner of administering the Polish provinces placed under the dominion of the different Powers are entirely in conformity with the sentiments of his Majesty."*

While thus giving their sanction to a new partition of Poland, the British and Austrian plenipotentiaries lamented the necessity which prevented them from carrying out their wish of restoring that unhappy country to its ancient independence. Lord Castlereagh, probably under the pressure of popular opinion in England, had it placed upon record that "the desire of his Court to see *an independent Power, more or less considerable in extent, established in Poland under a distinct dynasty, and as an intermediate State between the three great Monarchies*, has uniformly been avowed;" and Prince Metternich declared that, "the course of action which had been followed by the Emperor in the important negotiations which have just settled the destiny of the Duchy of Warsaw, cannot have left the Powers any doubts that not only would *the re-establishment of an independent Poland, restored to a National Polish Government*, have completely satisfied the views of his Imperial Majesty, but that *he would not even have regretted the greatest sacrifices in order to arrive at the salutary restoration of that ancient order of things.*"†

These regretful words, barren and humiliating as they are, at least show a consciousness on the part of the plenipotentiaries that they were about to give, for the first time in the history of the world, to a great European wrong the sanction of a great European Treaty. Hitherto the only Poland that had been recognised by the public law of Europe was the independent State of 1772; the Congress, from alleged motives of necessity, had determined to recognise, in the new law, a Poland of the same extent indeed as the other, but without its independence; a Polish nation with national institutions, but subject to the rule of Russia, Austria, and Prussia.

Although the principles upon which the Polish negotiations were to be carried on were thus finally settled, the negotiations themselves were not yet terminated. Strong in their alliance, the three Powers opposed to Russia would probably have pressed and obtained "the re-union of the ancient Ruthenian Polish provinces" to the new Constitutional Polish kingdom, an object already declared to be "essential" by Austria, had not an event occurred which disordered all their plans. Napoleon returned from Elba; and the short but bloody struggle which ensued, by still further diminishing the powers of the Allies, increased the general desire for peace. Alexander's proposal to restrict the grant of a Constitution, at least for the present, to the Polish kingdom, was adopted without any further opposition; and the future condition of Poland was provided for by the Treaty which was to be henceforth the public law of Europe.

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* "Correspondence, &c., 1814 and 1815," pp. 45, 47, 48.

† Id. p. 47.

These provisions were contained in the first fourteen articles of the Treaty. The first and most important of these articles relates to the new kingdom of Poland, and the Poles of the remainder of the old State of 1772 which were to be divided between Russia, Austria, and Prussia. It is as follows:—

> "The Duchy of Warsaw, with the exception of the provinces and districts which are otherwise disposed of by the following Articles, is united to the Russian Empire, to which it shall be irrevocably attached by its Constitution, and be possessed by his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, his heirs and successors in perpetuity. His Imperial Majesty reserves to himself to give to this State, enjoying a distinct administration, the *interior extension* which he shall judge proper. He shall assume with his other titles that of Czar, king of Poland, agreeably to the form established for the titles attached to his other possessions.
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> "*The Poles, who are respective subjects of Russia, Austria, and Prussia*, shall obtain *a representation and national institutions*, regulated according to the degree of political consideration that each of the governments to which they belong shall judge expedient and proper to grant them."

Read by the light of the negotiations above described, nothing can be clearer than this language. Of the inhabitants of the territory which was Poland before it was partitioned, those belonging to the "kingdom" are to form a separate State, with a distinct administration, and attached to the crown of Russia by a Constitution; the remainder are to have a representation and national institutions, the form of which it is open to the governments to which they belong to decide upon.

The next article gives the Duchy of Posen to Prussia, and defines, on the side of Prussia as well as of Russia, the limits within which the Polish inhabitants are to have a "representation and national institutions."

Arts. III., IV., and V. define the territory of Austrian Poland.

Arts. VI. to X. relate to Cracow. By Art. VI., "the town of Cracow, with its territory, is declared to be for ever a free, independent, and strictly neutral city, under the protection of Austria, Russia, and Prussia;" and by Art. IX. "the Courts of Russia, Austria, and Prussia engage to respect, and to cause to be always respected, the neutrality of the free town of Cracow and its territory. No armed force shall be introduced upon any pretence whatever."

Arts. XI., XII., and XIII. relate to political trials, &c. The fourteenth article is important, as giving an additional proof of the intention of the Treaty to guarantee the nationality of the whole of Poland. It quotes and confirms the articles in treaties between Russia and Austria, and Russia and Prussia, establishing free navigation and trade "in all parts of ancient Poland (as it existed before the year 1772)." Finally, as if to remove all possible doubt as to the principles by which the Congress was actuated in its settlement of Poland, the third article of the Treaty between Russia and Prussia, which, by Art. 118 of the General Treaty, is to be considered "part of the general enactments of the Congress, and is to have the same weight and value as if it had been inserted word for word in the General Treaty," says:—

"*The Poles, subjects respectively of the high contracting parties, shall obtain institutions which shall insure the preservation of their nationality*, in such form as each of the Governments to which they belong may think it useful and proper to grant them."

We have gone somewhat at length into the history of these stipulations, both because the question to which they refer was the most difficult and important that came under the consideration of the Congress, and because of the menacing aspect under which it now presents itself to the statesmen of Europe. After carefully examining the different phases of the negotiations and the treaty provisions in which they resulted, it is, we conceive, impossible for any unprejudiced mind to entertain the shadow of a doubt that it was the evident intention of the Treaty to preserve, by giving a constitution to the kingdom, and national institutions to the remainder of ancient Poland, the nationality of the Poles, as some compensation to Western Europe for the loss of their independence.

It has already been remarked that it was at the Congress of Vienna that the diplomacy of Europe for the first time took cognizance of a nationality—the nationality of Poland. But this cognizance was in a manner forced upon them, and there can be no doubt that the Vienna plenipotentiaries, with their old-world notions of dynastic rights and national duties, would have gladly moved in their old grooves in the Polish question had it been possible. This nation of indomitable heroes, without a sovereign or even a government—this land of reckless patriots, sacrificing everything rather than submit to a foreign yoke—amazed and perplexed them. It was too substantial and powerful a reality to be disregarded, and it at the same time presented a state of things so entirely unique and without precedent, that it was not without considerable hesitation that the retrograde statesmen composing the Congress ventured on a road which was to them entirely new. Traces of this unfamiliarity with the real requirements of a nation are abundant in the negotiations, and are even to be found in the Treaty, which, whenever a constitution or national institutions are alluded to, becomes vague and uses general terms, as if, although the plenipotentiaries were quite clear as to their intentions, they were not quite so clear as to the proper way in which those intentions should be carried out. But in the Saxon question they returned to well-known ground, and, the weight of the unknown and the incomprehensible being now off their heads, they seemed to experience a sort of zest in repeating to satiety the old worn-out theories of the rights of kings, and in blindly ignoring the noble principles of liberty and civilization which the advanced spirits of Europe had reverently gathered from the blood and filth of the Revolution. The leader in this race of retrogression was the champion of "legitimacy," Prince Talleyrand, who, as the representative of the country that had inflicted those very injuries on Europe which the Congress was then occupied in remedying, was looking for a cause whose defence might restore to France her ancient influence. This cause he thought he had found in that of the King of Saxony. In the great rising of Germany against Napoleon, this prince had sided with the latter, and was consequently a prisoner at Berlin; his territory having meanwhile been occupied by the Prussian troops, and claimed as a conquest by the Prussian Government. There was no dearth of good reasons which might be alleged in opposition to this claim. Pre-eminent among them was that of Lord Castlereagh already quoted—the fact of Saxony being the price agreed to be paid by Russia for the vassalage of Prussia. A more personal but equally strong objection was that taken by Austria, based on the position of Saxony, which, if given up to Prussia, would lay open Austria's left flank to the attack of that rival Power. But such reasons as these were not in the game of the apostle of that species of "order" which, fifteen years later, one of his successors in the French ministry cynically described as reigning in Warsaw. Like the renegade who strives to prove the sincerity of his belief in the new doctrine he has adopted, by exceeding its greatest bigots in the fervency of his zeal and the assiduity of his devotion, Prince Talleyrand represented the France of the Revolution and of Napoleon as the preserver of traditionary monarchies and the protector of antiquated rights. For him Saxony was not a question of balance of power—still less of nationality—but of monarchical property. "Never," he wrote, "will the King of France sanction the entire cession of Saxony to Prussia and the disappearance of that royal line; for confiscation, being banished from the code of enlightened nations, cannot in the nineteenth century be admitted into the public law of Europe." Is it to be wondered at that the government which could openly advocate such pitiful principles as this, was, ere fifteen years had elapsed, overthrown by the noble nation that five-and-twenty years before had raised the standard of universal freedom? The French note, though not apparently having much weight with the Congress, reactionist as it was, yet added another opponent to the projects of Russia and Prussia. A compromise was the result; Prussia obtained a small part of Saxony, and the remainder was restored to its former sovereign.

In the Saxon question, the nationality of the inhabitants having played but a very small part, the work of the Congress was on the whole successful. But when the state of Holland and Belgium came under consideration, the principle which the plenipotentiaries had adopted of wilfully ignoring the dispositions of the people, led them into a grave error, which has since fortunately righted itself. The Dutch and the Belgians, two strongly-marked nationalities differing essentially in manners, customs, and religion, were forced into a monstrous union under the sovereignty of the House of Orange, a union which, it must have been evident to any one who had studied the character and history of the two nations, could not long subsist. But in the short-sighted view of the Congress it presented every advantage. Manufacturing Belgium would provide seafaring Holland with exports; the United Kingdom of the Low Countries would be an important military State as an element of the balance of power; and, more than all, England and France were under a sort of promise to give the House of Orange a considerable extension of territory. Perhaps, too, the Congress thought, like those match-makers on a smaller scale whom in many points they resembled, that the *mariage de convenance* would, in due course of time, become a *mariage d'amour*. Their objections to the erection of Belgium into a separate State are amusing and characteristic. With that contempt for all originality of idea or attempt to keep pace with the time which is the most striking feature of these negotiations, they go back to the middle ages, when Belgium was a group of free cities, constantly at war with each other and devastated by internal rebellions, and ask themselves whether it would be right to revive such a Belgium as that?—a question about as pertinent as one which was recently put by a journal claiming the supremacy over the press of this country, when it asked whether it would be advisable to revive the Poland of a hundred years ago?

The negotiations on the subject of Germany presented fewer difficulties than any of those which had gone before. The principal object to be attained was so to organize Germany as to prevent the possibility of the recurrence of such an event as the alliance of France in 1805 with most of the small German States against Austria and Prussia. All the German States were accordingly united into a Confederation, whose capital, Frankfort, was made a free city under provisions very similar to those relating to Cracow. The affairs of this Confederation are to be transacted by a Diet, under the presidency of Austria, in which each of the larger States, and each group consisting of a certain number of smaller States, is entitled to a vote. The internal organization of the Confederation was left to be settled by itself in an "assembly" at which the various States have each a certain number of votes according to their size. All modifications of such organization are also to be discussed and settled by an "assembly." In this arrangement England, by her connexion with Hanover, and Russia, by her influence with the petty German princes, took a prominent part.

In the Italian question the plenipotentiaries again found a stumbling-block over which they leapt with thoughtless indifference. Austria was mistress of nearly the whole of Northern Italy; the Pope had returned to occupy his dominions in the centre; and in the South, Murat, who had contracted an alliance with England and Austria against Napoleon, and had in return been guaranteed the sovereignty of Naples by those two Powers, was established with his army. Differences of nationality having been entirely set aside by the Congress as a question unworthy of consideration, the great difficulty was Naples. England and Austria, though bound by treaty to secure Murat in his possessions, entertained great objections to such a step as dangerous to the peace of Europe. Prince Talleyrand, still harping on his idea of restoring the old dynasties, declared Murat an usurper on the throne of the House of Bourbon, and refused to communicate with his representative at Vienna. Murat, angry and terrified, immediately poured his troops into the Pontifical Marches, intending to invade France. This simplified matters: England and Austria declared themselves no longer bound by their treaty, and Naples, with Sicily, were delivered over to the House of Bourbon. As for Austria, she retained all her possessions in Italy but Piedmont and Genoa, which, with Sardinia, were given to the House of Savoy; and Tuscany, Modena, Parma, and Placentia were distributed among petty princes, dependent, some upon Austria, some upon the House of Bourbon.

A question of high importance—the state of Switzerland—next came under the deliberations of the Congress. This nation had for many years been a prey to internal dissensions, and its strong position between Germany, France, and Italy rendered its condition one of European interest. The Emperor Alexander, who made his influence strongly felt in almost every matter treated by the Congress, in the Swiss question showed even more than his usual activity, and even went so far as severely to reprimand the deputies of some of the Cantons for their disunion. At length, after much hot discussion, the Swiss deputies came to an agreement with the plenipotentiaries at Vienna. A confederation of twenty-two Cantons was established, and their relative strength and influence so constituted as to secure the preponderance to the party which adhered to the old customs and form of government.

We have now described the principal provisions of the great public law which was solemnly ratified by Europe in 1815. We have seen that in many respects this law was quite inadequate to the wants of the time; that the principles on which it is based are such as would be disavowed by the most retrograde monarchy of the present day; and that some of its stipulations were even practically incapable of fulfilment. It had, in a word, more than the usual number of imperfections to which all human laws are liable. Like them, it has in the course of years undergone many alterations; arrangements which had become obsolete have been remodelled, and others which unexpected circumstances had rendered inexpedient were by universal consent recognised as null and void. But the original framework still remains; and where it has not been modified by the agreement of all the Powers, the provisions of the Treaty of Vienna are as binding on them, and are as much the law of Europe now, as they were in 1815.

It will not be without instruction to trace the conduct pursued by Europe in the circumstances which led to the various modifications of its written law. The first of these modifications was produced by the Belgian revolution of 1830. The King of the Netherlands appealed to the Powers who signed the Treaty of Vienna for aid, basing his application on the precedents of 1821 and 1823, when Russia, Prussia, Austria, and France interfered to put down popular revolutions in Piedmont, Naples, and Spain. But both England and the France of Louis Philippe refused to adopt the doctrines of the Holy Alliance; and France even went so far as to declare that if the Prussians intervened, her troops would enter Belgium. A conference was then determined upon, which was attended by the representatives of the great Powers. In the protocol opening the conference, dated the 20th of December, 1830, its object was declared to be "the stopping of bloodshed by an entire cessation of hostilities on both sides;" and with this view an armistice was proposed and the mediation of the Powers offered. The armistice was refused by the King of the Netherlands, and accepted by the Belgians. The belligerent rights of the Belgians were then recognised, and the negotiations continued until the following January, when the King of the Netherlands yielded, and expressed his concurrence in the final protocol of the Conference, which contained this important declaration:—

"Official communications have convinced the five Courts that the means originally destined to maintain the union of Belgium and Holland are neither calculated to re-establish it temporarily nor to preserve it, and that henceforth, instead of uniting the affections and happiness of two peoples, they would only raise up passions and hatreds between them, and produce war with all its disorders as the result of their concussion."

This remarkable departure from the principles of the Treaty of Vienna is then explained by the following sound and but too seldom observed political axiom:—"Each nation has its particular rights; but Europe has also its right, the right to preserve social order."

The most inattentive reader cannot fail to remark how strikingly the above words apply to the question which is now most agitating Europe. If we substitute the words "Poland" for "Belgium," and "Russia" for "Holland," we shall have a perfectly accurate description of the present state of the Polish question, and the duties it imposes upon the great Powers. The dignified and successful policy which the Powers pursued on this occasion also conveys a lesson which it may be well to remember at the present crisis. In a few months Belgium as effectually obtained her independence by the determined attitude shown by the Powers in her favour, and above all by their recognising her belligerent rights, as if they had poured their troops into the country and declared war against the King of the Netherlands. Had this policy of justice and right been consistently adhered to by the Powers in the many other questions since raised by the partial and inefficient arrangements of the Treaty of Vienna, we should not now have to deplore the existence of dangers which threaten the peace of Europe, and which, unless we return to a strict observance of the law, must break over our heads in a general war, of which no one can foretel the issue.

How different to this policy was the course pursued in the next great modification of the Treaty of Vienna! The partial liberation of the Austrian provinces of Italy was effected, not by the moral co-operation of Europe, but by the hand of a great aggressive Power which saw a prospect of territorial aggrandizement in an enterprise professedly undertaken for the enfranchisement of an oppressed nationality. The result was lame and unsatisfactory; the liberation of Italy from a foreign yoke was not half completed, and France, for doing the work of Europe, exacted as her reward two provinces which belonged by every national and European right to Sardinia. Thus was the incomplete restoration of one portion of a nation to its rights purchased by the violation of the rights of another portion, because in a question of European interest all Europe did not take part.

But the question to which we would more immediately refer is one which has not yet received even a partial solution, and which has once more brought us face to face with the Treaty of Vienna—that of Poland.

The Polish question is indeed a striking example of the effects of a breach of international right silently concurred in by all the Powers of Europe. For nearly a hundred years it has been the standing difficulty of statesmen, the terror of sovereigns, and the hope of all the enemies of peace. Before it was first raised by the partition, there had been no sensible alteration of territory in Europe for three centuries: since that time not one century has yet passed, and Europe has not once been free for fifteen years together from convulsions, more or less directly traceable to the partition, which have changed her very face and disturbed her internal organization. With an almost inconceivable blindness, the protectors of the "order" of 1815, instead of closing up the hideous wound that exposed the European body politic weak and defenceless to the attack of its Muscovite enemy, left open the sore to spread the seeds of chronic disease by corrupting the universal feeling of right and belief in the principles of civilization. And when the partitioning Powers, in defiance of the express stipulations of the Treaty of Vienna, not only neglected to apply to the evil they had committed the weak and inefficient remedies which they were solemnly bound to use, but did their best to turn them into poisons, Europe, as if under a heavy retribution whose weight she felt powerless to shake off, remained passive and silent in presence of an ever-recurring and aggravated wrong. How infinitely stronger was the case of the Poles, goaded into revolution by the flagrant violation of all their rights and the barbarous tyranny of the monster who was their viceroy, than that of the dissatisfied, but neither insulted nor persecuted Belgians in 1830—and how miserably inefficient were the feeble remonstrances of France and England in the former case, as compared with the firm yet peaceful attitude of all the Powers in the latter! Our government alone seemed to have some consciousness of its duty, and protested with irresistible logic both against Russia's repeated violations of the Treaty of Vienna and her monstrous doctrine that the revolution which was the consequence of those violations relieved her from her obligations to Europe under the Treaty. But these isolated protests were of no avail. Prussia, still basely sacrificing her independence to the alliance of Russia, established a cordon of troops on her frontier; and Austria, who secretly favoured the Poles, was deterred from openly pronouncing in their favour by the evident hesitation of France and England. Blocked in by enemies who surrounded her on every side, and shut out from every kind of support, Poland fell, once more a victim to the fears and the political blindness of Europe. But her misfortunes, far from crushing her, inspired her with a new life. Without the constitution and the national institutions guaranteed to her by the Treaty of Vienna, oppressed and insulted by the Russianising policy of the Czars and the Germanisation of their allies, she still kept alive the flame of nationality, and eagerly watched for an opportunity to strike another blow for her independence. The opportunity was not long in coming. The absorption of Cracow by Austria—a violation of international right which was perfectly consistent with the conduct pursued by the partitioning Powers towards Poland since 1772, but which now for the first time roused the indignation of Europe—was the prelude to a European revolution in which the Poles of Prussia and Austria took part. Again they failed; but this time they had no claim, as insurgents, on the aid of Europe, as they were quite unable to oppose anything like effectual resistance to the governments against which they had risen, and Russian Poland lay paralyzed beneath the iron arm of Nicholas. In the present insurrection the case is far different. It has now lasted as long as that of 1830, and is daily increasing in strength. It is the united work of all classes of the population; it embraces the whole of ancient Poland; in a word, it exhibits all the signs of a national rising. An opportunity is now offered to Europe not only to "prevent bloodshed" and to "preserve social order," as in the case of Belgium, but to vindicate the sacredness of treaties and restore the balance of power. Those who object that the restoration of Poland would not achieve the last of these objects because it would give France an ally in the north, seem to forget that there is but one alternative. The choice is between an alliance of France with a free constitutional Poland or with a despotic and aggressive Russia. Already does rumour speak of the latter as impending over the head of liberal Europe. And after all, if Europe will adhere to the duties traced out for her by her own written law, where is the danger of this Franco-Polish alliance? A Poland freed by Napoleon may indeed be tied by links of gratitude to his policy; but a Poland resuscitating under the protection of united Europe will have no motive for joining herself in a monstrous union with an aggressor and a despot. Nor does she claim or desire anything more than this protection. Her national government repudiates all foreign intervention; it asks only for a recognition by Europe of the same belligerent rights as those she has hitherto extended to every insurgent nation; to the Greeks in 1826, to the Belgians in 1830, and to the Confederate States of America since the beginning of the present civil war. And if we look at the fact that before the Treaty of Vienna the position of Poland in the international law of Europe was that of an independent nation, and that the arrangements of the Treaty which altered that position have been completely destroyed and have proved impracticable, we cannot but acknowledge that it is the duty of Europe to reconsider the position she made for Poland in 1815, and to settle its future fate in such a manner as to prevent its being a source of constant disturbance in consequence of the misgovernment and bad faith of the three Powers who by the Treaty were made its sovereigns. For it cannot be too often repeated that the right of Europe to interfere is not confined to the Congress kingdom. The articles of the Treaty we have already quoted show clearly that the administration of the Polish provinces divided among the three Powers was as much a matter of European arrangement as that of the kingdom; and that the only right enjoyed by the three partitioning Powers over their Polish possessions is derived from the Treaty of Vienna.* This right, one at least of the Powers in question has forfeited by her persistent non-fulfilment of the conditions attached to it. The conduct of Russia with regard to the Polish articles of the Treaty of Vienna presents the grossest and most indefensible instance of that offence against the society of nations whose necessary punishment we alluded to at the beginning of this article. "It has been," said our veteran statesman and diplomatist in his place in Parliament in 1861, "the greatest violation of a treaty that has ever taken place in the history of the world." Unless, therefore, treaties are henceforward to be mere declarations of an intention to confer certain benefits during pleasure, this violation for nearly half a century of the greatest of European treaties with impunity must be put a stop to. There can be no more dignified and effectual means of doing this than the declaration by Europe of her withdrawal of the rights she gave to Russia over Poland in 1815. Such a course could not deprive Europe of her right to interfere in Poland; on the contrary, it would make that right only the stronger, for it would make it dependent, not on the title-deed of the Treaty of Poland of 1815, but on that of the lawfully independent Poland of 1772. Further, it would be both the reason and the explanation of the recognition of the Poles as belligerents, who will then be entitled to fight, not for their restricted rights under the Treaty, but for their full rights as a lawfully independent nation. The objections which have been urged against this recognition are easily shown to be futile. It has been said that, unless an insurgent country is sufficiently strong to have reasonable hopes of success, its recognition as a belligerent would be useless and even mischievous; that the Poles have no regular army, and do not occupy any towns; and that therefore they can have no claim to such a recognition. The principle is, no doubt, a sound one; but it will be difficult to support the inference which is drawn from it.

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* See Lord Palmerston's Despatches to Lord Heytesbury, March 22, 1831, and March 12, 1832.

The true measure of the strength of an insurrection obviously consists in the difficulties it has overcome and the advance it has made towards success. In 1830 Poland had one of the finest regular armies in Europe, and was in full possession of all her towns; yet she failed, after an insurrection which lasted only nine months—a period during which the present rising has steadily increased in force and extent. And if we look at the strength which the Confederates of America have put forward during their insurrection, which nevertheless was considered sufficiently great to justify their recognition by Europe as belligerents, we shall find that their efforts have been as nothing compared with those of the Poles. The Confederates, rich, free, and prosperous, began the struggle with their own disciplined armies and on their own ground for a disputed question of Federal rights; the Poles, ground down by a despotism without parallel, impoverished by excessive taxation, and watched by the most elaborate system of espionage in the world, rose against their oppressors, unarmed and surrounded by enemies, for the holy cause of independence and freedom. The Confederates are defending themselves against an invader from without; the Poles are making desperate efforts to expel the oppressor within. And on which side has been the balance of success? The vast armies of the South, fighting for a point of law, are yielding; the half-starved and ill-armed insurgents, fighting for their homes and all that is most dear to them, are disputing, step by step, every inch of their country with the enemy, defeating his troops, counterchecking his manœuvres, and superseding his government by their own. By their strength, therefore, at least as much as by the justice of their cause and the barbarity of their opponents, and as a logical consequence of Russia's rejection of the propositions of the Powers,* have the Poles a right to claim from Europe recognition as belligerents. Nor would this recognition be a mere barren advantage to the insurgents. Besides opening to them all the markets of Europe for the purchase of materials of war, it would, combined with the declaration of their right to independence, cause an open breach between Russia and the Powers making the declaration. From the consequences of such a breach England and France would have nothing to fear; and the effect of this decisive step on their part would be to give Austria an opportunity of practically proving her liberal professions by making Galicia an independent State, and thereby obtaining that influence in Germany and over her own motley territories which she covets so much. It would practically throw back Russia into Asia, and thus put an end to those dangerous schemes of Panslavism which threaten the disruption of Austria and Turkey, and the consequent enslavement of Eastern and Central Europe. It would dissipate the dangers of a European war by establishing a principle of common and peaceful action against Russia. Finally, it would introduce the reign of peace and order in Europe, by showing the determination of the Powers to prove that right is stronger than might, and that neither the integrity of nations nor the faith of treaties shall in future be violated with impunity.

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* The rumoured grant of a Constitution to Russia and Poland was so glaringly improbable that none but those who were totally ignorant of the real state of those countries gave it any credit. It has already been denied by the official organs of the Russian Government.

ART. VI.—WIT AND HUMOUR.

1. *Elementary Sketches of Moral Philosophy, delivered at the Royal Institution, in the Years* 1804, 1805, *and* 1806. By the late Rev. SYDNEY SMITH, M.A. London. 1850.
2. *Wit and Humour, selected from the English Poets, with an Illustrative Essay and Critical Comments.* By LEIGH HUNT. London. 1846.
3. *The Life and Remains of Theodore Edward Hook.* By the Rev. R. H. DALTON BARHAM, B.A. 2 vols. London. 1849.
4. *The Ingoldsby Legends; or, Mirth and Marvels.* By THOMAS INGOLDSBY, Esq. 3 vols. London. 1840.
5. *The Wit and Wisdom of the Rev. Sydney Smith: a Selection of the most Memorable Passages in his Writings and Conversation.* London. 1861.
6. *Epigrams: Ancient and Modern.* Edited by the Rev. JOHN BOOTH, B.A. Cambridge. London. 1863.
7. *Wit and Wisdom; Jokes, Conundrums, and Aphorisms.* London. 1860.

THE late Sir George Cornewall Lewis, in his "Treatise upon Methods of Observation and Reasoning in Politics," has classed the appreciation of the witty and humorous, together with insanity and intemperance, as a distinctive characteristic of the human race. "Animals," he says, "have no sense of the ridiculous, and never laugh. They have no games, no toys, no pastimes, no amusements, though their young sometimes play and gambol." (Vol. i. p. 33.) If therefore we cannot, with Professor Owen, take our stand upon the *hippocampus minor* or the *posterior cornu*—if we cannot even, with orthodox psychologists, deny the possession of some solid reasoning power by brutes—it is still comforting to reflect, in these days of Darwin and Huxley, that man is clearly distinguished from the rest of the animated series not only by a more perfect development of the *glutæi* muscles, but also by being, in one sense of the word at least, an eminently ludicrous creature.

It may be permitted to Teleologists and Optimists to applaud the wisdom of a mysterious Providence which has ordained that the only being fully conscious of the miseries of life should also be the only one capable of laughing at them: that man, who alone can appreciate the depth and extent of that *mal-morale* and *mal-physique* of which Candide so patiently endeavoured to discover the causes—man, who finds himself here placed in that solemn position "between two Eternities," the contemplation of which has proved so depressing to Mr. Carlyle, as indeed it must prove to all earnest thinkers—man, who, let us hope with Mr. Pecksniff, "is not wholly unmindful of his moral responsibilities"—should yet be fitted by his nature to give way to unbridled mirth and indulge in unbounded facetiousness. Misfortune loses half its bitterness when its victim can smile upon it; and though the mercy of Heaven has not invariably restrained it from shearing the lamb somewhat too closely, it has induced it often thus to "temper the wind" so as to suit its unprotected condition.

Although in a community of ants, of bees, or of beavers, where—according to M. Comte and the modern philosophical politicians—the rudiments of our social instincts may be usefully investigated, an admirable gravity must of necessity prevail, we should be mistaken if, in the study of human societies, we did not allow to the sense of the ridiculous an important place as a factor of the social sum. It has at times, indeed, sufficient strength to overcome all those feelings which we are in the habit of deeming the most powerful in our nature. For good or for evil, the Cap-and-Bells is an emblem of an authority as real as the Crown or the Mitre, the Sword or the Gown. To become in the ordinary way a "martyr for the truth's sake" has been the ambition of many noble minds; but we never heard of any one who, voluntarily, became a laughing-stock for the purpose of testifying the sincerity of his opinions. It is a matter of common observation that men will rather be thought villains than fools, for it is much more pleasing to our vanity to be hated than despised. Contempt is usually harder to bear than persecution, and Voltaire merely expressed the general sentiment of the world when he said he would rather be abused than forgotten.

The sense of the ridiculous, like all the other faculties of our minds, has its own appropriate sphere of action, the bounds of which, however, it continually oversteps. Whilst the deeper sorrows to which we are subjected are abandoned to the consolations of virtue or the support of fortitude, and the graver ethical offences are handed over to the correction of more solemn tribunals, its province is to soften the discomforts of our lives, to obliterate the effects of our every-day troubles, and to punish the neglect, or the too pedantic observance of the decencies or conventionalities of polished society. It expands caution; it relaxes dignity; it unfreezes coldness; it teaches age and care to smile again; it recalls the half-forgotten gleams of happiness to the face of melancholy; and when we are casually thrown together with our fellow-men without any obvious means of sympathizing with them, it often proves to be the "one touch of nature that makes the whole world kin." It is the guardian of our "minor morals;" it renders men rightly dependent upon the judgments of their associates, and lays the basis of that decorum and propriety of conduct which is a necessary condition of social life, and upon which is founded the great charm of the intercourse of equals. It curbs the sallies of eccentricity, folly, and impertinence; and rebukes the smaller ebullitions of that universal selfishness which Mr. Herbert Spencer maintains to be a sign of man's fitness for his "original predatory" existence, and his (happily evanescent) want of adaptation to a gregarious state. It is the great enemy of obtrusiveness generally. The *very* decent, the *very* proper, and the righteous *over-much* are legitimately open to its attacks. It is the champion of that useful quality indefinitely known as common-sense, or the application of the rules of right reason to the ordinary affairs of life. It often takes the place among men of what is miscalled bullying among schoolboys; it serves to rub off the crude angles of the unformed character and fit it into its proper place in the world. It acts like the tongue of the maternal bear, and frequently licks an unsightly cub into a most respectable young Bruin. It tends to prevent those innocent outrages upon good taste which many respectable but unworldly people are apt to commit, and to check those insults which arise from carelessness and inattention to the feelings, opinions, or circumstances of others —arising from coarseness of mind rather than from malignity of disposition. But to laugh, or join in a laugh, implies a superiority so gratifying to self-esteem, that it is difficult for this sense of the ridiculous to be kept within due limits. To many minds it is pleasing to gain even a transitory and merely apparent ascendancy over that which is better and wiser than themselves by the simple process of poking fun at it. There is a wide-spread tendency if possible to deride things with which it is not safe to cope with more serious criticism. A short and not very arduous way of gaining a popular victory over arguments not easy to refute is to laugh at the advocates who advance them. The habit of seeing things in a ludicrous light is thus constantly making incursions from its own region upon other grounds—even the most solemn and most sacred; it then becomes an influence as injurious as, in its proper field of exertion, it is beneficial. In questions of principle, a determined resistance to its encroachments is a duty. Reforms in social, moral, or religious codes must be undertaken in a spirit very different from that of a jest. "*Ecraser l'infame*" was a good motto, but the thing was to be done with the club of reason and not with the feather of wit. To battle with the ridicule of society upon trivial things, upon questions of manner, appearance, or dress, is the sign of a peevish mind and not of an independent spirit. But in matters of importance, where deep conviction can really have a place, where settled notions of man's duty to his God or towards his neighbour are involved—then is it both right and noble to brave the jeers and laughter of the world. Unless the principles of a man are inured against the perils of ridicule he will be tossed about with every new wind of doctrine; he can no more exercise his reason with the constant dread of laughter than he can enjoy his life with the constant dread of death; he must act in such cases as Sydney Smith has said, "as one who wore a soul of his own in his bosom, and did not wait till it was breathed into him by the breath of fashion."* It might thus seem that ridicule runs a risk of becoming an agent in promoting that tendency to social stagnation against which Mr. John Stuart Mill, in his essay on Liberty, has entered so noble a protest. It might prove an instrument for establishing the tyranny of the majority, and for the destruction of that sovereignty of the individual upon which so much depends. Whilst we confine ourselves to the "high *à priori* ground," there appears to be some foundation for this apprehension, but it disappears when we condescend to particulars, or, in the words of Lord Eldon, "clothe the principle in circumstance." The stagnant civilization of the Chinese empire—the great type of an unprogressive community—cannot, even by the exercise of the minutest philosophic ingenuity, be traced to the excessive pleasantry either of the mandarins or the populace.

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* "Sketches of Moral Philosophy," p. 134.

On the other hand, the sense of the ridiculous has played a conspicuous part in the history of those nations whose advances have been most striking and most lasting. More especially has it shown its activity at periods when such advances were most marked. In all free states satirists and caricaturists have been among the most popular exponents of the views of political parties. To confine our illustrations to modern times, we find in our own country that the series of contests known by the phrase of the "great struggle for civil and religious liberty" were carried on almost as much by humourists, pamphleteers, and draughtsmen as by statesmen, orators, and politicians. Butler and Cowley, Swift and Churchill, Wolcott and Gifford, Gillray and H. B., were as truly powers to their parties as their acknowledged leaders in Parliament. The productions of Fox and Sheridan, of Pitt and Canning, in the "Rolliad" and "Anti-Jacobin," are hardly less famous than their more legitimate efforts in the House of Commons. From these periodicals may be gathered the history of the age with almost as much fulness as from the "Annual Register," and certainly more copiously than from what Mr. Froude has pronounced to be the best means of teaching English history, the "Statute Book."* Indeed, the serious criticisms on the political events of those stirring times have mostly been forgotten, whilst those pieces which were intended to work merely a transient end and expire with the hour, have proved their more lasting memorials. Not a tithe of those who have read the "Needy Knife-Grinder" have read Burke's "Letter on the French Revolution," while such works as Knight's "Progress of Civil Society" survive only in their parodies. The old monarchy of France was defined a despotism limited by epigrams, and even during the Revolution contending factions had time and inclination to lampoon each other. Rivarol and Chamfort represented the Aristocrats and the Jacobins, and the latter, who had every opportunity of judging of the efficacy of that other great political engine, the guillotine, has left it upon record that *Il n'y a rien qui tue comme un ridicule*. Even in Prussia the first signs of political vitality displayed by a long-suffering and phlegmatic nation were seen in the "ponderous levities" of "Kladderadatch." We can all judge of how much the vividness of Lord Macaulay's style of composing history was due to his constant reference to his favourite "broadsides;" and we may be certain that no future historian of England will be able to neglect the volumes of *Punch*. "Give me the making of a people's songs, and I care not who makes its laws," is

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See "Oxford Essays," 1855.

a sentence which expresses (though in an exaggerated form) a profound political truth.

There is probably no more useless branch of literature than that which is formed of such compositions as have critical theory or theoretical criticism for their subject. A man may talk very good prose all his life without knowing it, like M. Jourdain, or may argue with the utmost subtlety, like Mr. Shandy, "without so much as knowing the names of his tools," or "the difference between the *argumentum ad hominem* and the *argumentum ad ignorantiam.*" But if he plunges into rhetoric the chances are that he will follow the example of the gentleman who, according to Addison, "wrote upon the sublime in a low grovelling style," or, like many of the authors whose works we have consulted, write upon the ridiculous in the dullest possible manner. It is strange that wit and humour, which are everywhere so much admired, should be so little understood. If we seek for illustrations we are oppressed by the superabundance of materials, but in the way of explanation we find scarcely anything valuable or profound. The famous Dr. Barrow, who was both a witty and a learned man, confesses at the outset of his celebrated account of wit, his inability to define it. In his fourteenth Sermon, he says—

"It may be demanded, what the thing we speak of is, and what this facetiousness doth import? To which question I might reply, as Democritus did to him that asked the definition of a Man—'*That which we all see and know*'—and one better apprehends what it is by acquaintance than I can inform him by description."

In the same mood Cowley has conceived the metaphysical Ode which Dr. Johnson has pronounced inimitable, beginning—

"Tell me, oh tell, what kind of thing is wit?
Thou, who *master* art of it.
For the first matter loves variety, less,
Less women lov' it, either in love or dress.
A thousand different shapes it bears,
Comely in thousand shapes appears.
Yonder we see it plain, and here 'tis now,
Like spirits in a place, we know not how."*

"It is, indeed (continues Barrow), a thing so versatile and multiform, appearing in so many shapes and garbs, so variously apprehended by several eyes and judgments, that it seemeth no less hard to settle a clear and certain notion thereof than to make a portrait of Proteus, or to define the figure of the fleeting wind."

Abandoning, therefore, an attempt at a definition, he proceeds to examples, including among them not only what would now be called wit, but also humour, punning, buffoonery, and the ridiculous in almost every form.

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* "Cowley's Works," vol. i. p. 3, edition 1707.

"Sometimes it lieth in pat allusion to a known story, or in seasonable application of a trivial saying, or in forging an apposite tale; sometimes it playeth in words and phrases, taking advantage from their ambiguity of sense, or the affinity of their sound; sometimes it is wrapped in a dress of luminous expression; and sometimes it lurketh under an odd similitude. Sometimes it is lodged in a sly question; in a smart answer; in a quirkish reason; in a shrewd intimation; in cunningly diverting or cleverly retorting an objection; sometimes it is couched in a bold scheme of speech; in a tart irony; in a lusty hyperbole; in a startling metaphor; in a plausible reconciling of contradictions; or in acute nonsense. Sometimes a scenical representation of persons or things, a counterfeit speech, a mimical look or gesture, passeth for it; sometimes an affected simplicity, sometimes a presumptuous bluntness, gives it being. Sometimes it riseth only from a lucky hitting upon what is strange; sometimes from a crafty wresting obvious matter to the purpose. Often it consisteth in one knows not what, and springeth up one can hardly tell how."*

This last sentence is certainly comprehensive, and might, perhaps, without disadvantage, have come earlier in the passage. Barrow has attempted to trace no general attribute running through all the different manifestations of wit and humour which he has enumerated: yet as they produce a single effect which he has characterized further on as "an unusual and a grateful twang," there must in all of them exist more or less of what chemists would call a common "active principle." Locke, who followed Barrow, was able to form from his particulars something like a general proposition.†

"Wit lies most in the assemblage of ideas, and putting those together with quickness and variety wherein can be found any resemblance or congruity."

Addison observes‡—

"This is the best, and most philosophical, account that I have met with of wit; which generally, though not always, consists in such a resemblance and congruity of ideas as this author mentions. I shall only add to it, by way of explanation, that every resemblance of ideas is not that which we call wit, unless it be such an one that gives delight and surprise to the reader. These two properties seem essential to wit, more particularly the last of them." And he continues, "It is necessary that the ideas should not lie too near together in the nature of things, for where the likeness is obvious it gives no surprise."

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* Leigh Hunt's "Wit and Humour," p. 4.

† "Essay on the Human Understanding," b. ii. ch. xi. par. 2.

‡ *Spectator*, No. 62.

Now both these definitions include too much—for the discovery of a relation between ideas which excites delight and surprise produces the feeling of the beautiful or the sublime as often as it does that of wit. Take Burke's description of the Queen of France, or Milton's description of the Devil:—

> "Surely never lighted on this orb, which she hardly seemed to touch, a more delightful vision. I saw her just above the horizon, decorating and cheering the elevated sphere she had just begun to move in, glittering like the morning star, full of life and splendour and joy. Oh! what a revolution! and what a heart must I have to contemplate without emotion that elevation and that fall."

This is not witty, because it is beautiful; the following is not witty, because it is sublime:—

"He scarce had ceas'd, when the superior Fiend
Was moving toward the shore; his ponderous shield,
Ethereal temper, massy, large, and round,
Behind him cast: the broad circumference
Hung on his shoulders like the moon, whose orb
Through optic glass the Tuscan artist views
At evening, from the top of Fesolé,
Or in Valdarno, to descry new lands,
Rivers, or mountains, in her spotty globe.
His spear—to equal which the tallest pine
Hewn on Norwegian hills, to be the mast
Of some great ammiral, were but a wand—
He walk'd with, to support uneasy steps
Over the burning marle."

Dryden was more unfortunate, for he has called wit "a propriety of thoughts and words, or thoughts and words elegantly adapted to the subject," which, if true, would make "Butler's Analogy" and his three sermons "On Human Nature" jests of most excellent pungency. Congreve has written in the same witty style as Barrow, without throwing the slightest light upon the subject. Pope, again, in the "Essay on Criticism," says—

"True wit is nature to advantage drest,
What oft was thought, but ne'er so well exprest."

But a little further on he adds,

"For works may have more wit than does 'em good;"

showing that he did not adhere very pertinaciously to his definition. Dr. Johnson says:—

> "Wit may be more rigorously and philosophically considered as a kind of *concordia discors*, a combination of dissimilar images, or discovery of occult resemblances, in things apparently unlike."

So that to have found out the chemical identity of charcoal and diamond, or the correlation of the physical forces, must have been strokes of pure pleasantry. Our *savans* have been joking in the merriest manner without being in the least aware of it.

"Sir Richard Blackmore's notion of wit," (says Sydney Smith,) "is, that it is 'a series of high and exalted ferments.' It very possibly *may be*, but not exactly comprehending what is meant by 'a series of high and exalted ferments,' I do not think myself bound to waste much time in criticising the metaphysics of this learned physician."*

Dr. Campbell, in his "Philosophy of Rhetoric," has arrived at a less transcendental definition.

"It is the design of wit," (he says,) "to excite in the mind an agreeable surprise, and that arising not from anything marvellous in the subject, but solely from the imagery she employs, or the strange assemblage of related ideas presented to the mind. This end is effected in one or other of these three ways—first, in debasing things pompous, or seemingly grave; secondly, in aggrandizing things little and frivolous; thirdly, in setting ordinary objects by means not only remote but apparently contrary, in a particular and uncommon point of view."†

It is quite true that these three divisions of the operations of wit are true as far as they go, but they are at once too wide and too narrow. We have many examples of them; as, first—

"And now had Phœbus in the lap
Of Thetis, taken out his nap
And, like a lobster boil'd, the morn
From black to red began to turn."

Or,

"Great on the bench, great in the saddle,
That could as well bind o'er as swaddle—
Mighty he was at both of these,
And styl'd of war as well as peace.
So some rats of amphibious nature
Are either for the land or water."‡

Secondly, such passages as the following from Phillip's "Splendid Shilling"—

"Afflictions great! *Yet greater still remain.*
My galligaskins, that have long withstood
The winter's fury and encroaching frosts,
By time subdued (what will not time subdue!)
A horrid chasm disclose, with orifice
Wide, discontinuous; at which the winds
Eurus and Auster, and the dreadful force
Of Boreas, that congeals the Cronian waves,
Tumultuous enter, with dire chilling blasts
Portending agues."

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* "Sketches of Moral Philosophy," p. 117.

† Vol. i. p. 37.

‡ "Hudibras."

Or in the "Rape of the Lock."

> "Here thou, great Anna, whom three realms obey,
> Dost sometimes counsel take, and sometimes tea."

Drayton in his "Nymphidia, or Court of Faery," describes a rider who, falling from a "fiery earwig" upon which he is mounted, exclaims—

> "Behold me, Gods! and thou, base world, laugh on,
> For thus I fall, and thus fell Phaeton!"

The charm of "Gulliver's Journey to Lilliput" consists in its inimitable strain of mock heroic. The description of the Emperor of Lilliput, for instance:—

"He is taller by almost the breadth of my nail than any of his court, which alone is enough to strike an awe into his beholders. His features are strong and masculine, with an Austrian lip and arched nose. His complexion olive, his countenance erect, his body and limbs well proportioned, all his motions graceful and his deportment majestic. For the better convenience of beholding him I lay on my side, so that my face was parallel to his; and he stood but three yards off: however, I have had him many times since in my hand, and cannot therefore be deceived in the description. He held his sword drawn in his hand to defend himself, if I should happen to break loose—it was almost three inches long, the hilt and scabbard were gold enriched with diamonds."

Or, thirdly, such remote comparisons as this from Hood's "Epistle to Rae Wilson:"—

> "My heart ferments not with the bigot's leaven;
> All creeds I view with toleration thorough;
> And have a horror of converting Heaven
> Into anybody's rotten borough."

Or Butler's apparently contradictory simile in speaking of marriage:—

> "What security's too strong
> To guard that gentle heart from wrong,
> That to its friend is glad to pass
> Itself away, and all it has,
> And, like an *anchorite*, gives over
> This world for the Heav'n of a lover."*

Eloquence, however, will effect all these three objects quite as well as wit; and, as Sydney Smith observes—

"If it be meant as an exhaustive analysis of modes of wit it is extremely incomplete; for wit may find similitudes for, and relations between *great objects* without debasing them, and do the same with *little* objects without exalting them. I may find a hundred ingenious points of resemblance between a black beetle and a birchen broom, without adding much dignity either to the insect or the instrument."*

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* "Hudibras," part iii. canto 1.

Hazlitt has written an essay upon the definition of wit, published in his "Literary Remains;" it does not, however, make the matter much clearer:—

> "Wit," he says, "is the *polypus* power of the mind, by which a distinct life and meaning is imparted to the different parts of a sentence after they are severed from each other; or it is the prism dividing the simplicity and candour of our ideas into a parcel of motley and variegated hues; or it is the mirror broken into pieces, each fragment of which reflects a new light from surrounding objects: or it is the untwisting the chain of our ideas, whereby each link is made to hook on more readily to others than when they were all bound together by habit, and with a view to a *set* purpose."†

This in itself is witty, and nothing more.

To define humour is perhaps no less difficult than to define wit; "for," says Congreve, "like that, it is of infinite variety,"‡ and in common parlance it is sometimes incorrectly treated as an inferior form of it. Leigh Hunt, however, has truly remarked that—

> "Though the one is to be found in perfection apart from the other, their richest effect is produced by the combination. Wit, apart from humour, generally speaking, is but an element for professors to sport with."

Whilst wit deals with the relations of ideas, according to Dr. Campbell, humour has for its subject—

> "Always character, but not everything in character; its foibles generally, such as caprices, little extravagances, weak anxieties, jealousies, childish fondness, pertness, vanity, and self-conceit."§

It is humour which has created Don Quixote, Sir Roger de Coverley, and the Laird of Dumbiedikes; Uncle Toby, Dominie Sampson, and Mrs. Nickleby; Parson Adams, Wilkins Micawber, Major Pendennis, Sir Lucius O'Trigger, and Amos Barton —and other types of individual, professional, national, intellectual, or moral absurdity. But—

> "This species of feeling is produced by something besides character; and if you allow it to be the same feeling, I am satisfied, and you may

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* "Sketches of Moral Philosophy," p. 121.

† "Literary Remains," vol. i. p. 36.

‡ Letter to Dennis: "Select Works of Mr. John Dennis," vol. ii. p. 54, edition 1718.

§ Page 52.

call it by what name you please. One of the most laughable scenes I ever saw in my life was the complete overturning of a very large table, with all the dinner upon it. What of character is there in seeing a roasted turkey sprawling on the floor? or ducks lying in different parts of the room covered with trembling fragments of jelly? It is impossible to avoid laughing at such absurdities, because the incongruities they involve are so very great; though they have no more to do with character than they have with chemistry."*

The essence of humour is incongruity: as incongruity is increased humour is increased, as it is diminished, humour is diminished. It is the incongruity apparent between the "proclivities" to universal philanthropy, and to war, in the character of Uncle Toby; to manliness and gullibility in Parson Adams; to simplicity and common-sense in Sir Roger de Coverley; to honesty and knavery in Gil Blas; to wisdom and folly in Don Quixote; to shrewdness and stupidity in Sancho Panza; —and it may be added it is the opposition between the coarse materialism of the latter and the transcendentalism of his master —which gives to these creations their peculiar power. A happy illustration is the following:—

"If a tradesman of a corpulent and respectable appearance, with habiliments somewhat ostentatious, were to slide down gently into the mud, and dedecorate a pea-green coat, I am afraid we should all have the barbarity to laugh. If his hat and wig, like treacherous servants, were to desert their falling master, it certainly would not diminish our propensity to laugh; but if he were to fall into a violent passion, and abuse everybody about him, nobody could possibly resist the incongruity of a pea-green tradesman, very respectable, sitting in the mud, and threatening all the passers-by with the effects of his wrath. Here every incident heightens the humour of the scene:—the gaiety of his tunic, the general respectability of his appearance, the rills of muddy water which trickle down his cheeks, and the harmless violence of his rage! But if, instead of this, we were to observe a dustman falling into the mud, it would hardly attract any attention, because the opposition of ideas is so trifling and the incongruity so slight."†

The fact that a joke will not bear repetition serves as the clue to the fundamental condition upon which the feelings of wit and humour depend. The first consists in the discovery of occult relations between *ideas*, the second in the apprehension of incongruities, or the conjunction of *objects and circumstances* not usually connected, but they both concur in this, that they must produce *surprise*. Addison supposes a lover to affirm that the bosom of his mistress is "as white as snow," a comparison which does not astonish us in the least; but when he adds, "alas, it is *as*

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* Page 140.

† "Sketches of Moral Philosophy," p. 137.

cold," the novelty of the notion attracts us and the remark becomes witty. We may derive from such examples the general rule that the relation discovered by wit must not only be individually, but specifically new. It must be far removed from ordinary trains of thought—must not be exhibited in the common events of life, but must imply subtlety and quickness in the mind that has perceived it. There is nothing witty in the proposition that all men must die, but our attention would be arrested by the saying that man is like an hour-glass, for in time they must both deliver up their dust. So an officer in the Grenadier Guards, in his uniform and bearskin, is not a very surprising object, neither is the Lord Chancellor in his robes and horsehair wig, but exchange the head-dresses—an incongruity is produced, and the result is absurd.

As Dr. King has, after Horace, put it in his "Art of Cookery"—

"Ingenious Lister, were a picture drawn
With Cynthia's face but with a neck like brawn,
With wings of turkey and with feet of calf,
Though drawn by Kneller, it would make you laugh."

Such incongruities would give rise to the feeling of humour, but we are bound to admit that this cannot be called an universal principle.

It has sometimes been attempted to discriminate between wit and humour by the assertion that whilst the latter must invariably produce laughter, the former frequently does not do so. If we accept the definition of Hobbes—

> "The passion of laughter is nothing else but sudden glory arising from a sudden conception of some eminency in ourselves, by comparison with the infirmity of others, or with our own formerly;"*

this is true, because that would make it exclusively the effect of the perception of incongruity. Mr. Herbert Spencer, however, has, with his usual profundity, traced it, through its successive causes, up to a distension of the cerebral blood-vessels. Its origin is identical with that of an apoplectic fit.

> "We do not laugh," says he, "only from a perception of the ludicrous: great joy proceeding from the gratification of whatever desire may produce the same effect as a *bon mot;* the miser chuckles over his treasures, and the cunning schemer over a successful piece of dishonesty. The delight of a little girl presented with a handsome doll ends in a giggle. The salutations of attached friends meeting after long separation are broken by short laughs. A fine poetical image will raise a smile, and

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* "Treatise on Human Nature," chap. ix.

probably many will recollect as I do myself, laughing over the solutions of puzzling mathematical problems."[*]

We are willing to concede that all which causes laughter is not wit or humour, but we are by no means prepared to deny the converse, that all wit or humour causes laughter. We are here at issue with Mr. Leigh Hunt.

"It does not follow," he says, "that everything witty or humorous excites laughter. It may be accompanied with a sense of too many things to do so: with too much thought: with too great a perfection even, or with pathos or sorrow."[†]

Now we entirely dissent from this: wit and humour which convey the same kind of pleasure to the understanding, are perfectly incompatible with serious or important thoughts, and are swallowed up by nobler passions or deeper emotions. The sentiments which arise from the contemplation of the useful, the beautiful, or the sublime are inimical to the feeling of wit, as real indignation and compassion are to that of humour. The first effect produced upon a person unacquainted with mechanics by the examination of a complicated machine, may, it is not impossible, be near akin to that produced by a witticism, but after the first flush has passed away, and the utility of the relations of its various parts is seen, mere astonishment gives place to a state of rational approbation. So also when an useful truth is inculcated, the mind passes over the merely surprising relation of the ideas involved, and fixes itself upon the justness of the precept. We find this with many of our popular proverbs, with apophthegms, like that of La Rochefoucauld—

"Hypocrisy is the homage which Vice pays to Virtue."

Or with lines such as those of Robert Burns:—

"The rank is but the guinea stamp,
The man's the gold for a' that."

Or of Pope:—

"'Tis with our judgments as our watches, none
Go just alike, yet each believes his own."

Or of Shakspeare:—

"An evil soul producing Holy Writ
Is like a villain with a smiling cheek,
A goodly apple rotten at the core."

The case is similar with the beautiful or the sublime. We could select hundreds of passages from authors which contain all that is required to make them witty, and yet are not so because they are something more. No one in reading the following thinks of their wittiness:—

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[*] "Essays, Scientific, Political, and Speculative," by Herbert Spencer. "A Theory of Tears and Laughter," p. 401.

[†] "Wit and Humour," p. 8.

"A-well-a-day!—do what we can for him," said Trim, maintaining his point—"the poor soul will die." "*He shall not die—by God,*" cried my Uncle Toby. "*The accusing spirit* which flew up to Heaven's Chancery with the oath—blushed as he gave it in—and the *recording angel* as he wrote it down, dropped a tear upon the word, and blotted it out for ever."

We doubt very much whether the beauty of the comparisons in Suckling's "Bride" does not remove it from the category of witty compositions:—

"Her feet beneath her petticoat
Like little mice stole in and out,
As if they feared the light.
But oh, she dances such a way!
No sun upon an Easter day—
Is half so fine a sight.

Her lips were red, and one was thin,
Compared to that was next her chin;
Some bee had stung it newly;
But yet her eyes so guard her face,
I durst no more upon them gaze
Than on the sun in July."

Or Butler's allusion to neglected loyalty—

"True as the dial to the sun,
Although it be not shined upon."

The oft-quoted Hindû epigram is another instance:—

"The good man goes not upon enmity, but rewards with kindness the very being who injures him; so the sandal-wood tree, whilst it is felling, imparts to the edge of the axe its aromatic flavour."

Or,—

"Be hospitable to thy enemy; does not the palm-tree yield its shade even unto the woodman?"

On one occasion we find from his "Life," Theodore Hook had prolonged his after-dinner improvisation to an early hour in the morning; the little son of the host was brought into the room in the arms of his nurse, and the window-shutters being thrown open, the bright morning rays burst in upon the scene of the night's merriment. Hook's tone was changed, and he concluded his song with the address to the child—

"See the sun, now the heavens adorning,
Diffusing health, wisdom, and light;
To you, 'tis the promise of morning,
To us, 'tis the parting 'good-night.'"

Or again, the sublime verses of Campbell—

"For dark and despairing my sight I may seal,
But man cannot cover what God would reveal;
'Tis the sunset of life gives me mystical lore,
And coming events cast their shadows before."

Surprising incongruities also occasionally produce effects very different from humorous. Few readers of "Don Quixote" have failed in the end to cease to laugh at, and to experience genuine sympathy with one who, in all his madness, was so perfect a gentleman. Poor and pompous Major Bath, in Fielding's novel of "Amelia," excites, we are assured, more compassion than derision when he is swearing "by the honour and dignity of a man" and cooking gruel in a saucepan for a sick sister.

"To return again to our friend dressed in green, whom we left in the mud; suppose, instead of a common innocent tumble, he had experienced a very severe fall, and we discovered that he had broken a limb, our laughter is immediately extinguished and converted into a lively feeling of compassion. The incongruity is precisely as great as it was before, but as it has excited another feeling not compatible with the ridiculous, all mixture of the humorous is at an end."[*]

Circumstances which commence by being ludicrous may thus frequently end by being pathetic; and the two feelings, opposed though they be, may run so gradually one into the other, or may change so instantaneously, as to lead the observer to confound them together. It is this, perhaps, which has induced Mr. Carlyle to assert, in his essay on "Jean Paul Richter," that "the essence of humour is sensibility, warm, tender, fellow-feeling with all forms of existence." There is, no doubt, a certain good-natured banter which comes under the head of humour, but there is much humour that is by no means kind.

"The passion which humour addresseth as its object," says Dr. Campbell, "is contempt; but it ought carefully to be noted that every address, even every pertinent address, to contempt, is not humorous. This passion is not the less capable of being excited by the severe and tragic, than by the merry and comic manner."[*]

A bodkin is a much less destructive weapon than a spear, but that does not make it an agreeable instrument with which to be prodded; so, although serious invective may inflict deeper wounds it is never agreeable to be derided, even with the utmost *bonhomie*. There is a vast difference between Gifford's "Epistle to Peter Pindar" and Byron's "Dedication" of his "Vision of Judgment" to the Poet Laureate; but neither showed, we are inclined to think, "much warm, tender fellow-feeling" to the person addressed. Dr. Southey was probably as little pleased with the address, "Bob Southey, you're a poet," as Dr. Wolcott was at being called "a bloated mass, a gross blood-boltered clod;" though the one is funny and the other is savage, and neither true. Sheridan's description of the East India Company, in his invective against Warren Hastings, would be humorous if it did not express too strong a sentiment of contempt:—

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[*] "Sketches of Moral Philosophy," p. 138.

[†] "Philosophy of Rhetoric," vol. i. p. 52.

> "There was something in the frame and constitution of the Company which extended the sordid principles of their origin over all their successive operations, connecting with their civil policy, and even with their boldest achievements, the meanness of a pedlar and the profligacy of pirates. Alike in the political and the military line could be observed auctioneering ambassadors and trading generals; and thus we saw a revolution brought about by *affidavits;* an army employed in *executing an arrest;* a town besieged on a *note of hand;* a prince dethroned for the *balance of an account.* Thus it was that they exhibited a government which united the mock majesty of a bloody sceptre and the little traffic of a merchant's counting-house, wielding a truncheon in one hand and picking a pocket with the other."

So would Swift's verses on the Irish Parliament:—

"As I stroll the city oft I
See a building large and lofty;
Not a bow-shot from the College,
Half the globe from sense and knowledge;
By the prudent architect,
Placed against the Church direct,
Making good my grandame's jest,—
'Near the Church,'—you know the rest;
Tell us what the pile contains:
Many a head that holds no brains.
These demoniacs let me dub
With the name of Legion Club——"

and so on in a strain now quite unfit for publication. Indeed we have constantly to regret, in selecting our illustrations, either the coarseness of our ancestors or the fastidiousness of the present age.

Hitherto we have pursued Lord Bacon's precept delivered in his reading on the "Statute of Uses,"* "The nature of a use is best discovered by considering first *what it is not* and then *what it is,* for it is the nature of all human science and knowledge to proceed most safely by negative and exclusion to what is affirmative and inclusive." We come now to the positive portion of our work; we will test some instances of pure wit and humour by our rule, and we think it will be found that their force arises from *surprise*, and *surprise alone*.

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* "Bacon's Works," by Montague, vol. xii. p. 316.

In "Tristram Shandy," after the Curse of Ernulfus has been read by Dr. Slop, we find it said—

> "I declare," quoth my uncle Toby, "my heart would not let me curse the devil himself with so much bitterness."—"He is the father of curses," replied Dr. Slop.—"So am not I," replied my uncle.—"But he is cursed and damned already to all eternity," replied Dr. Slop.—"*I am sorry for it*," quoth my uncle Toby.

Mr. Phillips, in his "Life of Curran," mentions that upon one occasion he met a noble lord who had greatly promoted the Union. The latter said of the house of the *ci-devant* Irish Parliament, near to which they were, "Curran, what do they intend to do with that useless building?—for my part I hate the sight of it."—"I do not wonder at that, my lord," returned Curran, contemptuously; "I never yet heard of a *murderer* who was not afraid of *a ghost*." Macaulay records the *mot* with which Halifax soothed the apprehensions of a statesman who had become a Catholic at the accession of James II., and yet thought he had in another matter offended the king. "Be of good cheer, my lord, thy faith hath made thee whole." Some one told Foote that the Rockingham Ministry were at their wits' end and quite tired out. "It could not have been with the length of the journey," he said. On another occasion he asked, "Why do you laugh at *my* weakest point?" of one who had joked him on what Dr. Johnson called his *depeditation*, "did I ever say anything about *your* head?" Reynolds the dramatist, observing to Morton the thinness of the house at one of his plays, added, he supposed it was owing to the war. "No," replied Morton, "I should judge it owing to the *piece*." A very plain young man, of loose habits, happening to remark before Douglas Jerrold that he was fastidious, "You mean," growled the latter, "that you are *fast* and *hideous*." Rowland Hill said once to some people who had come into his chapel to avoid the rain, "Many people are to be blamed for making religion a cloak; but I do not think those much better who make it an umbrella." "That officer," Louis XIV. exclaimed, within hearing of one of his generals who frequently solicited favours, "is the most troublesome in my service." "Your majesty's enemies," he replied, "have said the same thing more than once." Addison makes an undertaker, in one of his plays, thus upbraid a "mute" who had laughed at a funeral. "You rascal, you, I have been raising your wages for these two years past, on condition that you should appear more sorrowful, and the higher wages you receive the happier you look." The great Prince de Condé was told that his enemies called him a deformity. "How do they know that?" he said; "they have never seen my back.' We have also the modest remonstrance of the lover to his *inamorata*—

"When late I attempted your pity to move,
Why were you so deaf to my prayers?
Perhaps you were right to dissemble your love,
But why did you kick me downstairs?"

Rousseau maintained that the real founder of civil society was the man who first enclosed a piece of ground, said, "This is mine," and found people fools enough to believe him. Theodore Hook being challenged to pun upon the name of Rosenagen, introduced the following stanza into one of his improvisations—

"Yet more of my muse is required,
Alas! I fear she is done;
But no! like a fiddler that's tired,
I'll *Rosen-agen* and go on."

The epigram on "Lord Chesterfield's Letters to his Son" is another illustration—

"Vile Stanhope! dæmons blush to tell,
In twice two hundred places
Has shown his son the road to hell
Escorted by the Graces.

But little did th' ungenerous lad
Concern himself about them;
For base, degenerate, meanly bad,
He sneaked to hell without them."

James Smith, one of the authors of "Rejected Addresses," wrote this epigram on Craven Street, Strand:—

"In Craven Street, Strand, ten attorneys find place,
And ten dark coal barges are moor'd at its base;
Fly, honesty, fly to some safer retreat,
There's *craft* in the river and *craft* in the street."

Sir George Rose made the following reply:—

"Why should honesty seek any safer retreat
From the lawyers or barges, odd rot 'em?
For the lawyers are *just* at the top of the street,
And the barges are *just* at the bottom."

The Irish Chief Baron Bushe made this impromptu verse upon two agitators who had refused challenges to fight a duel, the one on account of his affection for his wife, the other on account of his love for his daughter—

"Two heroes of Erin, abhorrent of slaughter,
  Improved on the Hebrew command,
One honoured his wife, and the other his daughter,
  That his days might be long in the land."

We have taken these examples at random, without any reference to the fact which we wish to establish, but we think there is not a single case in which it is not illustrated. In each we find either an occult relation of ideas or an incongruity fitted to excite merely surprise in our minds upon its discovery.

In Leigh Hunt's "Illustrative Essay on Wit and Humour," their manifestations are distributed into fourteen different divisions. It is not our intention to follow him into all these categorical vagaries. We shall confine ourselves to some few of the more ordinary forms which Wit or Humour assumes, and leave it to the curious reader himself to investigate the other classes at his leisure. The simile, or metaphor, affords the greatest facilities for bringing remote ideas into juxtaposition for the purposes of lively contrast. We have a whole string of such in Swift's "Rhapsody on Poetry," in which he says of poetasters' epithets, they are—

"Like stepping-stones, to save a stride
In streets where kennels are too wide;
Or like a heel-piece, to support
A cripple with one foot too short;
Or like a bridge that joins a marish
To moorland of a different parish."

And he continues,

"So geographers in Afric maps,
With savage pictures fill their gaps;
And o'er unhabitable downs
Place elephants for want of towns."

Praed has filled his "Lay of the Brazen Head" with witty similes. He says:—

"I think that friars and their hoods,
  Their doctrines and their maggots,
Have lighted up too many feuds
  And far too many faggots.
I think while bigots storm and frown,
  And fight for two or seven,
That there are fifty roads to town,
  And rather more to heaven."

Or in the "Belle of the Ball"—

"But titles and the three per cents.,
And mortgages, and great relations,
And India bonds, and tithes, and rents,
Oh! what are they to love's sensations!
Black eyes, fair forehead, clustering locks,
Such wealth, such honour Cupid chooses,
He cares as little for the Stocks
As Baron Rothschild for the Muses."

Or this,

"I think that love is like a play
Where tears and smiles are blended,
Or like a faithless April day
Whose shine with shower is ended;
Like Colnbrook pavement, rather rough,
Like Trade, exposed to losses,
And like a Highland plaid, all stuff,
And very full of crosses."

Sydney Smith's classical allusions to Lord Jeffrey mounted on a donkey may be added—

"Witty as Horatius Flaccus,
As great a Jacobin as Gracchus,
Short, though not so fat as Bacchus,
Riding on a little jackass."

Or his remarks on the sloth, in reviewing one of Waterton's early works—

"He moves suspended, rests suspended, sleeps suspended, and in fact passes his life in suspense, like a young clergyman distantly related to a bishop."

He makes this comparison between Dr. Parr's wig and his sermon:—

"Whoever has had the good fortune to see Dr. Parr's wig, must have observed, that while it trespasses a little on the orthodox magnitude of perukes in the anterior parts, it scorns even episcopal limit behind, and swells out into boundless convexity of frizz, the *μεγα ϑαυμα* of barbers, and the terror of the literary world. After the manner of his wig the doctor has constructed his sermon, giving a discourse of no common length, and subjoining an immeasurable mass of notes, which appear to concern every learned thing, every learned man, and almost every unlearned man, since the beginning of the world."

The plan of leaving out intermediate ideas in order to bring the two ends of a thought or circumstance together is also a means of producing a witty or humorous effect. Horace Walpole called a young dandy who was always grinning, "the gentleman with the silly teeth," and Addison has made much use of it in his *Spectators*: for instance, those on "Fans" and "Patches."

"There is scarce any emotion in the mind which does not produce a suitable agitation in the face; insomuch that if I only see the face of a disciplined lady, I know very well whether she laughs, frowns, or blushes. I have seen a face so very angry that it would have been dangerous for the absent lover who provoked it to have come within the wind of it; and at other times so very languishing, that I have been glad, for the lady's sake, the lover was at a sufficient distance from it."

At the opera one evening, he says:—

"Upon inquiry, I found that the body of Amazons on my right hand were Whigs, and those on my left Tories; and that those who had placed themselves in the middle boxes were a neutral party, whose faces had not yet declared themselves. I must here take notice, that Rosalinda, a famous Whig partisan, has most unfortunately a very beautiful mole on the Tory part of her forehead; which being very conspicuous, has occasioned many mistakes, and given an handle to her enemies to misrepresent her face as though it had revolted from the Whig interest."

The omission in these extracts of the common-places which would explain that the face and fan were but the instruments for the expression of opinion, and their identification with the motive-power, strikes the mind with a lively sense of truth abridged under the guise of fiction and impossibility.

But irony, sarcasm, and burlesque parody are the figures which produce perhaps the greatest effect. The discovery of the relation existing between the real blame and the apparent praise; of the oblique invective, established not directly, but by inference and analogy, and of the incongruity between the borrowed thoughts and the theme to which they are applied, excite the feeling of surprise in the mind to the highest degree. Take the following sentences from the preface to "Killing no Murder" (as quoted by Sydney Smith):—

"To your Highness justly belongs the honour of dying for the people; and it cannot choose but be an unspeakable consolation to you in the last moments of your life to consider with how much benefit to the world you are like to leave it. It is then only, my Lord, the titles you now usurp will be truly yours. You will then be indeed the deliverer of your country, and free it from a bondage little inferior to that from which Moses delivered his. You will then be that true reformer which you would now be thought; religion shall then be restored, liberty asserted, and parliaments have those privileges they have sought for. We shall then hope that other laws will have place besides those of the sword, and that justice shall be otherwise defined than the will and pleasure of the strongest; and we shall then hope men will keep oaths again, and not have the necessity of being false and perfidious to preserve themselves and be like their ruler. All this we hope from your Highness's happy expiration, who are the true father of your

> country; for while *you* live we can call nothing ours, and it is from your death that we hope for our inheritances."

Or the celebrated remarks of Gibbon in the fifteenth chapter of the "Decline and Fall:"—

> "The scanty and suspicious materials of ecclesiastical history seldom enable us to dispel the dark cloud that hangs over the first age of the Church. The great law of impartiality too often obliges us to reveal the imperfections of the uninspired teachers and believers of the Gospel, and to a careless observer *their* faults may seem to cast a shade on the faith which they professed. But the scandal of the pious Christian, and the fallacious triumph of the infidel, should cease as soon as they recollect, not only *by whom* but likewise *to whom* the Divine Revelation was given. The theologian may indulge the pleasing task of describing religion as she descended from Heaven, arrayed in her native purity. A more melancholy duty is imposed upon the historian. He must discover the inevitable mixture of error and corruption which she contracted in a long residence upon earth, among a weak and degenerate race of beings."

But Porson's criticism upon Gibbon himself, in the preface to the "Letters to Travis," is no less excellent in its way:—

> "His industry is indefatigable; his accuracy scrupulous; his reading, which indeed is sometimes ostentatiously displayed, immense; his attention always awake; his memory retentive; his style emphatic and expressive; his periods harmonious. His reflections are often just and profound; he pleads eloquently for the rights of mankind, and the duty of toleration; nor does his humanity slumber except when women are ravished and the Christians persecuted. Though his style is in general correct and elegant, he sometimes draws out the thread of his verbosity finer than the staple of his argument. In endeavouring to avoid vulgar terms he too frequently dignifies trifles, and clothes common thoughts in a dress that would be rich enough for the noblest ideas. In short, we are too often reminded of that great man, Mr. Puff, the auctioneer, whose manner was so inimitably fine that 'he had as much to say upon a ribbon as a Raphael.'"

Take, again, Pope's lines upon "Narcissa:"—

> "Narcissa's nature, tolerably mild,
> To make a wash would *hardly* stew a child,
> Has e'en been proved to grant a lover's prayer,
> And paid a tradesman once, to make him stare.
> Gave alms at Easter in a Christian trim,
> And made a widow happy, for a whim."

Or his inimitable character of Addison:—

> "Should such a man, too fond to rule alone,
> Bear like the Turk no brother near the throne,
> View him with scornful, yet with jealous eyes,
> And hate for arts that caused himself to rise,
> Damn with faint praise, assent with civil leer,

And without sneering, teach the rest to sneer.
Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike,
Just hint a fault and hesitate dislike.
Alike reserved to blame or to commend,
A timorous foe and a suspicious friend.
Dreading e'en fools, by flatterers besieged,
And so obliging, that he ne'er obliged."

Or the following epigram of Churchill upon Lord Chancellor Loughborough:—

"To mischief train'd e'en from his mother's womb,
Grown old in fraud, though yet in manhood's bloom;
Adopting arts by which gay villains rise,
And reach the heights which honest men despise;
Mute at the bar, but in the senate loud,
Dull 'mongst the dullest, proudest of the proud;
A pert prim prater of the Northern race,
Guilt in his heart, and famine in his face."

Dryden's satire upon Shadwell, "MacFlecnoe," is full of sarcastic bitterness. He describes Flecnoe settling the succession to his state:—

"And pondering which of all his sons was fit
To reign and wage immortal war with wit,
Cry'd, 'Tis resolved: for nature pleads, that he
Should only rule who most resembles me.
Shadwell alone my perfect image bears,
Mature in dulness from his tender years;
Shadwell alone of all my sons is he
Who stands confirmed in full stupidity;
The rest to some faint meaning make pretence,
But Shadwell never deviates into sense."

Butler's description of Presbyterian tenets may be taken as another illustration:—

"Compound for sins they are inclined to,
By damning those they have no mind to;
Still so perverse and opposite,
As if they worshipped God for spite."

We may add to these the "Noodle's Oration:"—

"What would our ancestors say to this, sir? How does this measure tally with their institutions; how does it agree with their experience? Are we to put the wisdom of yesterday in competition with the wisdom of centuries? Is beardless youth to show no respect for the decisions of mature age? If this measure be right, would it have escaped the wisdom of those Saxon progenitors to whom we are indebted for so many of our best political institutions? Would the Dane have passed it over? Would the Norman have rejected it? Would such a notable discovery have been reserved for these modern and degenerate times?"

He adds:—

"This measure may be a boon to the Constitution, but I will accept no favour to the Constitution from such hands. I profess myself, sir, an honest and upright member of the British Parliament, and I am not afraid to profess myself an enemy to all change and all innovation. I am satisfied with things as they are; and it will be my pride and pleasure to hand down this country to my children as I received it from those who preceded me. The honourable gentleman pretends to justify the severity with which he has attacked the noble lord who presides in the Court of Chancery. But I say such attacks are pregnant with mischief to Government itself. Oppose Ministers, you oppose Government; bring Ministers into contempt, you bring Government into contempt; and anarchy and civil war are the consequences."

He winds up with the peroration:—

"And now, sir, as it is frequently the custom in this House to end with a quotation, and as the gentleman who preceded me in the debate has anticipated me in my favourite quotation of the 'Strong pull and the long pull,' I shall end with the memorable words of the assembled Barons—'*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.*'"

Of Burlesque Parody, the "Rejected Addresses" are some of the best examples: the parodies of the styles of Byron, Moore, Scott, and Crabbe are peculiarly good.

"For what is Hamlet but a hare in March?
And what is Brutus but a croaking owl?
And what is Rolla? Cupid steeped in starch,
Orlando's helmet in Augustine's cowl.
Shakspeare, how true thine adage, "fair is foul;"
To him whose soul is with fruition fraught,
The song of Braham is an Irish howl,
Thinking is but an idle waste of thought,
And nought is everything, and everything is nought."

Or—

"For dear is the Emerald Isle of the Ocean,
  Whose daughters are fair as the foam of the wave,
Whose sons, unaccustomed to rebel commotion,
  Tho' joyous are sober, tho' peaceful are brave.
The Shamrock their Olive, sworn foe to a quarrel,
  Protects them from thunder and lightning of rows,
Their Sprig of Shillelagh is nothing but Laurel,
  Which flourishes rapidly over their brows."

Or—

"Back, Robins, back! Crump, stand aloof!
Whitford, keep near the walls!
Huggins, regard your own behoof,
For lo! the blazing rocking roof,
Down, down in thunder falls!

Did none attempt, before he fell,
To succour one they loved so well?

Yes, Higginbottom did aspire
(His fireman's soul was all on fire)
His brother chief to save;
But ah! his reckless generous ire
Served but to share his grave!
'Mid blazing beams and scalding streams,
Thro' fire and smoke he dauntless broke
Where Muggins broke before.
But sulphury stench and boiling drench,
Destroying sight, o'erwhelmed him quite,
He sunk to rise no more.
Still o'er his head, while fate he braved,
His whizzing water pipe he waved;
Whitford and Mitford, ply your pumps,
You, Clutterbuck, come, stir your stumps,
Why are you in such doleful dumps?
A fireman and afraid of bumps!
'What are they 'fear'd on? fools! 'od rot 'em!'
Were the last words of Higginbottom."

The familiar conventionalisms and antithetical points of Crabbe are so happily rendered in the following Address, that Leigh Hunt compares it to "the echo of an eccentric laugh"—

"John Richard William Alexander Dwyer,
Was footman to Justinian Stubbs, Esquire;
But when John Dwyer listed in the Blues,
Emanuel Jennings polished Stubbs' shoes.
Emanuel Jennings brought his youngest boy
Up as a corn-cutter, a safe employ;
In Holywell Street, St. Pancras, he was bred,
(At number twenty-seven, it is said,)" &c.

Theodore Hook's Parodies of Moore's poems are nearly as good as those in "Rejected Addresses;" for instance—

"Fly not yet, 'tis just the hour
When treason, like the midnight flower," &c.

Or—

"Blessington hath a beaming eye,
But no one knows for whom it beameth;
Right and left it seems to fly,
But what it looks at no one dreameth;
Sweeter 'tis to look upon
Creevy, tho' he seldom rises,
Few his truths—but even *one*,
Like unexpected light, surprises.
Oh, my crony Creevy dear,
My gentle, bashful, graceful Creevy,
Others' lies
May wake surprise,
But truth from you, my crony Creevy."

Or—

"While Johnny Gale Jones the memorial was keeping
Of penny subscriptions from traitors and thieves,
Hard by at his elbow sly Watson stood peeping,
And counting the sums at the end of the leaves."

Daniel O'Connell's application of the lines

"Three Poets in three distant ages born,"

to Colonels Sibthorp, Perceval, and Verner, is excessively good in its way—

"Three Colonels, in three distant counties born,
Lincoln, Armagh, and Sligo did adorn,
The first in matchless impudence surpassed,
The next in bigotry,—in both the last:
The force of Nature could no farther go—
To beard the third, she shaved the other two."

The beards of Colonels Verner and Perceval were conspicuous by their absence, not so that of Colonel Sibthorp. In the "Ingoldsby Legends," Southey's "Curse of Kehama," is parodied in the malediction pronounced by the Cardinal upon the Jackdaw of Rheims which had stolen his *ring*—

"The Cardinal rose, with a dignified look,
He called for his candle, his bell, and his book,
In holy anger and pious grief,
He solemnly cursed that rascally thief:
He cursed him at board, he cursed him in bed,
From the sole of his foot to the crown of his head,
He cursed him in sleeping, that every night
He should dream of the devil and wake in a fright.
He cursed him in eating, he cursed him in drinking,
He cursed him in coughing, in sneezing, in winking,
He cursed him in sitting, in standing, in lying,
He cursed him in walking, in riding, in flying,
He cursed him living, he cursed him dying.
Never was heard such a terrible curse:
But what gave rise
To no little surprise,
Nobody seemed one penny the worse."

But the most complete pieces of parody with which we are acquainted are those of Payne Knight's "Progress of Civil Society," by Canning and Hammond, and of Dr. Darwin's "Loves of the Plants," by Canning, Gifford, and Freere, in the "Anti-Jacobin." The original by Payne Knight, says—

"Blessed days of youth, of liberty, and love!
How short, alas! your transient pleasures prove!
Just as we think the sweet delights our own,
We strive to fix them, and we find them flown:—

For fixed by laws, and limited by rules,
Affection stagnates and love's fervour cools;
Shrinks like the gathered flower, which, when possess'd,
Droops in the hand, or withers on the breast:
Feels all its native bloom and fragrance fly,
And death's pale shadows close its purple dye."

The parody says:—

"Of WHIST OR CRIBBAGE mark th' amusing game—
The partners *changing*, but the sport the *same*.
Else would the gamesters' anxious ardour cool,
Dull every deal, and stagnant every pool.
—Yet must one man, with one unceasing wife,
Play the long rubber of connubial life.

Yes! human laws, and laws esteem'd divine
The generous passion straiten and confine,
And as a stream, when art constrains its course,
Pours its fierce torrent with augmented force,
So Passion, narrowed to one channel small,
Unlike the former, does not flow at all,
—For Love *then* only flaps his purple wings
When uncontrolled by priestcraft or by kings."

The "Loves of the Plants" was parodied in the "Loves of the Triangles." Thus sings Dr. Darwin:—

"*Two* brother swains, of Colin's gentle name,
The same their features, and their forms the same,
With rival love for fair Collina sigh,
Knit the dark brow and roll the unsteady eye.
With sweet concern the pitying beauty mourns,
And soothes with smiles the jealous pair by turns.

Woo'd with long care, Curcuma, cold and shy,
Meets her fond husband with averted eye.
Four beardless youths the obdurate beauty move
With soft attentions of Platonic love," &c.

And thus sings the Anti-Jacobin:—

"Thus some fair spinster grieves in wild affright,
Vexed with dull megrim, or vertigo light,
Pleased with the fair, *Three* dawdling doctors stand,
Wave the white wig, and stretch the asking hand.
State the grave doubt, the nauseous draught decree,
And all receive, though none deserve, a fee.

So down thy hill, romantic Ashbourn, glides
The Derby dilly, carrying *three* INSIDES.
One in each corner sits, and lolls at ease,
With folded arms, propt back, and outstretched knees;
While the pressed *Bodkin*, punched and squeezed to death,
Sweats in the midmost place, and scolds, and pants for breath."

This poem was considered the perfection of parody by Lord Jeffery (Essays, vol. iii.) :—

"All the peculiarities," says he, "of the original poet are here brought together and crowded into a little space, where they can be compared and estimated with ease."

There are some forms of wit and humour which appeal not so much to the mind as to the physical senses. Such are puns, or the wit of words addressed to the ear—or caricature addressed to the eye. Paronomasia, which is properly the figure the French call "*Jeu de mots*," although excluded from the category of true witticisms, has been employed by most of our great authors. We have such instances as "which tempted our attempt," and "To begird the Almighty's throne, beseeching or besieging," in Paradise Lost, not to mention numberless puns in Shakspeare. But there are some puns so ready or ingenious that they do not require the sanction of precedent to excuse them.

Take Hood's stanzas :—

"Ben Battle was a soldier bold,
And used to War's alarms;
But a cannon ball took off his *legs*,
So he laid down his *arms!*

And as they took him off the field,
Cried he, Let others shoot,
For here I leave my second leg
And the forty-second Foot."

Or the end of the ballad of "Faithless Sally Brown;"

"His death, which happen'd in his *berth*,
At forty-odd befel;
They went and told the sexton, and
The sexton toll'd the bell."

An inimitable collection of puns is found in Theodore Hook's "Address to Children," published in the *John Bull* newspaper.

"My little dears, who learn to read, pray early learn to shun
That very silly thing indeed which people call a pun.
Read Entick's * rules, and 'twill be found how simple an offence
It is to make the selfsame sound afford a double sense.
For instance, *ale* may make you *ail*, your *aunt* an *ant* may kill,
You in a *vale* may buy a *veil*, and *Bill* may pay the *bill*.
Or if to France your barque you steer, at Dover it may be
A peer appears upon the *pier*, who blind, still goes to *sea*.
Thus one might say when to a treat good friends accept our greeting,

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* In Entick's "Dictionary" there is a list of words with different meanings and similar sounds.

'Tis *meet* that men who *meet* to eat, should eat their *meat* when
meeting.
Brawn on the *board's* no *bore* indeed, although from *boar* prepared,
Nor can the *fowl* on which we feed *foul* feeding be declared—
Most wealthy men good *manors* have, however vulgar they,
And actors still the harder slave the oftener they play;
So poets can't the *baize* obtain unless their tailors choose,
While grooms and coachmen not in vain each evening seek the *mews*.
The *dyer* who by *dying* lives, a *dire* life maintains;
The glazier, it is known, receives his profits from his *panes;*
By gardeners *thyme* is *tied*, 'tis true, when Spring is in its prime,
But *time* or *tide* wont wait for you, if you are *tied* for *time*."

"I hear," said a lady to Foote the actor, "you can make a pun upon any subject; make one on the king." "The king," he replied, "is no subject."

In the lay of "St. Gengulphus" (Ingoldsby Legends) a remarkable double pun is versified:

"I will venture to say from that hour to this day,
Ne'er did such an assembly behold such a scene;
Or a table divide, fifteen guests of a side,
With a dead body placed in the centre between.

The Prince Bishop's jester, on punning intent,
As he viewed the whole *thirty*, in jocular terms,
Said it put him in mind of the Council of Trent
Engaged in reviewing the Diet of Worms."

Caricature represents its subject doing something which would be exceedingly absurd and incongruous for him to do, and adds the effects of mimicry to those of humour, by laying hold of personal defects and peculiarities, and aggravating them to a very high degree. It is one of the most, if not the most, unpleasant form of derision, and one of the most effectual weapons of attack. It remains in the memory and arouses the passions more completely, perhaps, than any other form of ridicule. Gillray's representation of Priestley officiating as chaplain at the execution of George III. put the torches into the hands of his fellow townsmen. The picture of the entry of Carlo Khan into Leadenhall-street helped the ruin of Fox's East India Bill, and such cartoons as that one during the Corn-law agitation of the Duke of Richmond surrounded by five donkeys, with the line from Shakspeare underneath,—

"Methinks there be six Richmonds in the field;"

or of the sacrifice of the countryman to the divinity of the hare; or lately, of Earl Russell nailing up "Elliott's Entire" in lieu of "Hudson's," at the sign of the Victor Emmanuel, which have appeared in *Punch,* will long live in the popular recollection. We have not attempted an exhaustive discussion of our subject. To do it justice would require far more space than should be occupied by an Article in a Quarterly Review; but we cannot refrain from referring to what are called "bulls," the particular offspring of the fertile Hibernian mind. A "bull" is the exact counterpart of a witticism. Instead of discovering real relations which are not apparent, it admits apparent relations which are not real. "I will make her," says Sir Lucius O'Trigger of his mistress, "Lady O'Trigger, and a good husband into the bargain." Sir Boyle Roche, who was the Zany of the Irish Parliament, has immortalized himself by his "bulls." It was he who said, "Mr. Speaker, I don't see why we should put ourselves out of the way to benefit posterity. What has posterity ever done for us?" On another occasion he announced that he was quite ready to give up, "not a part, but the *whole* of the Constitution, and to preserve the *remainder.*" He was, however, capable of saying better things; for when Curran said that he was quite able to be the guardian of his own honour, "Indeed," said Sir Boyle, "I thought the honourable member was an enemy to *sinecures.*" A gentleman, in speaking of somebody's wife, regretted that she had no children. "Ah," said a medical man present on the occasion, "to have no children is a great misfortune, but I have remarked that it is *hereditary* in some families." The Irish have even invented the practical "bull;" for in 1798, the mob, out of enmity to a Dublin banker, burnt all the notes of his which they found in circulation, and made his fortune.

Much as wit and humour are admired by the world, Wits and Humourists have commonly received but little of its love or respect. There seems, indeed, to be a principle implanted in the social mind leading it to regard with a feeling very like contempt all those whose business it is to contribute to its amusement. By this Adam Smith explains the payment of such high wages as they usually receive to actors, singers, dancers, "*hoc genus omne,*" they are thus bribed to abdicate their personal dignity.

Wits and Humourists have shared the odium but not the pay. In some measure this may be attributed to the influence of the remnants of Puritanism, that sour creed which, in the words that Lord Macaulay has put into the mouth of Cowley, made "men frown at stage plays who smiled at massacres;" in some measure it may be due to the business habits of the Anglo-Saxon race, inducing them to regard with dislike all unproductive occupations; but chiefly is it to be traced to the operation of that frame of thought known in the abstract as Respectability, which contemplates wit and humour as dangerous powers. It is true that they are dangerous; but everything is dangerous which is characterized by energy, or which is eminent in any degree. The cultivation of science is dangerous, the practice of piety is dangerous; a great fool is nearly as dangerous as a great genius; nothing is safe but mediocrity. Harlequin has fought an unequal fight with Mrs. Grundy.

It is again very generally thought that wit and judgment never go together. To this prejudice Locke has given his sanction and a metaphysical foundation. Reasoning and joking are opposite operations, but so are some others which we could name, that are, notwithstanding, carried on together. "The great Locke," says Sterne, in "Tristram Shandy," "who was seldom outwitted by false sounds, was nevertheless baffled here. This has been made the Magna Carta of stupidity ever since." Again, the outward and visible signs of a witty man are very similar to those of a frivolous man, whilst dulness is too often mistaken for wisdom. But if we penetrate below the surface, we shall find that although we often discover a character in which the sense of the ridiculous is developed to such a disproportionate degree as to stifle the more useful faculties of the understanding, we rarely, indeed, meet with one destitute of it in which those faculties have attained to any perfection. Scarcely a great statesman, philosopher, orator, poet, and even moralist, occurs to us who was not at the same time, to a greater or less extent, a witty man, and many of those whom we are in the habit of remembering only as wits were in truth possessed of much more solid acquirements. More than one Prime Minister of England has owed his influence nearly as much to his jokes as to his policy; more than one great preacher has been as celebrated for his jests as for his doctrines. Among even the most amiable of our race we find humourists, such men as Sir Thomas More and Thomas Hood, who had nothing in common but their wit, their moral worth, and their Christian names.

As is so often the case, the popular opinion on this subject expresses a half truth at least. It requires something to be added from the opposite side of the question to complete it, but in a measure it is true. Mere wits, we fear, are open to the charges of moral and mental lightness which have been indiscriminately brought against all who possess the quality of wit however controlled and regulated by the other powers of the intellect.

> "A witty man is a dramatic performer," says Sydney Smith. "In process of time he can no more exist without applause than he can exist without air. ' If his audience be small, or if they are inattentive, or if a new wit defrauds him of any portion of his admiration, it is all over with him,—he sickens and is extinguished. The applauses of the theatre upon which he performs are so essential to him that he

must obtain them at the expense of decency, friendship, and good feeling."*

But the position of the Wit is dignity itself as compared with that of the Humourist, who is the commoner character of the two. It implies some talent and quickness to appreciate a witticism, but the lower kinds of humour are capable of such marked demonstration that they may be enjoyed, and are commonly most enjoyed, by the vulgar and illiterate. The practical humourist must become the temporary butt of the ridicule which he excites, to paint folly he must seem foolish, to exhibit absurdity he must appear absurd, and the traits of each low and buffoonish character which he assumes are soon inseparably mingled in the minds of his associates with those of his own. But it is wasting time to show that Jackpuddings are commonly wanting in self-respect.

Addison held that every man would be a wit if he could, but he adds that it were better to be a galley-slave than one. Professed wits have not appeared in a very amiable light. They have commonly been men who were admitted to the society of persons their superiors in rank, wealth, and position, simply because they were amusing. They have been used as instruments to overcome the encroachments of that which in reality is a great social influence, *ennui.* They have often taken the place of the mediæval fools, and gained their living by imitating poor Yorick, and "keeping the table in a roar." The coarse-minded hostess who sent her little daughter round the table, at the second course, to request Theodore Hook "to begin to be funny," gave expression to a truth which people better bred but ill disguised. Professed wits have been not deficient in useful talents; but failing in their moral rather than in their intellectual natures, they have been too idle to choose a life of honest action instead of one of pleasure, and too vain to prefer "solid pudding to empty praise." They have merited the condemnation that they have received; but to deprive the human mind of Wit and Humour would produce an effect upon the moral world equivalent to that which would be brought about in physical nature by robbing food of its flavour, flowers of their perfume, or landscapes of their variegated colours.

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* "Sketches of Moral Philosophy," p. 150.

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ART. VII.—THE CRITICAL CHARACTER.

1. *The Seven Lamps of Architecture.* By JOHN RUSKIN. London: 1849.
2. *Modern Painters.* By JOHN RUSKIN. London: 1846—1861.
3. *Lectures delivered before the University of Oxford.* By M. ARNOLD, M.A., Professor of Poetry. London.
4. *The Cornhill Magazine—June and August,* 1863.

"LA CRITIQUE," says M. Renan (the phrase is one for which we have no precise English equivalent), "has been the growth of the present century;" and, if we accept the term in its widest sense, the remark is no doubt true. We must understand it, then, as the art or science which judges not only of æsthetics, but of the entire range of literature; and brings to its task a temper or habit of mind which is well-nigh peculiar to our own age and circumstances. The growth and development of this habit is certainly one of the most remarkable "signs of the times." We must admit, it is true, that to create is in itself a work higher and nobler than passing judgment upon the creations of others; but this is only so if we suppose both powers to exist in a somewhat equal degree of excellence. When our choice lies between third-rate creation and first-rate criticism, we must be excused if we prefer the latter.

In speaking of the present age as pre-eminently the age of criticism, we must be understood as speaking with what must appear to the English reader very considerable allowance. England is not the land of criticism. It is not of native growth with us, but has been introduced from without—an exotic, which has taken root indeed among us, but does not yet thrive as in the countries which can most properly claim it as their own. Our faults and virtues as a nation seem, at present, essentially opposed to it. It demands especially perfect freedom of thought, or rather, perhaps, perfect obedience to a law which we have not learned; while our "intellectual deliverance" is too incomplete for such freedom or such obedience to be possible for us. It demands the truest and widest sympathy with the past, and still more with the present; the wisest foresight of the future; the most certain discrimination between what is real and abiding, and what is provisional, and therefore only transitory. These qualities are the common conditions of all present greatness in thought or action. We cannot do without them, whether it be our mission to create or to destroy. The special taste and knowledge which the critic requires in addition to them may be the possession of the English critic as well as of any other; but if he possess, besides these, those other and higher faculties, he does so not by virtue of his place of birth, but in spite of it—not as an Englishman, but rather as a member of the family of Western Europe.

We have chosen for very different reasons the two names which stand at the head of the present article. Professor Arnold's, because, in spite of some faults, he is the very best critic we possess; Mr. Ruskin's, because, in spite of many great and noble qualities, he is one of the most deficient in the true critical temper. We will proceed now to discuss a little in detail their respective faults and excellences.

Without doubt, Mr. Ruskin is a man of true genius; and the judgment of a man of genius can scarcely fail to be worth attention. He may write carelessly, recklessly even, and sometimes with a knowledge of his subject so slight as to be hardly distinguishable from total ignorance; but for all this we may learn something from his writings. His random remarks may count for more than the sober sentences of a pedant; his very ignorance may make him discursive; and he will pass on, in happy unconsciousness, from his subject, of which he knows nothing, to another which he knows well, or about which he can feel nobly. The surface may be barren and uninviting, but we may light unawares upon a rich vein of treasure hidden not far below it. He may teach us a moral lesson while he supposes himself lecturing on Political Economy; or fire us with the charms of mountain air and mountain exercise while he intends only to abuse the study of Philology, or, with about as much reason, to assert his own aptitude for Metaphysics. His sympathies and antipathies are often in ludicrous extremes; his whims and fancies are more than feminine in their number and absurdity; but he can write even nonsense well, and the chaff of his greatest nonsense is never quite unmixed with grains of the very finest corn.

It would be scarcely possible to value too highly the services which Mr. Ruskin has rendered in aiding, as he has done, the appreciation in England of the greatest Mediæval artists. Englishmen have, as a rule, little love for the Middle Ages, little sense of their relation to modern life and thought, little knowledge of their infinite grandeur and nobility. At the Protestant Reformation a great gulf was fixed between the past and present; and ever since that date the gulf has been continually widening. We have learned to thank God that we are not as other nations, and to contrast scornfully our own enlightenment, as we are pleased to term it, with the superstitious reverence of our forefathers. And hence has resulted a general neglect and depreciation of the past, as senseless as it is immoral. Catholic nations have at least this advantage over us—that they have not so entirely cut asunder the links that bind them to those earlier ages, whose thoughts have ceased to be our thoughts, and whose customs and ways of life we have flung from us with self-satisfied contempt. Far be it from us to decry the present, rich as it is with the yet early promise of a nobler future. We know well that the past has gone by for ever; that the spirit of modern thought and the energies of modern life can never be satisfied with the forms and habits which they have consciously and necessarily cast aside. We need not imitate the past; but at least we can do it honour. We can and ought to feel that its life was the necessary precursor of our life: that it has borne our burdens for us; and that that civilization, which we boast so proudly as our own, has been possible only because we have inherited the results of others' labours. We may at least acknowledge with grateful reverence a debt, which is most certainly due, and which we have no other means of paying.

We cannot say that Mr. Ruskin has judged correctly our relation with the Middle Ages. He has not failed indeed to render those ages the honour they have deserved. His fault is rather that he scarcely seems aware of the real greatness of the present. The modern spirit is distasteful to him; he can discern in modern life little else besides its meanness and littleness; and, as for his prevision of the future, he can perceive, he very gravely tells us, signs of the speedy advent of the Son of Man to judgment, and of the destruction by fire of a world which has grown utterly corrupt and worthless. But it is better that he has approached the study of the past in this spirit than in the spirit of disdain, which is more common and scarcely less irrational. It has enabled him to feel more truly the grandeur of the times which he would fain set before us for our imitation. He is rather perhaps an artist himself than properly a critic; and it has been his endeavour to reproduce the past, and not to judge it. And few men can have loved more truly, or more sincerely honoured those ages in which the grand style in art was yet possible; whose peaceful, contented habits contrast so strangely with the fevered life which beats in our own pulses, and forces us still onwards, from change to change, with no fixed goal and no settled purpose. It has become almost a truism to repeat that this is not the age of poetry—at least, not an age which any poet has as yet adequately expressed. There are times of rest and times of progress; times when the mind of man can repose, satisfied with what it has achieved already, and can rejoice as it gathers in the full sheaves of its harvest. And times, too, when rest and peace appear impossible; when we are aiming at something whose want we dimly feel, and for whose possession we are content to struggle; when the mind of man has grown out of harmony with the customs and circumstances it has inherited, and when the new wine can be contained no longer within the old bottles. We need not wonder, then, that some of the most gifted men among us, whose thoughts are out of harmony with the aims and wishes of the present, should look back with too tender a regret to the fruitful land which we have left behind us, and should proclaim aloud that our wisdom is but folly, and our progress the perversity of error. We can excuse Mr. Ruskin for his sneers at modern life, and his strange anticipations of its nearly approaching future, while we remember only with gratitude the real work which he has done in bringing before us the nobler features of the noble lives of our ancestors, and in teaching us to love and honour what we have shown ourselves only too ready to forget or to despise. Much may well be forgiven to those who have loved much; and we need not look less proudly at the present or less hopefully to the future when we have been taught at length a better knowledge of the past.

Professor Arnold has dealt with the same subject in a very different spirit. His avowed office is that of a literary critic,—an office whose requirements are indeed many,—but whose most proper duty appears to be to pass judgment upon the literature of each age, viewed in its relation to its own time and circumstances, and to pronounce accordingly upon its "adequacy." There is a vast body of writing too, in almost every age, not adequate indeed, but still with a certain value of its own; expressing something, but not all, of the life which surrounds it, or has preceded it; and here it becomes the critic's duty to discriminate between the better and the worse; to assign each to its own place; and to explain, if need be, its author's position and function.

Mr. Ruskin's aim is at once something more and something less than this. He is critic, poet, philosopher, moralist, and religious teacher. A true prophet, he can foretell and forthtell the decrees of the Divine providence; and where he is beside himself, it is not with much learning, but with the want of it. His intellectual system appears infected throughout with some odd views of the supernatural; not indeed after the manner of Mrs. Browning, with whom the term "God" is little more than a very strong superlative. He speaks in sober earnest, and with a real sense on each occasion of the personality of his machine Deity. He can denounce sin in the same sentence in which he points out the beauties of a landscape; and can prove the blackness of our hearts by the smoke and dirt of our manufactories. *C'est magnifique, sans doute, mais ce n'est pas la guerre.* It is a splendid amusement for the author, but we can hardly term it criticism.

It would be most unjust to Mr. Ruskin to take such specimens as the above as fair examples of his style and manner. They represent a level to which he sinks not unfrequently; but they are not his own proper level. Less than almost any other author can he be judged by his worst passages. It is impossible, indeed, to consider his many and multifarious works as containing a great body of sound criticism. They have too deep an impress throughout of his self-will and eccentricity for us ever to accept his judgments without a degree of hesitation and distrust. He is a thorough partisan; and appears to see no merit in what he dislikes, no faults in what he is pleased to admire. He praises excellence, but we must understand it as excellence in the abstract; we can never feel sure that the particular person or object on which his remarks are made is excellent. So, too, with his blame: we are never certain that the objects to which it is applied deserve it. They do so no doubt if we can only accept his hypothesis. *If* they are as bad as he makes them out, no amount of objurgation is too great for their faults and shortcomings; but it is precisely on this point that he so often fails to satisfy us. We may learn more, perhaps, from his writings than from almost any others in the world; but we must discriminate for ourselves, and not follow blindly where our guide is so exceedingly apt to lead us into error. But the task which he has set himself is one which could only be accomplished by a bold and self-willed man. We need not complain, therefore, of the presence of qualities which have been necessary to ensure success.

Professor Arnold is not less bold or less confident in his criticisms; but he is confident without being self-willed, and bold without being paradoxical. Never does he fail to bear in mind that golden rule of moderation, the observance of which is not less necessary for the critic than it is for the artist whom he criticizes. Deeply imbued himself with the spirit of modern thought—a true child of the great nineteenth century, he is yet ever anxious not to do less than justice to those who differ from himself so widely as to demand the exercise of the keenest insight and the highest power of sympathy on his part if he is to appreciate them as they deserve indeed to be appreciated. In his later pieces it appears to have been his especial aim to teach us that there is a vast body of modern literature of the highest order about which Englishmen know nothing. If the single names of Maurice and Eugénie de Guérin were the only ones he had revealed to us, we should owe him, even so, no common debt of gratitude. But he has done more than this. He has dared to tell us the unpopular truth that our own literature stands only in the third rank; that our deficiency, as a nation, in the genuine critical spirit has rendered unavailing alike our genius and our industry; and that France and Germany must both be placed above us. To work out steadily the proofs of this assertion; to show the kind of excellence which is possible in the present age; and to show how far we are from having attained to it, and why it is that we have failed, is a task of no little labour, and we may add, of no little odium. How true are Professor Arnold's own words, which he does not indeed apply to himself, but which some of his readers will not fail so to apply. The quality, perhaps rather the sum of qualities, which "at last inexorably corrects the world's blunders and fixes the world's ideals" is not one whose possession is likely to make a critic very popular. No. Of "this quality," says the Professor, "the world is impatient; it chafes against it, rails at it, insults it, hates it: it ends by receiving its influence, and by undergoing its law." Posthumous fame may not seem a very cheering reward to look forward to; but the consciousness of deserving such fame—of toiling at a work, which as far as it is achieved at all, will be enduring—may well support a man when he is misunderstood or misrepresented by his contemporaries. He may despise neglect, and scorn, and hatred; for he knows that it is none of it deserved, and that it cannot last for ever. There is a reward, even now, not very different from the crown of martyrdom, which may be earned in the world of letters, and amid the bustle of the nineteenth century.

There are several words and phrases, which Professor Arnold has introduced into his criticisms, which are either new, or at least new to the English reader, and the meaning of which it may be worth while for us to endeavour to determine. "The grand style" we have spoken of already. The phrase has been accepted; and has won its way to a place in our common vocabularies. There are some others which are yet, as it were, upon their trial; they express something for which we had no previous name; but they have not been adopted as "the grand style" has, and their acceptance is still uncertain. There is one word especially, the need of which perhaps is not much felt, and yet it would seem an immense gain to us if we were at length prevailed upon to adopt it. The term is "Philistine," or "Philistinism," one of the happiest soubriquets devised by the spirit of modern Germany. "Philistine," says Professor Arnold, "must have originally meant in the mind of those who invented the nickname, a strong, dogged, unenlightened opponent of the chosen people, of the children of the light. The party of change, the would-be remodellers of the old traditional European order, the invokers of reason against custom, the representatives of the modern spirit in every sphere to which it is applicable, regarded themselves, with the robust self-confidence natural to reformers, as a chosen people, as children of the light. They regarded their adversaries as humdrum people, slaves to routine, enemies to the light; stupid and oppressive, but at the same time very strong. Philistinism—we have not the expression in English. Perhaps we have not the word, because we have so much of the thing. At Soli, I imagine, they did not talk of solecisms; and here, at the very head-quarters of Goliath, nobody talks of Philistinism." The word is then contrasted with the French *épicier*, and with the use, or rather abuse, by Mr. Carlyle, of the term "respectable," and "respectability." These are rejected, the former because it seems to cast an undeserved sneer upon living men; the latter because it is really a word of value, and means something higher and better than Mr. Carlyle would have us understand by it. If we are to have a word at all for the thing signified (and such a word would be itself a weapon of no little power), we may see reason perhaps to follow the Professor's advice:—"I think we had much better take the term *Philistine* itself."

There is another word, too, not the watchword of any party, the great value of which is that it indicates a quality whose presence or absence we have either never felt or at least never consciously expressed,—a new virtue which we may learn to seek for and to discover in works of the highest artists. We are told of some poets that they have given adequately an expression of their own times, or, in a single word, that they are "adequate." Now this is an epithet which is not used to imply that they have set before us in detail a complete picture of the world around them. They may be adequate without having written a line about the present; and if so their adequacy must be found in the fact that they have best understood the past in its relations to (then) modern life; not that they have worked in the spirit either of a Dutch painter or of an antiquarian. Let us see, however, from a few instances, the class of writers to whom the term can be applied. We may begin with three or four names whose claim to rank among the greatest has been established beyond all discussion. Let us take Homer and Pindar; and, from our own poets, Milton and Shakspeare. Now what have these in common, apart from their greatness as mere artists? Why should we give them the praise of adequacy and refuse it to Euripides, and Scott, and Wordsworth? Not merely from a comparison of their excellence as poets, although indeed no one could venture now to place the last three names on the same level as the others. Euripides, and

Scott, and Wordsworth, had each of them genius sufficient to have enabled them to write adequately; the reason that they have not done so must be sought in some other deficiency. Homer and Pindar, and Milton and Shakspeare, all felt and expressed the grandest views that were possible in their own age concerning man and his destiny, concerning his relations to the world about him, and to the unseen world above him. They are therefore adequate; for they have given us a noble reflexion of the noblest features of their time, and have so given us much that must remain true in all time, however much we may need now to adapt their thoughts, and to translate them as it were into another language. A child indeed among ourselves can correct their more superficial errors: Bishop Colenso can prove to us with an abundance of demonstration that some matters of fact to Milton are not to be deemed historically true; and we make no question that he might have proved the same about the gods and goddesses of the Iliad. But this sort of criticism leaves subjects that are worth discussing at all pretty nearly where it finds them. It is enough for us if each poet has worked with the best materials that his age afforded him; or, rather, if the construction is noble, we need not attend much to the form and value of the scaffolding.

Again, we find in Professor Arnold's writings an "intellectual deliverance" and a "moral deliverance" spoken of. The terms are new ones, and their meaning is important enough to justify us in dwelling a little upon them. The latter is perhaps the easier, easier, that is, to apprehend, though certainly not the easier to attain. The phrase has apparently been formed by working out an old simile from the figure of speech by which a man's passions and impulses are said to be in subjection to him, or, if the case be so, to be his masters. He is "delivered" morally as far as he is freed from such mastery, as far as he can regulate his life upon the principle that reason shall govern, and that his lower nature shall submit, and without a murmur. The passions are not to be extinguished: reason might govern then, but it would be in a city of the dead: they are only to be so far restrained that their spontaneous action shall accord with the deliberate moral judgment; so that a man's personal unity shall be complete by the perfect accordance of his impulses with his higher will. This is no other than the old virtue of *σωφροσύνη*. We need the same moral deliverance now that men did two thousand years ago.

The "intellectual deliverance" is something quite apart from this, not inconsistent with it, but merely distinct from it. "Modern times," says Professor Arnold, "find themselves with an immense system of institutions, established facts, accredited dogmas, customs, rules, which have come to them from times not modern. In this system their life has to be carried forward, yet they have a sense that this system is not of their own creation, that it by no means corresponds exactly with the wants of their actual life, that, for them, it is customary, not rational. The awakening of this sense is the awakening of the modern spirit. To remove this want of correspondence is beginning to be the settled endeavour of most persons of good sense." The intellectual deliverance then is that which fits us, as far as we have any power of working, to become "dissolvents of the old European system of dominant ideas and facts;" and which so fits us because those facts have first ceased to satisfy us, because those ideas have first ceased to be our own. Free thought has come so nearly to be another expression for an immoral and flippant atheism, that we gladly welcome a new phrase which will express as great a fulness of liberty, yet without the associations which have made free thought almost necessarily a bye-word of reproach and censure.

It is a great thing, this intellectual deliverance, even if it imply no more than the above, no more than what we believe Professor Arnold intends to imply by it. The absence of it must certainly injure or destroy the exercise of our active powers. We must work in the modern spirit, if the work that we do is to endure, or to give any lasting satisfaction even to ourselves. And yet we think that a true deliverance should imply something more than this; that, just as a man's moral deliverance does not consist in the mere absence of restraint, so too his intellectual deliverance cannot be perfected merely by his casting away from him the chains of custom and tradition. For any real results we must seek something more than merely negative antecedents. A man may have ceased to be a Philistine, and yet be as little qualified to do any good in his generation as the veriest Philistine of us all. Truth has its claim upon our obedience when we have rejected the claims of custom. The true land of promise must be now, as of old, the inheritance of faith, and not merely of disbelief in error.

These were some of the considerations which suggested themselves to us as we read Professor Arnold's brief sketch of Heine's life and writings. Most of our readers will no doubt have seen it. Few can have failed to read it with the intensest interest. It needs no tribute of praise on our part; but we are unwilling to pass it by without at least an expression of gratitude to its author. It shows us Heine in his weakness and in his noble strength; "without moral balance," "deficient in self-respect, in true dignity of character," and yet an earnest "soldier in the war of liberation of humanity." We know that Heine laboured long, unceasingly, unselfishly, for this one object, the liberation of humanity; and more, that he has done very much towards its accomplishment, in the sense, that is, in which he aimed at it. If it were enough to throw scorn on the unreasonableness of old rules, or on the absurdity of old dogmas, if it were enough to free men from the fetters of old systems, partly intellectual, partly customary, and to upset, in the name of the unknown future, the existing guarantees for order and therefore for progress, if this could be done safely, and nothing remained to be done but to await the further progress of emancipation, and to make merry over the downfall of kingdoms and religions, as though these were mankind's worst enemies, and our only business with them could be to get rid of them as fast as possible,—we could not then doubt that it was indeed a holy war in which Heinrich Heine was engaged, and that he has earned our gratitude by the services he has done to the cause of enslaved humanity. But we know, alas! that a service such as this is useful only on the condition that it be on the whole a failure. Intellectual emancipation is of necessity the privilege of the few, and it is a perilous privilege even for those most fitted to enjoy it. What real message had Heine for the German people—for the peoples of modern Europe? what message that they could listen to, or whose contents could help them if they heard it? It is a strange idea of human society to suppose that we can serve it best by most effectually knocking it to pieces. Such a process of demolition may indeed become necessary, but it is at best a necessary evil. Our truest thanks are due not to those who teach us how to destroy, but to those who can discharge the higher task of teaching us to repair our losses. "The ideas of 1789," however wittily applied, will scarcely furnish us with what we require. The modern spirit has failed hitherto to accomplish the task it set itself; and it has failed no doubt because it has been too exclusively critical in its method, and only negative in its results. Far be it from us to say one word in opposition to those ideas, or to that spirit. We desire only that their work should be completed; not merely that old things should pass away, but, further, that all things should become new. But we desire too that the older institutions and ideas "which have come down to us from times not modern" should not only be regarded as present obstacles to the liberation of humanity. It would be narrow liberalism indeed to deny their services in the past; and those alone who are prepared to supply their place have any right to lift one finger to destroy them. These are the grounds, then, on which we doubt whether Heinrich Heine can be said to have attained truly, in the highest sense, even an intellectual deliverance. It was his mission to destroy. The war he waged was a war of extermination. We do not think he had either the temper or the knowledge that could have enabled him to recreate.

Dr. Johnson used to say that to him biography was the most interesting and the most instructive kind of history. The remark could hardly have been made in the present day; but we must remember that history as a science was unknown to Johnson and his contemporaries. We doubt whether, even now, literary history could be taught in a more delightful form than by a series of well-chosen biographical sketches; or whether we should gain much scientifically by a more elaborate and more methodical treatment. The very few principles which are really known can be introduced into a biography as easily as they can be given in any other form; and to the general reader the abstract must remain for ever less attractive than the concrete, and not less attractive only, but really less instructive. The form is of course of more importance in the latter kind of writing than it is in the former. If an abstract treatise deserves only the praise of being an intellectual masterpiece, it may be dull and uninviting in manner without much loss of merit. But dullness is the very greatest fault of which a biography is capable. Incorrectness of detail even would be far more excusable. The latter would of course diminish in no slight degree its value. The former would leave it without any possible capacity of other merit.

We have said already that we believe Professor Arnold to be a genuine critic. He is, above all, always fair, always ready to see the utmost possible good in that with which his nature does not lead him to sympathize. German dullness does not weary him out, he can discern genius in Scotchmen, and can hold the balance even, when he is weighing the merits of his own countrymen against those of foreigners. We must add to this, that he is a genuine artist too. Seldom does he misplace a sentence, or throw away even a single adjective. A biography from his pen is indeed delightful reading. His men and women preserve all their individual features, and yet become, to use an expression of Emerson's, "representative." Little gems of biography are scattered indeed all over his writings, for he can make a sentence do as much work as many men can get out of a chapter. But we need only refer now to his sketches of Heinrich Heine and Mademoiselle Eugènie de Guérin for an abundant confirmation of what we say. It is scarcely possible for us to conceive two beings more different than these. Heine, the child of the Revolution, a thorough modern, whose special mission it was to introduce the French spirit into the thought and literature of Germany, and yet with every moral fault but just those which would have unfitted him to be "a brilliant soldier of the war of the liberation of humanity." And Eugènie de Guérin, French, and yet a Catholic of the Catholics, to whom religion and love were the mainstay of her soul and being. She cared little for ideas, her attachments were essentially personal, and above all, to one person, her brother. With an exquisite love of beauty in art and nature, with an infinite sense of true grandeur in art and life, it is by the rare qualities of her *soul* that she has obtained (if indeed, as Professor Arnold tells us, she has obtained) an imperishable name in literature. It is no little proof of the biographer's own width of sympathy, that he has been able to throw himself so completely into these so opposite characters; to feel with them as far as he might, to think their thoughts, and, when that was possible no longer, to feel for them, and bear as it were their sorrows.

"It may be predicted," says Professor Arnold, "that in the literature of other countries, too, the French spirit is destined to make its influence felt as an element in alliance with the native spirit, of novelty and movement, as it has made its influence felt in German literature." We are content to accept the prediction, but we wish to lay down clearly within what limits we accept it. Now the French spirit is essentially critical. As applied to literature proper, it is scientific rather than imaginative; it is distinguished by precision and concentration of thought; it is sensible rather than inspired. We shall not need to look to France for models of creative genius. Such models, indeed, the French certainly possess; but it is not the characteristic of the French spirit to produce them, and we have no occasion to borrow in a matter in which our wants are already so amply supplied. But the French are, as they have ever been, better critics than ourselves. They have swept away for themselves, more effectually than we have, the cobwebs of thought and language in which the unwary are so readily entangled. They may err, as they often have erred, through an excess of national vanity, but at least their process of thought does not rest essentially upon a system of elaborate error. They are not learned pedants, as the Germans are; nor unlearned pedants, like some among the English. The nets of metaphysics for them are spread in vain. They are too clear, as their enemies would say too shallow, thinkers to be subject to such delusions. Our literature will feel their influence, as far as we find ourselves, as a nation, compelled to admit their ideas. The process must be, as such a process always is, a slow one. Individuals, here and there, will be first influenced, and the mass in due time will follow. It is something that they are consistently held before us as models by some of our best, if not our most popular writers; and the change, when it has once really commenced, is likely to go forward rapidly. But men do not gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles; and we may hope to imitate them as critics only when we have consented to make their forms of thought our own. Those who are best acquainted with those forms will best appreciate the vastness of the change which such consent on our part would imply, and will be content to wait patiently for a result which they will know is certain.

"But," the reader may ask, "is it not a better thing to create than to criticize the creations of others? Shall we need to borrow anything from the spirit of modern France, if we possess already a higher and more noble spirit?" The objection is a plausible one; but, in the first place, it seems to deal with the question as if it could be a matter of choice whether we would follow along with the tendencies of modern Europe. We may hang back, it is true, for awhile, and permit the great drama of the Revolution to be played on without us. Our insular position and our antecedents, although in both these respects we are less favoured than Japan, may continue to delay a change which is yet inevitable. But there is too close an union between the nations of Western Europe, too constant an interchange of thoughts and sympathies, for it to be possible for one of them to take a step in advance, without sooner or later affecting all the others. We may choose to relinquish to others the dangerous honour of leading the vanguard, but the spoils of the victory will none the less be ours, even though we have declined to bear our share in the day's burden. There is no playing with the modern spirit, no accepting it in part, and as far only as we choose to accept it. We must be content that it shall possess us, and govern us; and that government and possession we must accept frankly, with all its consequences. The modern spirit must pervade our literature, as well as our politics and our religion. We shall have no power to choose for ourselves at what precise point its influence shall cease.

Again, what is this creative power on which we pride ourselves? What masterpieces has it produced of late? what permanent additions has it made to our higher literature? Let us quote from Professor Arnold a brief but discriminating sketch of the kind of work which has been done by our greatest recent poets. It may serve to show us in some degree the losses which we have sustained by our national waywardness; it may serve to teach us how great has been our wasteful misapplication of the highest creative genius.

"We in England," says the Professor, "in our great burst of literature during the first thirty years of the present century, had no manifestation of the modern spirit, as this spirit manifests itself in Goethe's works or Heine's. And the reason is not far to seek. We had neither the German wealth of ideas nor the French enthusiasm for applying ideas. There reigned in the mass of the nation that inveterate inaccessibility to ideas, that Philistinism—to use the German nickname—which reacts even on the individual genius that is exempt from it." And then, after speaking of the work done by Shakspeare and Spenser, who applied to literature, as far as the advance of thought had permitted, the then modern spirit, and after telling us how the great English middle class, whose intelligent sympathy had upheld Shakspeare and Shakspeare's contemporaries, a few years afterwards entered the prison of Puritanism, and had the key turned on it there for two hundred years, he goes on to describe the attempt made by two Englishmen to create a properly modern literature, and their failure.

> "In the literary movement of the beginning of the nineteenth century the signal attempt to apply freely the modern spirit was made in England by two members of the aristocratic class, Byron and Shelley. But Byron and Shelley did not succeed [illegible] their attempt freely to apply the modern spirit in English literature; they could not succeed in it; the resistance to baffle them, the want of intelligent sympathy to guide and uphold them, were too great. Their literary creation, compared with the literary creation of Shakspeare and Spenser, compared with the literary creation of Goethe and Heine, is a failure. The best literary creation of that time in England proceeded from men who did not make the same bold attempt as Byron and Shelley.—What in fact was the career of the chief English men of letters, their contemporaries? The greatest of them, Wordsworth, retired (in middle-age phrase) into a monastery. I mean, he plunged himself in the inward life, he voluntarily cut himself off from the modern spirit. Coleridge took to opium. Scott became the historiographer royal of feudalism. Keats passionately gave himself up to a sensuous genius, to his faculty for interpreting nature; and he died of consumption at twenty-five. Wordsworth, Scott, and Keats have left admirable works; far more solid and complete works than those which Byron and Shelley have left. But their works have this defect—they do not belong to that which is the main current of the literature of modern epochs, they do not apply modern ideas to life; they constitute, therefore, *minor currents*, and all other literary work of our day, however popular, which has the same defect, also constitutes but a minor current. Byron and Shelley will long be remembered, long after the inadequacy of their actual work is clearly recognised, for their passionate, their Titanic effort to flow in the main stream of modern literature; their names will be greater than their writings; *stat magni nominis umbra.*"

Now, apart from the objection that the above sketch does not attempt to value what Coleridge did as a prose writer—it may be a sufficient account of his inspiration as a poet to say that he "took to opium"—we can see no reason to dispute its correctness and adequacy. Such a history as it unfolds is in truth a melancholy record of the highest faculties, not indeed quite wasted, but turned to an unworthy purpose, unworthy of their century, unworthy of themselves. But the account of our losses will be incomplete unless we add to the above the name, too, of Tennyson. He seems to us to have a genuine wish, indeed, to apply the modern spirit to literature, but to have failed because he has no proper conception of the modern spirit, no true sense of what that spirit really is. And he has suffered from the same cause, from "the want of intelligent sympathy to guide and uphold" him. And it is from this that he has erred, we believe, as to the real tendency of modern thought, that he has mistaken a minor current for the main stream itself, and has surrendered himself, as far as he has idealized anything modern, to the idealization of an abortive and unphilosophical criticism. Tennyson is a modern, indeed, but he is only a modern Englishman. We cannot pronounce his work a failure; it is a success, indeed; but a success of little value. He is no Philistine: but he has sadly blundered on his way to the land of promise.

Further, we may see from the above examples that the modern spirit, critical though it is, is scarcely less truly creative. We cannot doubt that for a time its merely critical tendency is likely to predominate, but it has none the less a creative energy of its own. It is at present a spirit as it were without a body; moving, indeed, upon the face of the waters, but with its work not yet accomplished; finding the earth still without form and void. It cannot, then, idealize, except by anticipation, a state of society which does not yet exist; and its work in literature is therefore mainly critical. The shifting phases of modern life cannot as yet furnish it with its proper stimulus. A revolution, though it has extended over five eventful centuries, is no proper subject for noble poetry. The modern spirit has not indeed lost faith in ideas: it is of its very essence that it has not; its life and being are bound up with them. But it has been taught that some ideas, which it once supposed final, are not final—are not even properly its own. They were sufficient in their day to furnish matter for the genius of a Shakspeare; but if we compare Shakspeare with Goethe, we may see how vastly the course of time and experience has changed the direction of the spirit of modern Europe. It is not in the difference of their personal characters that we can find an explanation of their essential difference as poets. We must seek it rather in the difference of their circumstances, or, to borrow a word from the French, of their *environment.* We have ceased more completely than ever to believe in the permanence of the present, or in the possibility of containing new wine in the tatters of old bottles; but we have not therefore surrendered one particle of our confidence about the future. When the reconstruction which we are seeking has been brought about, when the work of creation is over, the time will then come to celebrate with songs of triumph the destinies of a new-born world. We may be content at present that the modern spirit in literature should display itself chiefly as critical.

ART. VIII.—VICTOR HUGO.

1. *Victor Hugo. Raconté par un Témoin de sa Vie.* Deuxième Edition. Deux Tomes. Paris, Bruxelles, et Leipzig: A. Lacroix, Verboeckhoven et Cie., Editeurs. 1863.
2. *Victor Hugo: a Life related by one who has witnessed it: including a Drama in three acts, entitled "Inez de Castro," and other unpublished works.* 2 vols. Authorized translation. London: William H. Allen & Co. 1863.

BECAUSE certain men have distinguished themselves far above their fellows as poets, historians, novelists, or orators. are they bound to write their autobiographies, or is it incumbent on others to write their lives? Have not these men done enough for their own and succeeding generations in producing the exquisite poem, composing the lucid and trustworthy history, creating the fascinating romance, in swaying their countrymen by their eloquence, entrancing the world by the perfection of their published orations? Who is the better for knowing when and under what circumstances such men were born; how they were reared and educated; when and to whom they were married; what manner of lives they led; of what maladies and after what fashion they died? It may be answered that the events in the lives of such men are matters of public concern, and that every one is entitled to be made equally conversant with the minutest details of their careers as are their relations and personal acquaintances. Whether justifiable or the reverse, it is certainly the universal practice to pry into the private affairs of notable men, to rudely unveil their failings and carefully chronicle their follies, thereby demonstrating that they share with others the faults and weaknesses of human nature. Sometimes the great men lend willing hands to their degradation, furnishing in confessions and autobiographies indisputable evidence of their own shortcomings. These revelations are keenly relished by the public. It desires above all things to be amused; and accepts with eager gratitude that scandal diluted with instruction which forms the staple of most autobiographies. Unfortunately, there are very few autobiographies in our language which resemble those of Gibbon and Hume in permanent interest and intrinsic worth. Really valuable biographies of literary men are equally scarce. We have several lives of Shakespeare, Milton, Shelley, Coleridge, and Wordsworth, containing very little information that deserves to be communicated, and an abundance of tittle-tattle which unquestionably deserves to be forgotten. The majority of biographers thoroughly deserve the censure passed on one of their class by Warburton, when he penned the following lines to Dr. Birch concerning De Maiseaux's Life of Boileau:—"The verbose, tasteless Frenchman seems to lay it down as a principle that every life must be a book—and what is worse it seems to be a book without a life."

In guiding the pen of "One who has witnessed" his life, Victor Hugo may may have wished to avert from himself the fate of Boileau, and hinder any bookmaker from making him also the subject of a lifeless book. As poet, novelist, orator, and statesman, he has rendered himself sufficiently remarkable to cause the public to feel both an interest in his career and a desire to learn the incidents which diversified it. The majority of his writings have been protests against abuses: the greater part of his life has been that of an energetic reformer. Besides being a man of letters, he has been emphatically a man of action. Hence, his life is important from a historical as well as a literary point of view; still, not even the undeniable importance of his life can justify the publication of the trivial and superfluous details that crowd the volumes which head this article. It is said in the preface to the "authorized translation," that the work "is almost an autobiography. Written it is believed by Madame Hugo, the 'witness' from her earliest childhood, of the life of her future husband, it bears marks throughout of having been prepared under the eye of the poet himself." Now, if the translator be correct in the first part of his supposition, it is easy to account for the insertion of the puerile and exaggerated statements in these volumes. A more unqualified biographer than a wife, or than a man's female bosom friend, it would be hard to find. In a wife's eyes, a husband is either the dearest and best, or else the worst and most despicable of men: his every action, no matter how unimportant, deserving either unqualified praise or blame. If a wife do not regard her husband as a hero, she will certainly stigmatize him as a brute. Whether she laud or abuse, she will be sure to exaggerate, and convey to others a thoroughly false notion of what his real character is. It is not Victor Hugo's fault that he should be regarded as a sort of demigod by the "Witness of his Life." But, seeing that he both superintended the composition, and sanctioned the publication of these volumes, he would have acted wisely and enhanced their value had he cancelled very many passages in them.

Before commencing a sketch of his life, we shall make some observations on the manner in which the translation of this work has been executed. In order to produce an adequate translation, it is necessary to have a thorough knowledge of the language of the original, and also of the language in which the original is to be reproduced. When Frenchmen translate from foreign languages, they seldom exhibit an intimate acquaintance with them; but they usually succeed in producing a very readable if inexact rendering of the originals. In the preface to the translation of this work, it is said that—"In translating the general text into the English language, care has been taken to retain all that seemed characteristic, while converting the expressions into those that best represent them in Saxon phraseology." Now, instead of the translator having done this, he has shown himself equally ignorant of the language in which the work is written, and that into which he has professed to translate it. His chief shortcoming, however, is his utter incapacity to write idiomatic English. For example, where he ought to write "Christian names," he writes *prenames*, and where he ought to write "recruit," he has written *refit*, his health. Again, when the English should be "the scene ended amidst a storm of applause," it is said that *the scene finished with a perfect fury of applause*. He has certainly striven to be literal, and has often succeeded in being at once literal and incorrect. Thus, at page 393 of the second volume of the original we read:—"Dès le premier acte, il [M. Harel] applaudissait, se mouchait, prisait à poignées, criait;" which is thus rendered:—*In the very first act he applauded, blew his nose, took snuff by the handful, and shrieked out.* A page farther on this same M. Harel says—"Je veux un air qui soit à plat ventre sous les paroles." In the English version M. Harel is made to say—*I intend to have a tune which will grovel on its belly beneath the words.* At page 413 of the second volume we read —"On lui avait dit qu'il avait bien sur le marbre un feuilleton de M. Granier de Cassagnac;" of which the translation is:—*He was told that he would find on the table an article by M. Granier de Cassagnac.* The sentence should have been rendered as follows—"He was told that an article by M. Granier de Cassagnac was in type." The word "feuilleton" has been rightly translated in the above sentence into the only English equivalent we have. But while the translator has done right in this case, he has blundered sadly elsewhere, by giving *fly-sheet* as the translation. Ignorance of both French and English may be urged in excuse for the foregoing mistakes and others of a similar kind. But carelessness of the most gross and inexcusable description is exemplified in the following cases. At page 168 of the first volume of the translation, this sentence occurs at the beginning of the fourth paragraph—*The Monk's College was managed by nobles.* The wording of the sentence should be "The college for nobles was managed by monks." Not only is the meaning distorted, but the sentence is transposed. It ought to commence the third paragraph. At page 61 of the second volume of the original, it is said that the late Alfred de Musset, when a youth, was introduced to Victor Hugo, and that,—"Sa figure colorée, ovale et un peu chevaline, était bizarre en ce qu'elle avait, en place de sourcils, un cercle sanguin." In the translation this sentence is omitted altogether. Now, it matters little whether or not we learn that Alfred de Musset had a "blood-red circle" in place of eyebrows; but, if this piece of information be worth communicating to those who read French, why should it not be communicated to readers of English also? At page 411 of the second volume of the translation, it is said with reference to the representations of "Ruy Blas:"—"*Ruy Blas" was performed fifty times. The hissing continued up to the last, and the fourth act never failed to be brilliantly successful.* Had the original been correctly and adequately rendered the passage would have run thus:—"Ruy Blas was performed fifty times. The hissing was repeated up to the last representation, being confined, however, to the third and fourth acts, the other parts of the play continuing to be successful. When reproduced, there was no hissing, and the fourth act had a uniform and brilliant success." After having adduced these examples of the faultiness of the translation, it is almost superfluous to claim permission to alter when necessary any extracts we shall afterwards make from it, so as to make them faithfully represent the sense of the original, and conform to the rules of English grammar and the idiom of the English language.

It is generally and very properly supposed, that the parents of a remarkable man should have been remarkable also. In this respect Victor Hugo was exceptionally fortunate. His mother possessed a wonderfully strong will, and, though imperfectly educated, had an intellect so clear and vigorous as to enable her to overcome the defects of her education. She ardently loved the Bourbons, never swerving in her attachment to them even when Buonaparte was at the height of his power. In no other respect was she a bigot. Claiming entire intellectual freedom for herself, she freely granted to others the opportunity to form and express whatever opinions they pleased. The writer whom she most admired was Voltaire, and his religion was hers. In religious matters she and her husband were thoroughly agreed, while in politics they were as far divided as the ends of the earth. He fought for the Republic and for the Empire, and in each case the cause for which he combated was the cause of which he heartily approved. Entering the army as a cadet at the age of fourteen, he distinguished himself in many encounters, successively filled many important posts, and rose by the sheer force of merit from one grade to another, until he tardily obtained the well-earned rank of General. As a youth he fought against the Vendeans when they heroically but foolishly strove to turn back the tide of that terrible Revolution which had swept the king from his throne and the nobles into beggary. When still young, he upheld the cause of the Republic on the Rhine and the Danube, and did all that lay in his power to consolidate the two unstable thrones filled in succession by Joseph Buonaparte, the throne of Naples and that of Spain. In his riper years he made a most successful and gallant stand against the Allied armies when they marched upon Paris; his defence of Thionville exciting the admiration even of his enemies.

During the campaign in La Vendée, the young officer first saw the lady whom he afterwards married. Two sons, Abel and Eugene, were the first fruits of that marriage. When about to become a mother for the third time, Madame Hugo was living at Besançon, where her husband had then a military command. It was there, on the "Septidi Ventôse of the year X. of the Republic," in other and more intelligible words, on the 26th of February, 1802, that Victor Hugo was born. His biographer tells us that "Victorine was expected, but Victor came, and when he made his appearance one would have said that he knew he was not wanted. He even seemed to come into the world reluctantly." It is also related on the authority of his mother, and for the information and edification of the world, that "he was so ugly, and was so unlike a human being, that their fine boy Eugène, who was only eighteen months old, and could hardly speak, cried out when he saw him, 'Oh, what a little animal!'" Moreover, it is said, "As soon as he found out that no malice was borne him for not being Victorine, and that instead of being got rid of, he was the object of such devoted care, he resolved to live."

At the age of six months "he was bravely undertaking the fatiguing journey from Besançon to Marseilles." A portion of his infancy was spent in the islands of Elba and Corsica. His family passed to and fro between those islands. "All these changes of residence were extremely fatiguing to the children, especially to Victor, who was always languid, and who, in consequence, was unusually sad for a child of his years. He was sometimes discovered in a corner, weeping silently without any reason." After a time his mother had to leave his father, who was called by duty to active service with the army of Italy. Accordingly, she proceeded to Paris with her three children, and took a house in the Rue de Clichy. All that Victor Hugo remembers of that house is noted with superfluous care. We learn that he still "recollects that in this house there was a courtyard; that in the courtyard there was a well; near the well a trough; and overhanging the trough, a willow." Moreover, he remembers being sent to school in the Rue du Mont Blanc, and watching the schoolmistress put on her stockings. He remembers other things equally worthy of being "related by one who has witnessed" his life, such as "a torrent of rain, so violent that the Rue de Clichy and the Rue St. Lazare were converted into rivers, and he was not fetched home till nine o'clock at night;" and also that, when made to play the part of the child in amateur theatricals, he thrust an iron claw in his schoolmistress's leg at the moment she was about to make the most pathetic speech in the play, and which caused her to exclaim—"Will you leave me alone, you little wretch?"

His father having succeeded in capturing the notorious brigand Fra Diavolo, and performing other important services, was appointed by King Joseph Buonaparte Colonel of the Royal Corsican Regiment and Governor of Avellino. Having now a fixed place of abode, he summoned his wife and children to him. They started and crossed Mount Cenis in October 1807. Victor Hugo's reminiscences of this journey are of course minutely detailed; the most curious of which being that on one occasion he and his brothers being very hungry, and arriving at a goatherd's hut, made a hearty meal off the legs of an eagle which the goatherd had killed, and which, being the only thing in his hut, he cooked for them. Concerning his mother, it is said that two things seriously affected her during this journey: "These were the uncertainty of meeting with accommodation, and the certainty of finding fleas." They had not dwelt many months at Avellino before the King of Naples became King of Spain. King Joseph thinking very highly of Colonel Hugo, wished to retain him in his service, and at that monarch's request he decided upon going to Spain also. That he might do so without detriment to his young family, he was obliged to send his children, under the care of their mother, to Paris, in order that they might be educated. Even at this early age Victor differed greatly from his brothers. His father thus wrote concerning him:—"Victor, the youngest, exhibits a great inclination for study. He is as steady as his eldest brother, and very thoughtful. He speaks little and always to the purpose. His remarks have often struck me. He has a very 'sweet face.'"

Immediately after reaching Paris, Madame Hugo went in quest of a house. Being passionately fond of a garden she chose the first house she saw with a large garden attached to it. No sooner, however, had she taken possession, than she found there were no bedrooms for her sons. Obliged to recommence her search she discovered a house called the Feuillantines, which had ample sleeping accommodation, and a spacious garden for her to walk and her children to play in. She dispatched her two youngest sons to a school to learn their letters. We are told that "when they began to teach Victor, it appeared that he already knew how to read. He had taught himself merely by looking at the letters." During the space of three years he did nothing which his biographer considers worthy of mention, excepting that he used to swing higher than the others, and was much given to tearing his trousers. Meanwhile, his father was rendering effective support to King Joseph. In token of the King's appreciation of his services he was nominated Field Marshal, Inspector-General of the Royal Troops, and Governor first of the province of Avila, then of the provinces of Avila, Segovia, and Soria, and then of the province of Guadalaxara. When nominated Field Marshal the King presented him with a million of reals, which is equivalent to ten thousand pounds sterling. The documents representing this sum were stolen from him at the battle of Vittoria. But having made this present, King Joseph expected that General Hugo would show his confidence in the stability of his throne by investing the money in the purchase of an estate, and desiring his wife and children to come and settle in Spain. The General complied with the King's wish by investing his private means in the purchase of land, and by sending for his wife and children. The result of the investment was, that when Ferdinand the Seventh was restored, the land was confiscated, "so that the million of reals which ought to have enriched the Hugo family, proved its ruin."

The day after her husband's wishes were communicated to Madame Hugo, some new books were placed on Eugène and Victor's bedroom table, and they were told by their mother that they must acquire Spanish in three months. It is related of these extraordinary youths, that "in six weeks they spoke it fluently, only hesitating as to the pronunciation."

Shortly afterwards the party started for Bayonne, where they had to wait a month for the convoy which was to guard their journey. On their arrival, a man importuned Madame Hugo to hire a box at the theatre during their sojourn. To her children's great delight she consented. In their eyes nothing could exceed the pleasure of going to the play every evening for a month. They occupied the box for the first time the evening of their arrival. The play was entitled the "Ruins of Babylon," and amused them exceedingly. It was repeated the next evening to their great satisfaction. Six evenings in succession they went to the theatre, and saw the "Ruins of Babylon" on each occasion. On the seventh "they made their mother promise to take them no more to the theatre." Victor Hugo's reminiscences of this journey are of a twofold character. He remembers breakfasting at Bordeaux "off giant sardines, bread nicer than cake, and sheep's butter, all of which was handed to them by pretty girls clothed in red." He also remembers being in love at Bayonne. At that time he was nine years old, and his sweetheart was one year older. His biographer records that, when speaking of this in after years, "he called it the first cry of the awakening heart, and the song of the cock of love."

This biographer is careful to record that the youthful Victor had frequent disputes with his mother concerning matters of taste. "There was already one remarkable characteristic of the child, for while he submitted in all things to his mother, and was ready to do all she required of him, he kept his own opinion, and had his likes and dislikes where nature and architecture were concerned. On these subjects his mother had no control over him." Thus she disliked Ernani because it was gloomy, and liked Tolosa because it was cheerful, while, like most other travellers, she could not bear the horrible creaking of the rudely fashioned wheels of the Spanish carts, and, as soon as any of these carts came within sight, shut the windows of the carriage, and closed her ears. Her son, on the contrary, delighted in the gloominess of Ernani and detested the cheerfulness of Tolosa, and considered that the cart-wheels "made a pleasant though loud and strange noise, and compared it to Gargantua drumming on the window-pane." What disquieted Madame Hugo far more than disputes with her son was the plague of vermin. Various expedients were devised by her to escape from it. She had taken the precaution of bringing an iron bedstead with her; but this availed nothing. On one occasion being unable to sleep for pain and unable to remain awake from fatigue, she caused her servant to place the bedstead in the middle of the room, and to place each leg in a bucket of water. She went to sleep rejoicing over her scheme. An hour afterwards she awoke in agony. The noxious insects being unable to cross the water had mounted to the ceiling and thence dropped upon the bed. Another time she tried the plan of sleeping in the open air; but the insects were not to be baffled, for they used their wings and swarmed upon her. When we add that she always found salad oil rancid, and the wine poisoned with pitch, it will be understood that she did not relish the journey. On the other hand, her sons enjoyed it to the full. The things that annoyed her the most gave them little concern. When she was worried to death, they were highly amused. To the young, novelty is always welcome, even should it come in the shape of discomfort. The minutest details of Victor's doings are of course given at length. Among others it is related that he, his mother, and brothers dined with the Governor of Segovia, that "they had a splendid meal, with an abundance of French wines, and Victor became quite tipsy."

Arrived at Madrid they occupied the palace of Prince Massareno. The situation and appearance of this palace delighted and amazed them. Never before had they seen rooms so spacious and lofty, or walls adorned with equally splendid pictures, or furniture so costly and luxurious; neither had they encountered, even in the dirtiest dwelling wherein they passed the night on their journey, such swarms of vermin as they found in the gorgeous rooms of this imposing palace.

By virtue of their father's rank, Eugène and Victor were entitled to be educated at the College for Nobles. Their eldest brother's education having been terminated, he was appointed one of King Joseph's pages. When the two boys were taken to the College for the first time, the monks who managed it examined them as to the progress they had already made in their studies. It is said that the proficiency of the youths astounded the monks. Not only could they construe the easier Latin classics, but could even read Virgil with facility, Lucretius with less ease, and were puzzled by Plautus only. "Don Basilio, displeased, asked them what they used to construe when they were eight years old; and when Victor answered, 'Tacitus,' he looked at him almost like an enemy." They had not, like all the other pupils, to take their turns in the ceremony of the Mass, because their mother, on hearing that to do so was the rule, told the principal monk that her sons were Protestants. The biographer states that she desired her sons should "have their own views of religion, such as came to them by mixture with the world and their own reflections: she would rather they were guided by their consciences than by their catechisms." They remained a little longer than a year at the College, and a very wretched year it was to them. The pupils never had any holidays, and their sole recreation consisted in being taken by the monks to visit the cemetery, or to see the people entering the arena to witness a bull-fight, and hearken to the screams of the victims and the applause of the spectators. Referring to this, Victor used to say, "It has become a great treat to us even to stand by a wall when something is going on upon the other side."

The overthrow of King Joseph's throne obliged the Hugos to return to Paris. When there, they had Prussian soldiers quartered in their house, beheld Cossacks bivouacking in the streets, and Louis XVIII. seated on the throne. A curious detail of the mode in which the ladies who detested Bonaparte testified their abhorrence of him is recorded by this biographer. Green was the Imperial colour. So long as the Empire was triumphing the very carriages were painted green. When the Empire fell, the Bourbonists treated green as the basest of colours. "Fashion invented green shoes for ladies' wear, so that they might tread the colours of the Empire under foot. Madame Hugo was never seen except in green shoes." Her devotion had its reward. "On the day of his public entrance, the Count of Artois sent, by an order in Council, to the sons of so thorough a loyalist the decoration of the Order of the Lily."

Eugène was now fifteen and Victor thirteen years of age. Being destined for the Polytechnic School, they were now sent by their father to a preparatory school, kept by a M. Cordier. He had been an abbé, had relinquished his cassock, substituting for it the Armenian costume worn by Jean Jacques Rousseau, of whom he was an ardent admirer. Victor's chief occupation at this school was to write poetry, which was forbidden. The chapter containing specimens of these productions is entitled "The Foolish Things which M. Victor Hugo did before his Birth," or, as the translator renders it, "Master Hugo's unfledged Follies." They deserve no further notice save that they are in many respects very striking productions for a youth of his years.

He was still a schoolboy when he competed, without the knowledge of his master and comrades, for a prize offered by the French Academy in the year 1817, for the best poem on "The Happiness derived from Study in every Situation of Life." To his own great joy, and the intense surprise of his master, he received an "honourable mention." In the course of the poem he had mentioned that he was not more than fifteen years old: the judges expressed incredulity as to the correctness of this, not conceiving it possible that such a youth could have written so well. For any one to obtain a prize or an honourable mention from the Academy was in those days to become famous. "As to M. Cordier, had the sun been placed in his establishment as a boarder he could not have been more dazzled." From some members of the Academy he received compliments in verse. M. François de Neufchâteau, the Dean of the Academicians, was especially gracious. He had himself gained a prize at a provincial academy when thirteen years of age. Voltaire, being struck with his poetical talents, had named him in verse as his successor. It was now predicted that Victor Hugo would become another François de Neufchâteau. The latter made Victor's personal acquaintance, and invited him to dinner. After dinner literary subjects were discussed. M. de Neufchâteau was then engaged in preparing an edition of "Gil Blas" for the press. He had heard that a Jesuit named Isca had alleged that Le Sage's romance was copied from an old novel in Spanish by Marcos Obregon de la Ronda. Not knowing Spanish, and the old novel not having been translated, he was unable to investigate the question, and judge for himself as to the justness of the allegation. Victor Hugo having said that he understood Spanish, was pressed to read the novel and inform his host of its contents. He readily complied. Not only did he peruse the four thick volumes of which the work consisted, but he also made copious notes, and drew an elaborate comparison between the Spanish and French novels, proving that they did not resemble each other, and that to Le Sage belonged the sole merit of having written "Gil Blas." Victor had executed his task to the admiration of his patron, who testified his satisfaction in a way that Victor had not anticipated. For the notes and comparison were inserted verbatim in the new edition of "Gil Blas," as if proceeding from the pen of him whose signature they bore; the signature of the venerable Academician, M. François de Neufchâteau.

From this period may be dated the commencement of Victor Hugo's literary career. We now pass without any reluctance from the recital of the marvels he did when a child, from statements as to how he learnt to read by looking at the letters, how he succeeded in speaking Spanish fluently after six weeks' study, how he read Tacitus at eight, and fell seriously in love at nine, to consider and narrate what he conceived and accomplished as a poet, a novelist, and a dramatist. In years he is a youth still; but he is a man in ripeness of intellect, and superior to most men in talent. He has already evinced his capacity for achieving success in small things. It will now be seen how he succeeds in undertakings of greater moment, in winning more splendid and less transitory rewards.

His first beginnings were auspicious. Having competed three times for poetical prizes offered by the Academy of Toulouse, and gained a prize each time, he was elected a member, and became a provincial Academician at the age of eighteen. Having proposed to some of his comrades that each should write a novel, and offered to furnish one in a fortnight, he kept his promise, and produced "Bug-Jargal." Though this novel was not published till after "Hans of Iceland," yet it was the first work of the kind which he wrote. He did something more serious, for he fell in love. The lady of his choice was Mademoiselle Adèle Foucher, the daughter of an old friend of his father's. Both were married about the same time, and the bridegrooms agreed that the one should have a son and the other a daughter, and that the children should eventually become man and wife. M. Foucher had one daughter, according to the compact, but General Hugo had three sons. However, only one of these, Victor, took a liking to Adèle, so that everything promised well for the success of the parental scheme. But there were two obstacles to the marriage: the united ages of the lovers did not exceed thirty years, and neither had a penny. The first obstacle was not serious: it would disappear by the time that the second was overcome. To overcome it Victor Hugo now devoted himself energetically and pertinaciously.

He published an "Ode to La Vendée," and a satire, both of which went off pretty well. Along with his brothers and some friends he started a Review called the *Conservateur Littéraire*, to which he contributed both prose and poetical articles. He wrote an ode on the death of the Duc de Berry, which had an astonishing success. Louis the Eighteenth was wont to recite a strophe from it to his intimate friends. M. de Chateaubriand spoke of it enthusiastically, calling its author a marvellous child. It was praised in the Royalist newspapers, and the name of Victor Hugo became famous. M. de Chateaubriand expressed a desire to make his acquaintance. Nothing could have pleased Victor more, for the author of "Atala" and the "Génie du Christianisme" was the man whom of all others he most ardently admired and most sincerely reverenced. When fourteen years old he wrote in a journal which he then kept, "I will be Chateaubriand, or nobody!" His mother's religion was that of Voltaire: he had adopted as his own "the Christian Royalism of Chateaubriand."

The first interview with this great man was nearly as much dreaded as desired. Chateaubriand was unwontedly cordial and flattering, yet withal displayed a haughtiness of manner which mortified and abashed the young poet. Though his admiration for him was not lessened, yet he infinitely preferred being acquainted with Chateaubriand in his works than in the flesh. However, being asked to repeat his visit, and pressed by his mother to do so, he returned one morning, and experienced a very gracious reception. He had to listen to the reading of a dialogue and chorus out of an unpublished tragedy called "Moses." The verses did not seem at all equal to the famous writer's prose. "Victor tried hard to think it all very fine, and positively did succeed in admiring this verse of the chorus,—

'Et souvent la douleur s'appaise par des chants;'

and he stuck to it as a drowning man does to a plank." On the whole, this interview was so pleasant that the young poet composed an ode entitled "Genius" in honour of Chateaubriand, and in which he likened him to "Old Homer wandering unknown over the earth which one day was to be filled with his name."* So highly did Chateaubriand esteem Victor Hugo, that on being appointed Ambassador to Berlin he voluntarily attached him to the Embassy, and only cancelled the appointment on Victor assuring him that he did not wish to leave his mother. While they were conversing on this subject, Madame de Chateaubriand entered the room. She had never spoken to Victor; hence it was to his great surprise that she now came forward, told him she had an infirmary for old priests, that in order to defray the cost, she also kept a chocolate manufactory, that her chocolate was dear but excellent, and ended by asking him to buy a pound of it. "Madame," said Victor, who took Madame de Chateaubriand's haughty demeanour towards him rather to heart, and who wished to dazzle her, "I will take three pounds of it." Madame de Chateaubriand was dazzled, but Victor was left penniless."

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* "Long-temps ignoré dans le monde,
Ta nef a lutté contre l'onde
Souvent prête à l'ensevelir;
Ainsi jadis le vieil Homère
Errait inconnu sur la terre,
Qu'un jour son nom devait remplir!"
Odes et Ballades, p. 142.

The liberality of Chateaubriand in money matters was excessive. No beggar who craved his aid was ever sent empty away. In answer to an inquiry, he told the ex-King, Charles X., "I am as poor as a rat, and am hail-fellow-well-met with all Madame de Chateaubriand's hangers-on." When asked what sum would suffice to enrich him, he replied, "Were you to give me four millions this morning I should not have a farthing left by to-night." He was wont to parade his disgust with life on all occasions, which caused Béranger to utter the stinging remark, "It is a pity that Chateaubriand is so weary of life; the reason being that he thinks of nothing but himself." Perhaps this weariness was not wholly affected, but was caused in some measure by the importunities of his numerous creditors. Forced by necessity, he sold his "Memoirs from beyond the Grave," and even mortgaged his corpse during his lifetime. In return he received an annuity of twenty thousand francs, equal to eight hundred pounds sterling; but not dying so soon as was expected this sum was reduced to twelve thousand francs, that is to four hundred and eighty pounds. "He owned that he was in the wrong for living to such an unconscionable age, and accepted the reduction."

That Victor might not be separated from his mother, he had refused to accompany Chateaubriand to Berlin, and very soon after giving this refusal his mother died. She had been an excellent parent, and her loss was sincerely lamented by her sons. She had kept them at their studies, counselled them in their difficulties, severely condemned their faults, warmly applauded their triumphs. She permitted them to read what they chose, to express what opinions they pleased, and denied them nothing except opportunities for being idle. Under her guidance they became expert with their hands as well as masters of their lessons. Her maxim was "that a man should know how to do everything for himself on any emergency," and she was unflinching in making her sons practise what she inculcated.

General Hugo offered to support Victor if he would adopt any other profession than that of literature. The latter declined the offer, preferring, and very properly, to earn a subsistence by his own exertions in the only sphere which had any attraction for him, and for which he had any aptitude. At nineteen, then, he found himself in possession of seven hundred francs which he had earned by his pen, and obliged not only to live on these earnings, but also to accumulate a sum which would justify him in marrying the lady of his choice. "He undertook all kinds of work—journalism, odes, novels, and plays. For two long years he led an active, though feverish and excited existence, full of dreams, hopes, and anxieties." He managed to exist on the hundred francs for a whole year; in other words, the seven he contrived to find his lodgings, his clothes, and his food on eleven shillings and eightpence weekly, being rather worse off than a scavenger, and nearly as greatly pinched as a seamstress. How he succeeded will be best understood by reading the account given of the struggles of Marius in the "Misérables." Very often he went without a meal; but he nobly preferred to starve rather than run into debt.

Hitherto he had published his poems in the columns of the *Conservateur Littéraire*, or in the shape of pamphlets. He now wished to publish them in a collected form, but could not find a publisher who would take the risk, and he was too poor to be able to pay for printing them. His eldest brother succeeded, however, both in persuading a printer to print them and a publisher to give the work a place in his window. Before the volume had been a quarter of an hour exposed for sale, a gentleman entered and bought a copy. This was M. Mennechet, the reader to Louis the Eighteenth, and who handed the volume to the King. His Majesty "after examining it justly remarked that it was 'very badly got up.' It was an octavo, on dirty grey paper, printed with old type, thought to be quite good enough for that sort of work. The cover, which was too small for the book, was ornamented with a drawing representing a vase surrounded by serpents, which no doubt were meant to do duty for the serpents of envy, but which much more resembled some adders escaping from a bottle in an apothecary's shop." Undeterred by the aspect of the volume, the King desired that the odes should be read to him: he even perused and annotated them himself. The one which he preferred was one containing a strophe specially referring to himself; concerning which he wrote on the margin "splendid." Victor sent a copy to Lamennais, who expressed himself highly pleased with its contents. Lamennais was not only Victor's friend, but also his father confessor. The first time he attended confession he made a clean breast of his sins, but Lamennais finding them to be far from numerous or heinous, "substituted in future a quiet chat for confession."

Notwithstanding its bad paper and still more wretched typography, the volume sold rapidly. The first edition, which consisted of fifteen hundred copies, was exhausted in four months. Each copy sold for three francs and a-half, the three francs going into the pockets of the printer and publisher, and the half franc being the portion of the author. Owing to the publisher paying him in six-franc pieces, which entailed a loss of four sous each, the author did not receive the full amount to which he was entitled; yet the sum which he did receive seemed so large that he fancied himself a rich man. To heighten his joy, the King bestowed on him a pension of one thousand francs.

Believing that it was possible to marry on one thousand francs a year, preparations for the wedding were immediately begun. The foregoing sum is the exact equivalent to the "forty pounds a year" with which Goldsmith's "good man" of Auburn thought himself "passing rich." What would Victor and his intended wife have said to those who maintain that for a man belonging to the middle class to marry on a yearly income of three hundred pounds is voluntarily to become the victim of the greatest misery, as well as to be guilty of the greatest folly? The newly-married pair postponed housekeeping for a time, and took up their abode with the bride's parents. General Hugo, who had married for the second time and settled at Blois, entirely approved of the match, but did not attend the ceremony. But he hastened to Paris a few days afterwards on hearing that his second son was seriously ill. The truth is, that on the evening of Victor's wedding, Eugène conducted himself very strangely; next day it was found that he was deranged, and after remaining in that condition for some time he died in a lunatic asylum.

Now that he was happily married, he set to work more vigorously than ever. A second edition of his "Odes" was called for, and his first novel, "Hans of Iceland," was published along with it, but without the author's name. He received for both, the twofold recompence of gold and popularity. Another pension of two thousand francs was granted to him by the King, and the commonplace, but dearly coveted dignity of Chevalier of the Legion of Honour was soon afterwards bestowed upon him. No reason is assigned for the bestowal of the second pension, but an explanation is given of the cause which led to the grant of the first. Some time before his marriage he had written a letter to a Madame Delon, whose son had conspired against the government, had been condemned to death for contumacy, but had evaded the pursuit of the police, wherein he offered to shelter her son in his room, on the double ground that his mother had been on friendly terms with Madame Delon, and that her son had once been his intimate friend. Previous to being delivered, this letter was opened at the post-office, and a copy taken of it. The copy was read to Louis XVIII., who said, "that is a good youth; I shall confer on him the first vacant pension." When Victor Hugo learned this, his admiration for the Bourbons greatly diminished, and it eventually changed into a detestation of them as profound as his admiration had been sincere.

Having been invited to attend the coronation of Charles X., he went to Rheims in company with some friends, of whom M. Charles Nodier was one. Though this ceremony was both novel and impressive, yet it did not gratify Victor half so much as to make the acquaintance of Lamartine, who had also come to the coronation. Four years previously, when the "Poetic Meditations" appeared, Victor had reviewed them in the *Conservateur Littéraire*, had praised them highly, and discerned in their author a new poet. They now formed a friendship which has never been interrupted. Some time afterwards Lamartine invited Victor Hugo to visit him at his house, and couched the invitation in verse, wherein the house and the adjoining scenery were minutely and charmingly described. On speaking of this to M. Charles Nodier, who was also invited, the latter suggested that they should visit Saint-Point on their way to Switzerland, and that having made a tour there they should write an account of it, partly in verse and partly in prose. A publisher was found who agreed to publish the proposed work, and who paid them seventeen hundred and fifty francs each on account. They started immediately with their wives and families. Shortly after the journey had begun an incident occurred which enables us to form a notion of the youthfulness of Victor Hugo's appearance at that time. "He was fair and slight; his light-grey dress made him look even more juvenile than his twenty years warranted, and gave him all the appearance of a schoolboy at home for the holidays." Having walked up a hill and distanced the carriages containing the other travellers, he was accosted by two gendarmes, who took him into custody for wearing the ribbon of the Legion of Honour. Their reasons for so acting were "that the Cross of that Order was never given to mere boys," and that he could not produce his passport which he had forgotten to bring with him from Paris. However, on M. Nodier coming up and exclaiming that their prisoner was "the celebrated Victor Hugo," they released him, and probably did so not because they had ever heard his name before, but because they did not choose to betray their ignorance. When they reached M. de Lamartine's residence, he was in waiting to receive them. Had he not been there, Victor Hugo would have thought the coachman had stopped at the wrong house. Its appearance by no means tallied with the account given in the versified invitation. "The 'embattled summits' consisted of flat tiles; of the 'bushy ivy' there was not a single leaf; and 'the tone that had been given to it by years' was, in reality, a yellow wash." He naturally inquired for the castle about which he had read. To which M. de Lamartine replied, "You see it before you; I have but rendered it habitable. The thickness of the ivy kept the walls damp, and gave me rheumatism, so I had it pulled down. I had the battlements destroyed, and I modernized the house, the grey stones of which made me feel melancholy. Ruins are nice things to describe but not to inhabit." The book which it was the object of this tour to write resembled the poet's castle. The journey was made, notes and sketches were taken, but the work remained a thing to converse about. On the publisher, who had already paid a portion of the stipulated price, becoming bankrupt, all concerned ceased even to mention the subject. His biographer claims for Victor Hugo the merit of having fulfilled his part of the contract, and has now printed what he then wrote.

Up to the year 1827 Victor Hugo had been heart and soul a Bourbonist. He had written odes in honour of the Bourbons, and in return had been applauded by their party, pensioned and ennobled by their chiefs. An ode addressed to the Column in the Place Vendôme was the first evidence that he had changed his principles and abandoned his party. What caused him to write this ode was a gross insult offered to the Marshals of Napoleon by the Austrian ambassador. In the ode he tells Austria that the double-headed German eagle bore the imprints of the "sandal of Charlemagne and the spur of Napoleon;" he forgets the tyrant Buonaparte, and remembers only Napoleon the mighty ruler and victorious captain. In so writing he brought about the fulfilment of his father's prophesy. When Victor was beginning his career, his father once heard him warmly praise the Vendeans, and express himself as if he were a Royalist to the backbone. Whereupon General Hugo remarked to a friend, "Let us leave all to time. The child shares his mother's views; the man will have the opinions of his father."

Whatever his political opinions, he had never ceased to be an innovator and almost a revolutionist in literature. He had shown by his novels that he preferred amusing and impressing his readers after his own fashion to writing in accordance with the rules of the classical school. He now determined to essay as a dramatist what he had done as a novelist. A conversation with Talma confirmed him in his resolution. That great actor lamented the stiffness and unnaturalness of the parts he had to play, and complained that play-writers thought of making their personages imposing, instead of life-like. Victor Hugo assured Talma that what he had longed for he was trying to produce—a real man in place of an ideal personage, reality for conventionalism. He added that he especially wished to avoid producing "verses for effect." Talma quickly replied: "Just so. I wear myself out in trying to impress that upon them. Let us have no fine verses." In order to convince the great actor how very greatly the drama of "Cromwell," with which he was occupied, differed from the sonorous tragedies of the classical school, he told him that its very first line was a date—

"Demain, vingt cinq juin mil six cent cinquante sept;"

which may be thus rendered:—"To-morrow, 25th June, 1657." Beyond all controversy this was not a "fine verse." After hearing the poet recite some other passages, Talma offered him his hand, and said—"Be quick and finish your drama, for I am in a hurry to act it." The death of Talma, shortly afterwards, caused Victor Hugo to destine the drama for perusal in the closet rather than representation on the stage. He published it with an elaborate preface prefixed, wherein his views on the subject of stage-plays are stated at length. We shall speak of the sensation which this volume produced when proceeding, as we shall afterwards do, to analyse the volume and criticise the theories of its author. This volume was dedicated to his father, who, soon after its publication was suddenly struck dead by apoplexy. After mentioning this, the biographer gives us the following piece of information, which must have been inserted solely as a specimen of extreme bad taste, seeing that it is quite superfluous. "The mourning garments and the crape which had been bought for the mother were not yet worn out, and helped to serve as mourning for the father." Another mistake we shall mention without comment. Having to state the fact of the publication of Victor Hugo's "Last Day of a Criminal under Sentence of Death," and to relate the occurrences which prompted him to write that work, his biographer fills ninety-one pages of the original with letters and speeches relating to the abolition of capital punishment!

In 1829 M. Hugo was engaged in writing two plays, "Marion de Lorme" and "Hernani." When the former was finished, it was read before a large circle of his friends and acquaintances. The next morning the manager of the French Theatre called and asked him to allow the play to be performed at that house. Soon afterwards a like request was made by the managers of the Theatre of the Porte St. Martin and the Odéon. It was decided that the first representation should take place at the French Theatre, the stronghold of the classical school, of prejudice, and of conventionalism. The rehearsals were postponed until the censors should have made their report, which proved to be a condemnatory one. Thereupon the author appealed to the Minister of the Interior, who gave it as his opinion that the censors were right. He chiefly objected to the fourth act, wherein Louis XIII. was ridiculed. He said that "In Louis XIII., who was described as a hunter, and represented as governed by a priest, everybody would see an allusion to Charles X." To Charles X. the author appealed against the decision of the censors and the judgment of the Minister. He was graciously received, and the King promised to read the act in question before deciding. The results were the ratification of the views taken by the censors and the Minister, and the bestowal of a pension of four thousand francs by way of compensation to the author. Victor Hugo indignantly refused to accept the pension.

This refusal increased his popularity and rendered the public eager to witness the play of "Hernani." The first representation was a decided success. At the close of the fourth act, a publisher gave the author six thousand francs, that is, two hundred and forty pounds, for the copyright. Although the success was well merited, yet it had been brought about in a great measure by the efforts of the author's friends and admirers. Without exception, the newspaper critics condemned the play, in consequence of which the second representation was a very stormy one. Every night the tumult increased. The eagerness of the public to witness the piece was only paralleled by the heartiness with which it was hissed. Yet as those who went to condemn paid for the opportunity, the receipts were unprecedentedly large, and the manager could not withdraw a piece which drew crowded houses. It was withdrawn on the leading actress obtaining leave of absence, but not till it had been played forty-five times. The dissensions created by this piece were innumerable; they extended even to the provinces. At Toulouse a young man named Batlam fought a duel about "Hernani," and was killed. A corporal of dragoons did what we should call a thoroughly French act. Shortly before dying, at Vannes, he made a will containing this instruction: "I wish to have it engraved on my tombstone, 'Here lies one who believed in Victor Hugo.'" What then, was the cause of these strange occurrences? Chiefly this: in composing "Hernani" the author had followed the bent of his own fancy instead of closely observing the rules followed by his brother playwrights and laid down by his predecessors. Moreover, he had composed a piece which was meant to resemble those produced by a barbarian called Shakespeare, a piece at which those great men Corneille and Racine would have shuddered, and which, consequently, deserved to be damned by all true-hearted Frenchmen.

Eight years afterwards the self-same play was performed and warmly applauded. Two spectators discussed the matter, and one expressed surprise at the absence of the old expressions of condemnation. The other did not think it extraordinary, seeing that the author had changed every line. To which it was replied, "You are mistaken; it is not the drama which has changed, but the public!"

The next noteworthy event in Victor Hugo's life was the publication of his novel, "Notre Dame de Paris." Being the production of an innovator, this work was condemned by the same literary Tories who had hissed his play. It is in literature as in medicine; the classical school being as prejudiced and implacable towards innovators as are the licensed practitioners towards those who may succeed in effecting cures after a new fashion or with new drugs. In this case the censure of the critics heightened the curiosity of the public, and thus increased the sale of the book. The publishers begged for more works from the same pen, or "at least for a title, for something which should resemble the shadow of a promise." One of them had the gratification during several years of inserting in his list of forthcoming works two novels by Victor Hugo. The one was entitled "La Quiquengrogne," the other the "Fils de la Bossue." In a letter relating to them Victor Hugo stated that the former was intended to complete the account of his views concerning the Art of the Middle Ages; that in Notre Dame he had more especially depicted the Sacerdotal Middle Ages; but that he would portray the Feudal Middle Ages in "Quiquengrogne," and that the "Fils de la Bossue" was to follow the preceding one. Thirty years after these announcements the author's next novel appeared, and this was the "Misérables."

While "Notre Dame" was being written the Revolution of 1830 occurred. One result of it was the abolition of the Censorship, in consequence of which many of the plays that had been prohibited were produced on the stage. Among others, "Marion de Lorme" was performed at the Theatre of the Porte St. Martin. Being very badly received, it was withdrawn after the fourth representation. His next play, "Le Roy s'amuse," was brought out at the French Theatre. While being rehearsed, M. d'Argout, the Minister of Public Works, who then had the charge of the theatres, requested the author to communicate the contents of the manuscript to him. The author refused, but consented to call upon the Minister. M. d'Argout told him that he understood Francis the First was rather severely treated in the new play, "and that the monarchical principle would suffer from this attack on one of the most popular Kings of France." The author replied, "that the interests of history were to be considered before those of royalty." Moreover, he pledged himself that there were no reflections in the play against Louis Philippe. On the evening of the first performance the King was fired at; the news of this reaching the theatre shortly before the curtain rose, preoccupied the audience and caused the first act to be coldly received. When the curtain fell after the last act, the hissing predominated over the applause. Next morning the Minister of Public Works ordered that the performance should not be repeated, and after a ministerial council a decree was issued prohibiting it altogether. It is said that a certain number of authors of the classical school, several of whom were members of the Chamber of Deputies, had informed M. d'Argout that a play having for its subject the assassination of a king was not to be tolerated the very day after the King had himself escaped assassination, and that "Le Roy s'amuse" was an apology for regicides. Against the unjust order and arbitrary decree, the author appealed to a Court of Law. The judges decided that notwithstanding the charter under which the King reigned had abolished the Censorship and the arbitrary confiscation of private property, the Ministers were empowered to censure and confiscate a play if they thought proper. Evidently, the Revolution of 1830 had done little for liberty. It had deprived Victor Hugo of the pension of one thousand francs out of the privy purse which Louis XVIII. had granted, and which Charles X. had continued. It had left him, however, in receipt of his second pension of two thousand francs. He now refused to receive it any longer, although earnestly entreated to do so by the Government.

Although it was known that another play was ready, yet theatrical managers were chary about accepting plays by an author against whom there was so much prejudice. At last, M. Harel, the manager of the Theatre of the Porte St. Martin, came and begged him to allow "Lucrezia Borgia" to be produced there. This piece had much better fortune than the others, for its success was unequivocal, and it received ample justice at the hands of the critics. "Mary Tudor," on the other hand, displeased the critics and afforded little gratification to the public. His next play, "Angelo," was produced at the French Theatre, and was the first by him which the select and capricious audience that frequents that house listened to with anything like patience and courtesy. To counterbalance this partial triumph occurred the complete failure of an opera called "Esmeralda," to which he had contributed the words. The balance was repaired by the entire success of "Ruy Blas." But the scales were turned against him when the play of "The Burgraves" was performed, for it was hissed nearly as heartily as "Hernani" had been, and was attacked with extreme vehemence by the critics. We are told that M. Victor Hugo, after writing 'The Burgraves,' finally abandoned the theatre, although he possessed a drama which he had concluded as long ago as 1838, and which was called 'The Twins.' He no longer chose to expose the fruits of his brain to the insult and anonymous fault-finding which had pursued him during a career of twenty years."

We are now at the end of the volumes in which the events that occurred during the first thirty-nine years of Victor Hugo's life are related. We have seen him as an intelligent child, then as a studious and clever youth, then as an aspiring poet, a popular novelist, and lastly as a dramatist striving to introduce into his country's literature plays fashioned after a manner differing from what had been attempted by any of his countrymen. We have seen him dragging out a wretched but not useless existence on eleven and eightpence a week; we now find him occupying so high a place in the world of letters that a publisher gladly gives him nine thousand six hundred pounds sterling for the privilege of printing during eleven years the works that have already issued from his pen. We find that by his pen, and by it alone, he has earned position as well as wealth, having succeeded in obtaining the highest honour to which a French writer can aspire, a place among the forty members of the French Academy. It is not our purpose to trace his career beyond the period at which these volumes terminate, although it would be highly interesting to exhibit in what way the successful author conducted himself as a peer, as an orator, as a member of the Provisional Government when the dynasty of Louis Philippe was overturned, and lastly as an exile from the land of his birth and scene of his triumphs.

Yet we cannot close this article without estimating that portion of his career which is complete, that part of his work which has been accomplished. Of the poet and novelist we shall say nothing; the "Legend of Ages," and the "Misérables," which are things of yesterday, testify that the poet has not written his last poem or the novelist his last romance. But as he has "finally abandoned" writing for the stage, let us inquire what was his object as a dramatist, in what way and to what extent he achieved it.

His theory of the drama is contained in the preface to "Cromwell." The essence of this theory is, that of all poetical forms the dramatic is the most perfect; that a properly constructed drama should contain examples of all the other forms; that the grotesque is an essential element of a perfect drama, and that such a drama was not and could not have been written until Christianity had been spread over the world. From the day Christianity informed man that he was twofold—composed of two beings, the one perishable the other immortal; the one earthy, the other spiritual; the one enchained by appetites, necessities, and passions, the other soaring on the wings of enthusiasm and meditation; the former almost always bending towards its mother earth, the latter ever aspiring towards heaven its home—from that day the drama sprang into existence. This kind of drama is real. It springs from the natural combination of the sublime and the grotesque which intermingle in this drama as they are intermingled in actual life. "For true and complete poetry lies in the harmony of contrasts." In this drama everything happens as in real life. He who of all others has succeeded in harmonizing contrasts and painting from nature "in a way all his own, and which admits of no imitation, is Shakespeare, that divinity of the theatre in whom appear to be united, as in a trinity, the three great and notable geniuses of our stage—Corneille, Molière, and Beaumarchais." What can be more unnatural and absurd than that anteroom on our stage into which conspirators come, nobody knows how, to declaim against a tyrant, and then a tyrant to declaim against conspirators? On our stage we have recitations in place of scenes, descriptions in place of pictures. Grave personages placed like the ancient Chorus between the spectators and the performance, communicate to us what is taking place in the temples, palaces, and market-places in such a manner that we are often tempted to exclaim, "Really! then conduct us thither: there must be many amusing things to hear and beautiful things to witness there." To which they would doubtless reply, "Possibly those things would interest and amuse you, but that is not the point; we are guardians of the dignity of the French Melpomene." But those who respect her dignity, and who wish to copy the old and standard models, have these contradictory statements dinned into their ears; they are told, firstly, to copy the models, and secondly, that the models are inimitable. Is it not strange that the liberty which is accorded to men in politics should be denied to them in literature? However, the time has come when this state of things cannot be borne, when dramatic authors must emancipate themselves from the bondage of all rules and systems, excepting "those rules which nature imposes on all works of art, those laws which result from the conditions under which each subject can exist." The true dramatist should sedulously refrain from imitation of every kind, from imitating Shakespeare as much as Molière, Schiller as much as Corneille. He ought to aim at being truthful above all things, making his personages true to nature, the events introduced true to history. The dread of being vulgar should not make him hesitate to introduce commonplace personages and things, if by their introduction the play be rendered the living mirror of reality. To a great poet nothing should seem too common for treatment. "For genius, like the mint die, can stamp alike with the royal effigy pieces of gold and pieces of copper." If it be objected that to write in this wise is to follow a system, it may be answered, that "it is better to construct a system after the poetry than the poetry after a system." But who would seriously attempt to set up a system for the guidance of other men that agreed with Voltaire, that "systems resemble rats, which, after passing through twenty holes, at last find two or three in which they stick fast." In fine, what must be strenuously contended for "is freedom for art against the tyranny of systems, of codes, and of rules."

Some will have great difficulty in understanding wherefore a preface, of which the foregoing paragraph contains the substance, should have excited a storm of indignation among literary men, and have exposed its author to the most intolerable and unfounded taunts and calumnies. Surely, it is not a heinous offence to maintain that a perfect play should bear some resemblance to reality, or that a perfect play may be written without regard to the three unities! Indeed, these views seem harmless and commonplace enough to us; but to Frenchmen they have a terrible significance. If Victor Hugo were right, not only were all his countrymen wrong, but France could not boast of having given birth to a perfect dramatist, and the dramatic idols which Frenchmen had made it their religion to adore were only false gods.

The opponents of Victor Hugo's principles would have done better had they refrained from reviling him, and combated his premisses. They might have exposed with perfect truth and great effect the hollowness of the assertions that fifteen centuries of Christianity have been indispensable to the bringing forth of a perfect drama, and that because the grotesque was absent from the Grecian tragedies they were therefore far inferior to those in which it had a leading position. The theory is founded on a misapprehension. It is not the presence of the grotesque in "Hamlet" which gives value to that play, nor does its absence detract in any way from the effect of the tragedies of Æschylus and Sophocles. The dramatists of antiquity wrote for their own age as Shakespeare did for his. Both the ancient and modern writers were successful in what they undertook because their works were adapted for their times and their audiences. Had the writers we have named been born in different ages they would still have left us marvellous tokens of their powers. If we cannot say of Æschylus and Sophocles that had either of them been born in the sixteenth century he would have proved himself the equal of Shakespeare, we are quite certain that had Shakespeare been born in Greece, five hundred years before Christ, he would have made as great a name for himself in literature as he has done under the influence of Christianity and by the employment of the grotesque. We can applaud the tragedies of Corneille, for they entirely answered their ends, being completely in accordance with the tastes and sentiments of the nation for which they were destined, and giving lively gratification to those before whom they were first acted, and those by whom they are now read. We should as soon expect to see the selfsame plants flourish with equal vigour on the soils of France and England as to find the dramatic literature of the two countries exactly similar in character and tendency. To transplant Shakespeare into France would be as foolish as to attempt to acclimatize the vines of Burgundy in England. If the French ever have another national dramatist than Corneille, his plays may differ as much from those produced by Corneille as those of the latter do from the plays of Shakspeare; but they will also bear no resemblance to those of Shakespeare.

Victor Hugo's opponents erred in treating him as a criminal for desiring to perform an impossibility. He wished to create a bran-new national drama after a formula of his own. They should have challenged him to accomplish what he proposed, and then have waited patiently for the inevitable failure of the attempt.

Let us now see in what way he put his theory into practice. In making Cromwell the subject of a drama, it was his object to give a less repulsive sketch of the man than that drawn by Bossuet, to supply a more faithful and trustworthy portrait than any biographer had furnished, or than could be found in any history. He wished to portray "the protean man in his characters of warrior and statesman, theologian and pedant, bad poet and buffoon, father and husband." In this drama Cromwell is represented as having arrived at what the author considers that critical moment, that turning-point in his career, when he was entreated to accept the crown. The Cavaliers and Roundheads are represented as conspiring together to assassinate him should he accept it, the former because they hate a usurper, the latter because they detest a king. The Cavaliers, making an attempt on his life before the appointed time, are frustrated and imprisoned. By declining the crown he disappoints the expectations of the Roundheads. The drama ends with Cromwell saying, "When, then, shall I be king?" Without examining the details of this drama, which are open to criticism, or noticing the anachronisms, of which there are not a few, we shall merely ask, Is it an adequate and correct view of the Protector's character to suppose that his chief ambition was to become king? Assuredly not. History and biography, whether written by Puritans or Royalists, assure us that he always strove to make his country great; all history, all biography on which any reliance can be placed, assure us that he possessed unequalled tact and rare good sense, and in the face of this it would be silly to maintain that Cromwell was incapable of perceiving it could in no wise further the object he had most at heart were his country to be governed by Oliver Rex instead of Oliver Protector. We should be sorry to exchange the grasping and short-sighted Cromwell of Victor Hugo's drama for the noble-hearted, the patriotic, and the powerful Cromwell to whom history has done ample though tardy justice.

This drama was never acted: "Hernani," on the other hand, was both written for and represented on the stage. We have already described the kind of reception it met with: an outline of the plot will show whether or not that reception was merited. Hernani, the hero, is a brigand in love with Dona Sol, niece to the aged Don Ruy Gomez de Silva. The latter also loves and has resolved to marry his ward and niece. Don Carlos, King of Spain, is another of her lovers, and is bent on making her his mistress. On one occasion Hernani, disguised as a pilgrim, claims hospitality from Don Ruy Gomez. It is accorded by the latter, who, rather than that his guest should suffer harm, conceals the brigand from the King's troops, even after he has detected him making open love to Dona Sol. Refusing either to surrender him or disclose his hiding-place to the King, he is punished by witnessing the king abduct his niece. As the price of the services rendered to Hernani, the latter places his life at the disposal of Don Ruy Gomez whenever he may choose to claim it, and the two agree to go forth in order either to rescue Dona Sol or else to revenge themselves on the King. They join others in a conspiracy to assassinate him. However, the King contrives to arrest the conspirators immediately before their plot is ripe, and immediately after he has been elected Emperor of Germany. It now appears that Hernani is the son of a noble whom the father of Don Carlos had slain, and that he had been born in exile. Hernani claims, by virtue of his rank by birth, the right to be treated as a grandee when his head shall fall as the penalty of his conduct. The new Emperor pardons all the conspirators, acknowledges the titles of Hernani, and causes him to be married to Dona Sol, having determined to begin his reign as emperor by being clement, and to have no other mistresses in future save "Germany, Flanders, and Spain." The wedding takes place. On the evening of the wedding-day Don Ruy Gomez de Silva appears, presents a phial containing poison to Hernani, and calls upon him to swallow the contents, in order thereby to fulfil his vow. Both Hernani and his bride drink of the poison and die, whereupon Don Ruy Gomez, after exclaiming "They are dead! Oh! I'm damned!" commits suicide.

Ghastly though the plot and ending of this drama undoubtedly are, neither is half so horrible and revolting as the plot and ending of "Lucrezia Borgia." In the latter drama, the heroine, having poisoned all the companions of a son whom she had by an incestuous connexion, and whom she fondly loved, accidentally poisons him also, and is stabbed by him in his dying moments, without his being aware till the deed is done that she is his mother. We have already narrated how the former play was heartily damned, and the latter succeeded beyond all precedent and expectation. We can less readily understand the cause of the success of "Lucrezia Borgia" than of the failure of "Hernani." In each case the plot is equally unnatural and nearly equally revolting. In neither does the conduct of the action, the vigour of the style, or the lifelike character of the personages atone for the grievous shortcomings of the plot. What perplexes us is that a man of Victor Hugo's talent and discernment could have fancied that these plays and others like unto them were fitted for informing and improving an audience. That he did think so is proved by many passages in his writings, and more especially by the following, which occur in the preface to "Lucrezia Borgia." In that preface he says, "he is aware that the drama, without going beyond the impartial limits of art, has a national, a social, a humanizing mission;" that the poet, as well as others, is charged with the "cure of souls;" that he is bound "not to allow the crowd to leave the theatre without carrying away an austere and profound moral lesson." Again, in the preface to "Mary Tudor" he remarks that "in the presence of that crowd he feels the responsibility he incurs, and calmly accepts it. Never, in the course of his labours, does he lose sight for an instant of the people whom the stage civilizes, of the history it interprets, of the human hearts it consoles." Although differing profoundly from the view that the stage is any longer a valuable or influential medium for the education and civilization of mankind, yet we shall not pause to state the reasons for our dissent, but merely observe that it would be a sad prospect for the education of the human race when it should be undertaken by dramatists whose plays bore any resemblance to those by Victor Hugo. We sincerely trust that in this, as in other matters, the opinions of his youth are not those of his riper years. Perhaps he will be only too happy to apply to his own case the words he has put into the mouth of Joshua in "Mary Tudor:" "Look you, Gilbert, when the hair grows grey, it will not do to review the opinions for which we fought, and the women whom we loved at twenty. Both women and opinions appear then very ugly, old, meagre, toothless, wrinkled, and foolish."

Notwithstanding many glaring defects, we may say of Victor Hugo's prefaces, as of Dryden's, that they are the only valuable parts of his plays. In the former he has skilfully disclosed the weaknesses of the French classical drama, of that drama which is rigidly divided into tragedy and comedy, into plays which cause men to weep and plays which excite them to laugh. According to him a perfect drama should be what life is, at once a tragedy and a comedy. It might be inferred that discerning the right path he would have been capable of pursuing it. But his critical acuteness far surpassed his creative power. That he should have utterly failed as a dramatist admits of one explanation only. Nature has lavished many gifts on him, but withheld one which if not bestowed at birth it is impossible to acquire during life, a gift which men confess themselves unable to analyze or define, but unanimously agree to recognise and reverence under the name of Genius.

ART. IX.—MACKAY'S TUBINGEN SCHOOL.

The Tübingen School and its Antecedents. A Review of the History and Present Condition of Modern Theology. By R. W. MACKAY, M.A. London: Williams and Norgate. 1863.

MR. MACKAY'S volume consists of two parts, and embraces two subjects. The later half is a very complete *resumé* of the views which have been brought forward by the Tübingen critics upon the origin and composition of the Books of the New Testament. This summary is preceded by a sketch of Biblical criticism from the period of the Reformation. For the "Theology" of the title-page is a decided misnomer. The volume treats entirely of Scripture criticism, and that too of the New Testament alone. The general vicissitudes of theology may be indirectly involved in those of critical interpretation, and are therefore indirectly alluded to on occasions. But it is only occasionally. And this specific character enhances the utility of the volume. A review of the history and present condition of modern theology would be but meagre which should be condensed within 350 post octavo pages. Even as it stands, the two portions of Mr. Mackay's book appear to us of very unequal merit and execution. The summary of the Tübingen views is drawn out with circumstantial fulness. It is an elaborate arrangement of very scattered and confused materials. It is, besides, the only conspectus of the kind which has been attempted—not in England only, but we believe in Germany. The previous chapters on the "Antecedents" of the Tübingen school have indeed the same sweep and power which mark all that Mr. Mackay writes, and which he derives from his strong convictions and the thoroughgoing character of his views. But they are much more sketchy and general in their contents. They evince about as much, and no more, digestion and method than an able reviewer generally gives to a review article for which he does not expect more than one, and that a cursory reading.

It will be understood, of course, that Mr. Mackay has a polemical purpose in his "History" of Criticism. He does not write for the learned, but for the public. And a clear view of the course which the interpretation of Scripture has gone through from the early centuries to the present, is of itself sufficient to preserve any mind from that haphazard adoption of current notions which is the ordinary process by which the religious opinions of the community are formed. That the Bible is the book in which each man looks for and finds his own opinions, is not a mere sally of the satirist, but is the surest conclusion to which a philosophical survey of Christian opinion leads. In every age, and among all sects, the interpretation of the text has been predetermined by the already adopted opinions of the interpreters. This is a certain fact, well known indeed to the philologian, but so opposite to the popular dictum of "The Bible only the Religion of Protestants," that we cannot expect that any popular histories will ever bring it home to the understandings of even the more educated part of our public. Such, however, we suppose to be the aim of Mr. Mackay, as he addresses the general and unlearned reader, and in an earnest and recommendatory tone.

The view presented by Mr. Mackay of exegetic history may be summed up in few words as follows:—

The doctrine of Scripture interpretation put forward by the Roman Catholic Church has been from the earliest times downward a consistent one. The Church is the only interpreter of Scripture. The Church is in possession of the Spirit of God, and only by the same Spirit which dictated Scripture can Scripture be expounded (*Bellarmin. de Verbo Dei*, 3. 4). Catholic interpreters therefore had the simple task before them of finding Catholic dogma in the Bible. For centuries this was the only aim of exegesis. The Reformation it was which first brought perplexity and confusion into what had hitherto been plain and straightforward. The Reformers involved themselves in a *petitio principii*, from which orthodox Protestantism has never from that day forward been able to shake itself loose. They professed to invert the procedure of the Catholics. They would build the Church upon Scripture instead of interpreting Scripture by the Church. They would find out the sense of the written Word independently, and then draw up Church confessions conformably to it. But while making this revolutionary profession they did in fact appropriate far the larger half of Catholic theology, and declare it necessary, under pains and penalties, to interpret Scripture in conformity with that moiety of orthodox dogma. This position was assumed by the Protestant churches very early in the development of the Reformation movement. Logically untenable, it has endured for three centuries as an historical fact; so much more powerful in human affairs is the cohesion of circumstances than consistency of thought. But though the Protestant paralogism has maintained itself as the ruling principle of Scripture interpretation, it has been under the necessity of making continual concessions on the side of reason. Protestant theology has never acknowledged its own inconsistency, but it has endeavoured from time to time to cover over the most glaring and exposed instances of it. The general increase of knowledge, the wider influences of the great movement which began with the sixteenth century, the discovery of new worlds in space and time, the increased certainty of science, and the increased facilities for spreading and communicating its results, compelled the relinquishment of many interpretations which had passed current for centuries. The field of human knowledge and experience enlarged with each generation, while that of confessional dogmatism was narrowed.

This gradual encroachment of knowledge upon Church definitions gave birth to the reigning system of Scripture interpretation in the Protestant churches. This is a system of compromise by which orthodoxy resigns certain points which have been found too hopelessly untenable, on condition of not being questioned on others which are "vital" to its existence. In this compromise, neither principle of interpretation—neither the principle of criticism nor the principle of Church orthodoxy, is consistently and uniformly applied to the Bible, but its interpretation is an alternation of both. The limits vary with the occasion and the audience, and are adapted to all modifications and degrees of culture. Exegesis, instead of obeying the clear and unwavering law of catholic tradition on the one hand, or of historical criticism on the other, has become a chance-medley of subterfuge and equivocation, hiding the supernatural away in holes and corners, reducing its quantum, or quibbling away its meaning. The philosophical and learned divines are the worst offenders in this strain of halting prevarication. But even the more ignorant and bigoted have imbibed more or less of the same spirit. As soon as reason was summoned to assist faith it began a system of continual encroachment upon the prohibited territory. Instead of becoming the substantial support of faith, reason has never ceased to undermine faith. The method of "rational supernaturalism" which first authenticated the Revelation by external evidence and then implicitly accepted its contents, led the way by degrees to "supernatural rationalism" which sifted the message itself and accepted so much of it as agreed with reason and conscience. This half-and-half system of equal quantities of each ingredient, this patched up accommodation between the two foes, was the temper in which the current commentaries on the Bible were compiled. As time went on the gulf widened, and the efforts to bridge it over became more desperate. The last attempt at a pacification, that of Schleiermacher, was the effort of a giant. The consummate skill with which, while conceding all the essential claims of orthodoxy, he in reality transformed it into a system agreeing generally with average intelligence, and speaking the sense, though not the language, of philosophy, perhaps delayed the final crisis for a generation. But it could not be averted. The mere passionate assertion that the Bible was the Word of God could not protect it from the advance of inquiry. The well-ascertained history of the formation of the Canon had long before broken up the illusion of any unity in the writings of the New Testament. The question was gradually simplified. It came to be seen that one inquiry must precede all attempts at interpretation; the inquiry, viz., How did each book of the New Testament Canon originate? The doctrinal symbolism of antiquity, the rites and beliefs of the most ancient peoples, had been made the subjects of philosophical investigation. All other ancient religions had been submitted to the crucible of historical criticism. The Christian records could no longer escape. Their turn came last, but it came.

The era of compromise between reason and faith, the period of capricious alternation between concession and retractation, was closed by Strauss' "Leben Jesu." Strauss opened a new era in Biblical study by applying to the Gospels the same philosophical method which had been succesfully applied to all the other primeval religions of which we have any records. The monuments of thought are part of the phenomena of nature. The forms of art and religion are no fortuitous creations of caprice. They are the indigenous growth of the primeval soil of man's soul. As productions of intelligence they are intelligible. It had come to be understood that Mythus is natural; that it is the universal symptom of an elementary condition of thought. Strauss applied this principle to the Gospels. It is true that critics before Strauss had "explained" parts of the Gospel narrative on the principle of mythus. But they had not gone beyond the suggestion of *historical* mythus, *i.e.*, the embellishment by the imagination of actual facts. Strauss undertook to explain the origin of the Gospel narratives by the principle of *philosophical* mythus, *i.e.*, the expression of an idea in the form of an imaginary biography. He did not, however, assert everything in the Gospels—*e.g.*, the existence of Jesus—to be mythical. He did not undervalue the importance of Christ's personal agency and character. He admitted that Christianity owed its substantive existence to Christ. Notwithstanding these admissions, the effect of Strauss' criticism was to quash the interpretation of compromise. It seemed that now, at last, a frank and full confession of the real tendencies of rational inquiry had been made. At the very moment of an ostentatious revival of ecclesiastical hypocrisy the indiscreet critic had displayed before the Christian mind all that it apprehended, but feared to acknowledge, and the age stood aghast at the extent of the admissions to which it was committed. There seemed no longer any accommodation possible. Either free investigation must be wholly given up, or Strauss' conclusions must be acquiesced in.

The weak point of Strauss' criticism was the impossibility of drawing any certain line between the fact and the personified idea. He had been guilty of an inconsistency in admitting into his system a basis of fact. Yet this inconsistent concession was forced from the critic by the palpable, undeniable character of the facts involved in Christianity. The philosophical mythus was too powerful a dissolvent. It destroyed everything. It left no room for history; and, after all, there was the existence of Christianity to be accounted for. So Strauss admitted certain facts, but utterly failed in showing why the admission should not be much further extended. It is impossible, he himself confesses, to establish a sure boundary, or to separate as historically sound certain portions of a narrative from other connected statements supposed to be mythically infected. This consideration proved fatal to the mythical theory of the origin of the Gospels. It was found that it no more excluded the arbitrary, the capricious, the hypothetical, than the critical methods it had superseded. The mythical theory had not only reduced the biography of Jesus to a scanty and impalpable outline, but made even this small residuum seem intangible and disconnected from the concrete fact of the existence of the Christian Church. By natural reaction, the investigation, forsaking the ideal element, endeavoured to take its start from an historical or positive groundwork. This is the aim and inspiration of the Tübingen School—a purely historical criticism, discarding all *à priori* dogmatical or philosophical hypothesis. This brings us to the second portion of Mr. Mackay's volume, which offers a syllabus of the results attained by the labours of this, the latest, school of New Testament criticism.

Tübingen is one of the smallest and poorest of the German Universities. In a poor and little accessible district, with a few hundred students, and a revenue not exceeding a third or a fifth of that of a single one of the smaller colleges of Oxford or Cambridge, it acquired, as a theological school, a reputation with which for thirty years (1830—1860) no other university has had anything to compare. It owed this entirely to the critical genius of one man, Ferdinand Christian Baur. "The Tübingen School" is in fact a periphrasis for Baur. It is, however, intended vaguely to embrace the writers in the "Tübingen Theological Journal;" Zeller, Schwegler, Köstlin, Volkmar, and Hilgenfeld, all younger men, and chiefly disciples of Baur. The fertile principle of criticism which these writers worked was struck out by Baur, and their merit lies in the useful application of it in detail. Baur died in 1862, after nearly forty years unintermitted labour in the professorial chair and a profusion of dissertations and essays, beginning with his "Symbolik und Mythologie" in 1825, and closing with a volume of "Lectures on the History of the Church," published posthumously in the present year. To say that Baur is the greatest historical critic whom the Church of the Reformation has produced, gives but an imperfect idea of the effect of his writings and those of his school on Theology. It is not merely that we owe to Baur an insight into the Christian history of the second century which no preceding scholar or antiquarian ever reached. He has completely revolutionized our mode of looking at Church history, and supplied us with a key by which we can read a cypher which had remained unintelligible to generation after generation of guessing commentators. A compendious view of the matured results of this revolutionary criticism, dismissing the refuse, winnowing too rash hypothesis, hasty conjecture, and the crude products of the first ardour of discovery, is an excellent thought. Neither Baur himself, nor, as far as we are aware, any of his followers, have given such a compendium. It had to be extracted from a very voluminous literature, including not only the whole series of Professor Baur's writings, but the countless dissertations and articles of friends and opponents which these writings have called forth, and to be fitted with the modifications and retractations which the more cautious of the recent representatives of the school, *e.g.* Hilgenfeld, had introduced. As Mr. Mackay's is the first attempt to reduce to order this mass of writing, it is perhaps ungracious to accuse him of a rambling and rhetorical mode of statement, which insinuates rather than asserts, and leaves a general impression rather than an explicit and affirmative conclusion. We propose to place before our readers a condensed summary of Mr. Mackay's view of the Tübingen results. We do not profess to verify Mr. Mackay's references, or to guarantee the correctness of his representations. He is evidently a zealous champion of the Tübingen method. He has not merely read up his case, but thrown himself into it heart and soul. His clients enjoy in him an advocate who is thoroughly convinced himself.

To the old Protestant Theology Scripture was the foundation of doctrine. All Christian truth was derived from the written Word. This hypothesis was the dogmatical base on which the Reformation rested. It was an assumption of which theologians neither offered nor asked any proof. The historical inquirer, however, discarding theological interests, and looking at the mere facts of the two first centuries, could not but see that the existence of Christianity must have preceded the existence of the books of the New Testament. The books were addressed to Christians. They were not written for the heathen, for persons unacquainted with Christian ideas and usages, but for persons already within the sphere of the ferment of mind and sentiment which attended the growth of the Christian religion. These books, like all books, presuppose a certain amount of interest and information in the reader, and propose to enlarge his interest and add to his information. They take him up at a certain point of progress, and propose to carry him on in a given direction. In other words, the several books of the New Testament are addressed to specific communities or classes of readers, and with a specific purpose. This is the hypothesis of the literary purpose; though it is not a hypothesis, but a quality undeniably attaching to all writing whatever. And a superficial examination of the separate books in question is sufficient to show that design had some share in their composition. Even the first three Gospels are more than mere mechanical registries of tradition. Various influences were concerned in their construction. The incidents in the life of Jesus selected for relation were chosen with some view or other. Even the ancient critics had remarked the diversity of plan in the Gospels while accounting for it in their own way. If from internal evidence it be made clear that the writers had a deliberate purpose, the problem of criticism will be to discover what that purpose was in the case of each writer. By ascertaining the writer's aim in the assortment of his materials we first touch the ground of real history. Every writer belongs to the age in which he lives, and the more intense the partialities and rivalries of contemporary feeling, the more surely may we anticipate that traces of these partialities will appear in his narration of the events under dispute. Any one undertaking to write a history under such circumstances must give it a corresponding colouring.

The first step in criticism is then to investigate this purpose. In order to do this we must have as accurate a chart as it is possible to draw of the state of parties and opinions at the time when the books were composed.

According to the Roman Catholic and Anglican theory, Christ founded a church, supplying it with doctrines and sacraments, and erecting a pontifical organization from the first. Such a theory can only be maintained by keeping out of sight the actual facts of the first and second centuries. The growth of Christianity was far other. The Catholic Church, instead of beginning the development was in reality its close. It was a compromise among parties which had grown up side by side in long and various hostility and incessantly changing forms. Amid these protean shapes two types of sentiment stand out which may be delineated with more certainty than the rest. These may be called the Judaical and the Greek type of Christianity. Indeed, these two are the essential forms of all religion only modified by the local and secular colouring of the period. The personal teaching of Jesus was anti-Judaical and spiritual. A lofty asceticism and renunciation of the world, a struggle for the strait gate and narrow way of moral perfection, an ideal and self-centered happiness, the responsibility of the conscience to God alone, and the bliss of persecution for righteousness' sake, such was the substance of Christ's lessons to his immediate followers. The antagonistic sentiment was that embodied in the extant Jewish synagogue, in the "Scribes and Pharisees" of the Synoptical Gospels, in the "Jews" of the fourth Gospel. This type aimed at the outward purity of legal observance, punctual compliance with ceremonial, a conscience casuistically directed, and prided itself upon the exclusive birthright of aristocratical descent from the Father of the Faithful. The teaching of Jesus appears to vanish with himself, and his followers after his death seem distinguishable from unconverted Jews chiefly by the adoption of a crucified Messiah who had already come. The characteristics of this earliest phase of Nazarene Christianity are to be recognised in the beggarly elements of meats and Sabbaths, the observance of days and months, and times and seasons (Gal. iv. 10.) of the Galatians, the obstinate fanaticism of the Corinthians, the illiberal asceticism and insurrectionary tendencies ascribed to many among the Roman Christians. This was the prevailing tone of the Christian congregations when St. Paul appeared on the scene, and by the energy of his character and the vigour of his convictions enabled the nascent religion to surmount the local peculiarities and prejudices by which it was hampered. Instead, however, of the purely therapeutic idealism of the Sermon on the Mount, St. Paul cast his Universalism into the form of a dialectical theory of Grace. The Essenic righteousness, the Δικαιοσύνη which was to exceed that of the Scribes and Pharisees (Matt. v. 20.) was no longer a moral perfection or subjective fulfilment of the law, it became an objective endowment conferred on the chosen sons of God, a favoured select body, taken out of the rest of mankind by the same inscrutable choice which had formerly called Abraham and his seed to be the covenanted people. St. Paul substituted the relation of grace for that of law, justification for fulfilment; and instead of the behaviour of individuals to God called attention almost exclusively to the operation of God in opening a new source of moral life to individuals.

The clash between the Universalism promoted by Paul, and the Judaism of the older Apostles and their followers, forms the turning point of the next fifty or sixty years of Christian history. The hostility passes through various phases. First, there was the personal antagonism of Paul and the Twelve. The shock given to Jewish arrogance by the abrupt announcement that the favour of God was henceforth to be bestowed indifferently on the circumcised and the uncircumcised, that religion stood above national distinctions, excited a deep resentment. The dispute began in Jerusalem with the attempt to force circumcision on Paul's Greek companions (Gal. ii. 4.), and assumed shortly afterwards a more bitter and decided form in Antioch. The arrangement provisionally authorising the Gentile mission had omitted to define the conditions of Gentile salvation, and the regulations to be observed in the intercourse of Jewish with Gentile converts. Peter and the "pillars" vacillated irresolutely between the uncompromising attitude of the Gentile Apostle and the jealous exclusiveness of the Judaists; intolerance, as usual, finally carrying the day. Peter finally declined communion with the Gentile Christians, and the two parties from this time forward confronted each other in open hostility.

Pauline Christianity was in a minority during the life of the Apostle, and at his death seemed almost obliterated. Corinth retained Judaizing tenets; in Rome the Pauline party appears in humiliation and disgrace (2 Tim. iv. 16). Paul himself is stigmatised as he who taught men to neglect the less important commandments, and who should therefore be "called the least in the kingdom of heaven." (Matt. v. 19.) Polycrates omits St. Paul's name in his catalogue of Asiatic dignitaries; the Judaizing Papias denounces him; he is a "vain man" to the writer of James; and the Clementine homilies reprobate the Antinomian doctrines of a certain detested individual, who, on pretence of a vision of the Lord, preached doctrines at variance with those of his real associates.

The fall of Jerusalem, however, was an event more fatal to the permanence of Judaical Christianity than the death of St. Paul proved to the spiritual type promoted by him. For expansiveness was not a tenet peculiar to an individual and his followers; it was a characteristic inherent in the religious sentiment of the age. Continually stifled by intolerance, it was ever breaking out again. Both parties were not only compelled by the increase of conversions, but were inwardly disposed to make concessions. With increase of numbers came decay of enthusiasm; unassimilated extremes of opinion began to lapse on either side towards the obstinate traditionalism of the Ebionite or the wild fanaticism of the Montanist. When the Temple had disappeared, the importance of a ceremonial law sank in the eyes of men. The old forms of parties slowly gave place to new; and by the middle of the second century we have in place of the Pauline and Petrine antithesis, the antagonism of speculative thought and the new episcopal organization. The final impulse in the direction of Universalism was received from the speculative tendency, from the philosophy of the age. The manifestation of Christ's life and the evolution of religious feeling suggested many fresh and unknown subjects of meditation to every reflecting mind which came within the sphere of these novel facts. This continual effort to attain deeper insight into the mysteries of things divine, this metaphysical speculation working upon the data of the life of Jesus, produced the phenomenon vaguely known in Church history as Gnosticism. The growing attraction of this new speculation on Christ's person and work gradually absorbed all the earlier conflicts of opinion, and furnished a common centre and occupation for Christian minds. The same unifying process was carried on in a practical direction by the growth of the hierarchical organization which was gradually spread from province to province, tying the Christian communities together in one ecclesiastical system, in close imitation of the civil jurisdiction of imperial Rome. The coalition of these forces produced the Catholic Church, which began before the middle of the second century to stand out as the legitimate and all-embracing organ of Christian opinion and feeling, in contradistinction to the minor sects and heresies, which each embraced some peculiar and extreme tenet of its own.

Such is a very brief outline of the progressive development of Christianity, as stated by the Tübingen writers and placed before us by Mr. Mackay. With this chart spread out before us, let us proceed to the books of the New Testament. We have now to decide, upon examination of each book, to what epoch of this evolution it belongs, and what tenets it was designed to recommend.

But first it is necessary to meet an objection which might be brought *in limine* to this critical procedure. The objection is, that the books of the New Testament Canon are hereby supposed to be spurious; *i.e.*, not to be written by the authors whose names they bear. This is not only to brand the sacred books of the

Church as a mass of forgery, but is to suppose a wholesale scheme of deliberate imposture which is contrary to all probability and without analogy in literature. One or two books in the collection might turn out to have passed under [illegible] false name; but it is a monstrous theory which would make all but four or five out of twenty-six books supposititious.

This is an argument which may be made to look very specious when stated in the abstract way usual with writers of evidences. But its force vanishes as soon as we come to look into the facts. In our day to put forth a writing under an honoured name in order to recommend its contents is scouted as a literary fraud. But it was far otherwise in the Schools of the Prophets. The Prophet was no author. His words were not his own, but those of Him by whom he was commissioned. His authority was entirely derivative. His outpourings were often not written down by himself, but reported by some disciple. The collecting the scattered Sibylline leaves into books was the work of a later time. Other hands affixed an author's name. When prophecy was recognised as extinct, the ideas of the prophets were reiterated by persons desirous of reforming their contemporaries, and who borrowed the name as well as the thoughts and style of some master in Israel. It was so imperative to do so, that for an unknown writer to appear under his own name was the exception, not the rule. No fraud was intended. The affixed names were not pseudonyms, but eponyms. The custom was transmitted to the Christian churches. The great object of parties and opinions in the second century was to prove themselves apostolic. The appeal was to authority, to the authority of each Church that had been founded by an apostle. The authority of the provincial Church was valid only because it was supposed to preserve the true teaching of the apostolic founder. And finally, the authority of the collective, or Catholic, Church was founded on the harmony of the traditions of the individual churches of apostolic foundation. Hence every local Church claimed an apostle, or apostolic name, for its founder; and, in the same spirit, every writing that was issued in the interest of any party or opinion claimed to speak in the name of an apostle, and to reflect his characteristic ideas. Early Christian literature was thus a reflex of the so-called apostolic traditions of the local churches. This character belonged not only to the literature of the various shades of opinion which eventually coalesced in the Catholic compromise, but to that also which advocated those more extreme opinions which were finally left outside the Church. Hence in determining canonicity, the internal criterion was that really decisive. Out of the swarm of writings, all equally accredited by apostolic names, only those lodged permanently in the Canon which represented opinions in harmony with those definitively triumphant in the Church. It is a mistake to describe the literature thus created as intended to deceive. The alternative is not the acceptance of the document as authentic or its rejection as useless and fraudulent. The document so originated is not only what the compilers believed to be true, but it is further what they believed to be the true expression of the apostle whose name was affixed to it. Between innovation and precedent the adherents of the general Church, the friends of practical unity and compromise, strove instinctively to harmonize the more moderate shades of opinion in the series of writings, more or less accurately observing a just equipoise, which forms the chief material of our Canonical literature. Apostolic authority was thus made permanently responsible for much having a merely transient interest which was not really its own. Each compiler felt himself privileged to carry out in the best way he could his purpose of inculcating Christian truth, and forwarding Catholic interests. Exemplifications of this free handling of traditional material might be carried through the whole of the apocryphal literature of the second century. We shall follow Mr. Mackay in confining the review to the principal Canonical books. He has ably condensed in about a hundred and twenty pages the substance of the many elaborate, not to say tedious, volumes in which the Tübingen writers and their opponents have discussed the minutiæ of critical evidence.

Mr. Mackay's survey begins with "Acts." Of the five historical books of the New Testament Canon "Acts" is that in which the ecclesiastical purpose is the most unmistakeable. Its object is to throw a veil over the dissensions of early Christianity, and to promote the nascent Catholic tendencies by representing Paul as acting in entire concord with the Twelve, and especially with Peter. "Acts" insists much on the persecution of the Churches by the Synagogue. It portrays the resistance or indifference of the Greeks. The father of heresy, Simon Magus, appears to be excommunicated. But all traces [illegible] theological disagreement among the Christians are carefully suppressed. St. Paul and the older Apostles are shown on every occasion as in cordial co-operation. St. Paul's mission is represented as originally Jewish (Acts xxii. 21). Peter, on the other hand, is made to set the example of admitting Gentiles to baptism. St. Paul is made to act in the secondary character of an executive commissioner carrying out the decrees of the Apostles and Elders in Jerusalem; a decree, too, based upon a compromise of his fundamental principle (ch. xvi. 4). His peculiar doctrines are nowhere alluded to; his advocacy is limited to righteousness and temperance, to resurrection and judgment, to "repentance towards God and faith in the Lord Jesus" (ch. xx. 21); in short, to a general Christian monotheism, or opinions which might have been embraced by a liberal Jew. He is drawn as a scrupulous legalist; his Pharisaic orthodoxy is insisted on; his early persecutions of Christianity emphasised. He undertakes repeated journeys to Jerusalem, either to consult the authorities there (ch. xv. 2), or for the sake of keeping a Jewish festival in a strictly Jewish manner (ch. xx. 16, xxiv. 11). The inconsistencies of this version with the general history, with the character of St. Paul, and with his own narrative of these very transactions in "Galatians," are then pointed out. Finally, for a full examination of all the evidence the reader is referred to Zeller's "Apostel-geschichte" (Stuttgard: 1854), one of the most finished productions of the Tübingen School.

The First Petrine Epistle comes next as being of kindred character to "Acts." In this epistle we have the seeming anomaly of the Apostle of the circumcision teaching Pauline Christianity to the Gentiles—the modified Paulinism espoused by Peter in "Acts," insisting more on works than faith, and taking faith in the sense of external belief or adhesion. Schwegler has endeavoured to show that the data of the Epistle, irreconcilable with the Neronic persecution, agree with that in Trajan's reign, and that the letter of Pliny on the subject is so apposite to the circumstances as to serve as a sort of commentary on them. It professes to be written from Rome, for so we must interpret the figurative language, "the elect lady in Babylon" (ch. v. 13). On the whole the Epistle is written in the spirit of the Roman Paulo-Petrine syncretism of the early part of the second century.

Of thirteen Epistles commonly received by antiquity as the genuine writing of St. Paul, four only are admitted as such by Baur: viz., "Galatians," "Romans," "Corinthians" 1 and 2. These are the earliest and the most important memorials of Christianity, supplying an undoubted standard of literary authenticity and historical t[illegible]. They are, in fact, the basis of the whole critical inquiry. T[illegible]y have each its own specific character, and exhibit a special phase of Christian development. "Galatians" asserts an independent Christianity against the Judaizing Christians, whether of Jewish or Greek extraction, and claims for St. Paul's teaching a direct revelation and an authority co-ordinate with that of the Twelve. "Romans" deals with the abstract and theological side of the question of Gentile admission to covenanted favour. It had been usual with commentators, including Tholuck and De Wette, to treat this epistle as chiefly a dissertation of didactic theology, and to regard the local and temporary allusions in the later chapters as subordinate. Baur contends that this relation of the subjects must be reversed. The distinguishing character of the genuine epistles is particularity. There is no surer mark that a writing is post apostolic than the general, indefinite, catholic character of its contents. So in "Romans" the controversial purpose against the Judaizers in the Roman Church is to be considered as the originating cause of the Apostle's writing, to which the general theory in the first eight chapters is to be held as subsidiary. The difficulty was no longer as to the terms of Gentile admission, but how to reconcile an already accomplished fact with the admitted principles of Judaism. It is in accordance with St. Paul's method in the other genuine epistles to place the subject in the most general point of view, and then to bring it home by inferences to the matter in hand, always a practical one. "Corinthians" rebukes special disorders in the Church of Corinth, but also vindicates the independence of St. Paul's mission, and his equality with the other Apostles (1 Cor. ix.)

On no point have the "Tübingen results" seemed more contestible than on Baur's refusal to admit "Thessalonians" as a genuine writing of St. Paul. Hilgenfeld, though giving up the second Epistle, argues in favour of "1 Thessalonians." The objections urged by Baur are summed up by Mr. Mackay. We cannot detail them here. The special allusion (1 Thess. ii. 16) to the destruction of Jerusalem does not seem to us so weighty as the absence of particular motive and specific interest, which is our best criterion of "lateness." But "Thessalonians" cannot be late, as it is written under the expectation of the Second Advent. Mr. Jowett, who is an advocate for the orthodox tradition of the Pauline authorship, states as strongly as Baur the dissimilarity in style and subject to the Apostle's other writings.

The Deutero-Pauline letters, "Ephesians," "Philippians," "Colossians," bear, as has been always felt even by the blindest commentators, a certain likeness to each other. The monotonous iteration; the vagueness of the catholic teaching; the general recommendation of practical duty; above all, the absence [illegible] specific purpose, mark them as later writings. They share the irenic tendency of the writings of the second century; giving to "Faith" and "Christ" an altered meaning; reducing the former to adhesion, and changing the latter from the regenerating power within the soul to a transcendental supermundane essence. "Ephesians" alludes to the antithesis of heresy and orthodoxy (Eph. v. 6; iv. 14). Both "Ephesians" and "Colossians" are replete with Gnostic ideas and terminology. Both epistles are the product of a time intermediate between the first enthusiastic feelings of Christianity and the definitive establishment of the Church, when Gnostic notions had already become widely current, and when Asiatic Christianity had already begun to elevate the idea of Christ to that height from which it was shortly to embrace and reconcile all the varieties and antagonisms of yet unorganized Christianity. The genuineness of "Philippians" had been positively maintained by De Wette. Baur brings forward against it, besides the want of specific purpose and other characteristics which it has in common with "Colossians" and "Ephesians," two particulars which he thinks decisive. One is the theory of Christ's *κένωσις* (ch. ii. 8) indicating an epoch after the appropriation of Gnostic language. The other is the allusion to Clemens (ch. iv. 3,) whose legend was a growth of the second century. He is made to appear here as Paul's fellow-labourer in the spirit of that Roman Catholic syncretism of the second century in which the ideas of Peter and Paul were popularly harmonised.

The Pastoral letters—"Timothy," and "Titus"—have the general air of second-century writings. Heresy is denounced; ecclesiastical power is invoked to check it; there is a perpetual recurrence of the neutral formula combining faith and works; and by "faith" is meant not the inward condition of the soul, but creed allegiance. The lesson inculcated is peace; to shun speculation, now considered dangerous, and to follow practical righteousness. In his genuine epistles St. Paul nowhere alludes to an organized hierarchy, although the Corinthian disorders were such as to require and to suggest the expedient. In their recommendations of episcopacy the Pastorals stand parallel with the Clementines and the letters of Ignatius. The institution arose concurrently with the first dangerous outbreak of the heresies it was calculated to suppress. The mention of the "widows" (1 Tim. v.) had already been designated by Schleiermacher as a second-century note. The names of Mark and Luke (2 Tim. iv. 11) have a symbolical significancy in the literature of the Early Church. Mark was traditionally the companion and amanuensis of Peter. Luke acted a similar part in relation to St. Paul. When the course of events, issuing in Roman Cath[illegible]cism, associated the functions and final destiny of the two apostolic leaders in the metropolitan city, the approximation of the principals led to a corresponding association of their followers. Hence a series of writings beginning with the first Petrine Epistle and the "Kerugma Petri," in which a modified Pauline doctrine is presented under St. Peter's recommendation, to the more ecclesiastical tone of Acts, the Pastorals, and Ignatius, in which St. Paul is made the patron of doctrinal and ecclesiastical ideas which were quite alien to him, and the names of secondary apostolic personages are introduced to give the same colouring and guarantee to the epistles.

The "Epistle of James," with its lofty and decided tone of practical morality, is an adjustment of the ideas of faith and works which St. Paul had contrasted and opposed. While inculcating the sublimest virtues of human aspiration in the tones of the Sermon on the Mount, it refers these to their theological source in "the perfect law of liberty" (ch. i. 25), giving to the terms "law" and "observance" the spiritualized extension of the Paulo-Petrine syncretism. "Hebrews" carries the same idea further, showing how the whole of the Temple ritual, and even the Old Testament history, was an allegory which found its explanation in the person and sacerdotal work of Christ. The salvation offered in Christianity becomes in this epistle a sacrificial reconciliation effected through a priest. This mode of connecting the old and the new was received with great favour, adapted as it was to the requirements of a large class of minds, the lovers of type, and symbol, and allegory. "Hebrews" also contains another element of popularity in adopting the growing views of the transcendent elevation of the person of Christ, not only above Moses and the Patriarchs of the Old Covenant, but the Angels also.

To the investigation of the plan and purpose of the Fourth Gospel Mr. Mackay devotes a space proportioned to the doubtfulness and interest of the subject. With all the Tübingen arguments before him, Ewald still pronounces the Johannine authorship to be indisputable, and contemptuously dismisses all doubts on the subject as unscientific and groundless. It is our business to present the reader with a summary of the Tübingen view of the Gospel. Assuredly it is not regarded by "the Tübingen School as a treatise of Alexandrian philosophy," as Mr. Farrar, in the Bampton Lecture for 1862, asserts. The evidence of authorship is first examined. The external evidence is nil. The first authors who cite it are Theophilus, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria, at the close of the second or beginning of the third century. For the allusion in the "Philosophumena," on which so much stress has been laid, leaves us uncertain whether Basilides himself be referred to, or only his followers, who eagerly made use of the Fourth Gospel on its first appearance. The opinion of the Fathers is worth nothing. They were avowedly guided in their literary judgments by analogies deduced from the four winds of heaven or four regions of the world. Besides, they do not express their own opinions, but acquiesce in the sense of the local Church by which any writing was accredited, without any interposition of their own judgment. What we know of the Apostle John renders it impossible to regard him as its author. He was one of the leaders of the Judaical party, the chief authority on millennarianism, and installed at Ephesus as the chief of Asiatic Christendom after a victory over the party of Paul. The doctrine of the Gospel, on the other hand, is antimillennarian and anti-Jewish. Nor does the Evangelist give himself out as an eyewitness, but refers to another person as the eyewitness on whose authority he stated a fact (ch. xix. 37). Finally, the Gospel asserts the Western usage of the observance of Easter, while John was the chief authority to which the Quartodecimans afterwards appealed on their side of the dispute.

Coming to the analysis of the contents of the Gospel, Mr. Mackay thinks that Baur has "effectually proved" that the Gospel becomes intelligible only when regarded as the expression of an ideal Christianity under the form of a Life of Christ; the purpose arbitrarily marshalling and modifying the recorded events. It is a promulgation of the new religion of grace and truth; a concentration of all the scattered rays of spiritual life, of the doctrines of faith and works, of all that was valuable in the inventory of Montanist and Gnostic in the view of promoting the grand object of Catholic union. It is the purified quintessence of current theories in the form of a moral drama backed by the authority of the name of the head of Asiatic Christendom. It is a grand theological drama composed by some unknown hand in the interests of an advanced theory of Christianity. It contains no independent tradition, but is the synoptical tradition modified to suit the purpose of the writer. The Gospel supposes the antagonism of good and evil to be carried out on the theatre of humanity. Mankind share in this antagonism. Nevertheless, the chasm between the two kinds of men is not absolute. Men may pass from one to the other; they may be born again. But for this purpose there must be divine interposition; there must be manifestation of "the Light." For these last days was reserved the manifestation of "the only-begotten Son, who was in the bosom of the Father." (ch. i. 18.) The Eternal Word of the Father was incarnate, tabernacled among men, and manifested his glory. Christ does not, as in the other Gospels, go about teaching and doing good, but manifests himself to as many as would receive him. The Gospel was first to be offered to the Jews. Jerusalem was the proper theatre of the Prophet. The encounter with the principle of unbelief represented by "the Jews" occupies chapters v. to x. It is partly argumentative, partly in signs or symbolical acts. Each of such acts is also accompanied by a dialectical explanation. Such is that appended (ch. ix.) to the miracle of the blind man, of which the moral is contained in the declaration (ver. 39), "For judgment came I into this world, that they who do not see may see, and that they who see may be blinded." Chapters xi.—xvii. is a series of discourses opening the scheme of the recovery of a lost world by the union of the salvable in one fold or church, of which Christ was to be the head. The resurrection and final glorification of the Prince of Life himself is typified by the raising of Lazarus. The section concludes with the prayer of consecration, in which the work of redemption is supposed to be finished, and Jesus looks beyond his immediate disciples to the whole body of believers who had been rescued out of the midst of a lost world. What is especially noticeable in this prayer (ch. xvii.) is the stress which is laid on the internal union among Christians, and the hopelessness which is implied as to the spread of the Church among mankind at large (ver. 9). The last section of the Gospel is the Crucifixion, in which, though Mr. Mackay will not deny that there is an appearance of historical narration, yet there are several inserted circumstances indicative of the peculiar theory of the Gospel. Besides the transference of the day of the Crucifixion from the 15th to the 14th Nisan, may be cited the importance attached to the flow of blood and water (ch. xix. 35), Christ's body being the fountain of the spiritual stream which issues forth to replenish and revivify the world. The Ascension is represented as almost immediately following the Resurrection, since all the benefits of the new spiritual life are considered as immediately consequent upon the death. The Gospel terminates with the twentieth chapter, the twenty-first being a later addition.

The Tübingen analysis of the Fourth Gospel is followed by a short reply on Mr. Mackay's part to Ewald's "Life of Christ," which not only is the historical authenticity of the Gospel assumed, but it is asserted to be possible to harmonize its narrative with that of the Synoptics. From this reply we can extract little definite. Ewald, it is said truly enough, "wraps his virtue in an obscurity of inflated verbiage;" and "conceals critical difficulty amid the echoes of rhetorical flourish." With respect to miracles in general, Ewald insists on their historical reality, yet seems at the same time to explain them away as figurative symbols. Of the miracle in Cana, he says we should miserably misinterpret the noble wine now and always flowing down into our souls were we to institute a puerile inquiry how water could suddenly become wine, as if even now it were not in the best sense so converted wherever the spirit of Christ is duly felt. The feeding of the five thousand he supposes to exemplify the beautiful serenity of faith which deepens in its trust with the urgency and severity of the trial. The transfiguration shows how a true faith already clearly discerns the victorious forms of life and glory under the lineaments of suffering obscurity. He allegorises the Resurrection as meaning the renewed spiritual life of Christ in the Christian mind. Some miracles, *e.g.*, healing of the sick and of demoniacs, are disposed of by Ewald as natural effects wrought by superior insight. Others, such as walking on the sea, calming the storm, curing at a distance, raising the dead, he accounts exceptional displays of concentrated energy. The psychological conditions of this energy are analysed. The two facts are the mysterious efficacy of Christ's spiritual nature, and the high-wrought expectations of his followers, who in moments of enthusiasm saw the absolute and literal realization of all they imagined and anticipated. In short, Ewald resorts to all the resources of mythical interpretation without any open acknowledgment or direct use of an obnoxious expression. It must be admitted that in descending to Christian times and Greek writings Ewald seems to become embarrassed, and to lose that clear insight and sound judgment which guide him through the obscurities of the old dispensation. Mr. Mackay, however, while severely condemning the sort of shuffling between supernaturalism and rationalism which he describes, might in justice have credited Ewald's seventh volume with the vast mass of collateral matter and the many original views of the period which it undoubtedly presents.

It remains to draw out the Tübingen view of the Synoptical Gospels. Though the Fourth Gospel treats tradition more arbitrarily than is done by the others, the writer's licence is still held within limiting conditions. The Synoptics follow tradition more submissively. They are not uniform creations of single minds, but results of the long-continued efforts of successive compilers, to adapt the legendary material to existing exigencies. Each of the three has, however, a specific tendency, a determinate purpose. They all agree in a disposition to neutralize existing varieties of opinion and to pave the way for Catholic establishment.

Mark has been variously thought to be the original and the copyist of the two other Evangelists. The fact that the whole of "Mark," except about twenty-four or twenty-seven verses, was to be found in the other Gospels, suggested naturally the hypothesis that "Mark" was the common source of the others. Baur and Schwegler,. however, place him last in order. "Mark" is neutral and Petrinic. His suppression of controversial matter seems to indicate that advanced period of Church development when unity was to a great extent secured, and the old topics of dispute had lost their interest. Christ's prediction of his return during the lifetime of individuals then present is altered into an establishment of "the kingdom," without referring to a personal coming. His language betrays a leaning towards Docetic views of Christ's person, and an aversion to the human origin expressed in the genealogies. The passages collected by De Wette are cases where the meaning is wanting till supplemented by the longer text of Matthew or Luke, which tends to show that "Mark" is the abridgment. It little affects this inference that a few unessential expletives are added every here and there in "Mark."

These additions are mostly explanations suggested by the probabilities of the case, and do not imply any additional source of information. Thus, of the woman with the issue of blood (ch. v. 26), Luke had inferred from Matthew's account of her twelve years' disorder that she "had spent all her living on physicians;" Mark amplifies this rhetorically into "she had suffered many things of many physicians, spent all she had, and instead of getting better rather grew worse." The tradition of the Roman origin of "Mark," internally confirmed as it is by Latinisms, may go for something.

"Luke," the modified representative of Pauline evangelical tradition, ranks in Baur's estimate next to "John," in the distinct exhibition of a purpose. He distinguishes, however, the Gospel as we have it from an original "Luke," which he supposes to have been more specifically Pauline and anti-Jewish. The means of discriminating the two are obtained from the notices in Tertullian and Epiphanius of the Gospel of Marcion. Baur affirms that it was not Marcion who mutilated, but later compilers who interpolated. The Gospel which Marcion used is according to him an early form of the original out of which our "Luke" was afterwards developed. The later editor did his work in the spirit of Catholic compromise which alone made any writing admissible into the Canon. As in "Acts," a work of the same author, so in "Luke," Jesus is the Jewish Messiah; but the efficacy of his Messiahship is universal. He is the Son not of David only, but of Adam. In this spirit Judaical additions are pieced on to the Pauline basis. The accounts of the infancy, of the baptism, temptation, and triumphant entry into Jerusalem; the genealogy, most of the examples of Old Testament fulfilment, with some passages referring to later Christian parties, are enumerated by Baur amongst the additions. There is a marked tendency to depreciate "the Twelve." They are placed in a position of inferiority to "the Seventy," who represent the apostleship to the Gentiles—seventy being the supposed number of the nations of the world. "The Twelve" are dull and unprolific, faithless and perverse, insensible to the glories of the Transfiguration, childishly ambitious, jealous, revengeful (ch. ix. 41, 45, &c.). The special instructions given in Matthew to "the Twelve," are here reserved for "the Seventy." Several of these instructions agree exactly with St. Paul's. The epithets of honour, "salt of the earth," "light of the world," specially applied to the Apostles in Matthew, are diverted from their original intent by being made general or hypothetical (ch. viii. 16; xiv. 34). In the narrative of Jairus's daughter, the Apostles are tacitly included among the scoffers.

Having deduced "Mark" and "Luke" from "Matthew," or at least from a common source, there remains no exterior criterion by which the originality of "Matthew" can be tested. It is no longer possible to make the divergency of the other two Gospels a ground for deciding upon the accuracy of "Matthew." But, though destitute of any standing-ground without, Baur is confident that he can assign the character of "Matthew" on grounds of internal probability only. He first observes that the groupings and arrangement is decidedly artificial. Jesus is made to confine himself at one time entirely to didactic teaching, at another to parables, at another to the healing of disease. The Sermon on the Mount must be the spirit and substance of the general teaching of Jesus, on which the author of the Gospel has conferred the form of a connected address pronounced at one time. If the structure be artificial, argues Baur, we may suspect that the writer has used the same freedom as to the facts. The suspicion and the hypothesis immediately becoming certainty and fact. Baur finds a ready source for them in the evident bias to view the circumstances of the life of Jesus as predetermined by certain typical Messianic criteria, or prophetical necessities. The Old Testament is referred to as a determining standard of eventualities in such a way as makes us doubtful whether the citation is made for the sake of the fact or the fact for the sake of the citation. Not the facts only, but the speeches, seem to have undergone a modifying change. The discourse on the consummation of things in the twenty-fourth chapter is incompatible in its actual form with any possible utterance of Jesus. In the allusion to Zacharias, son of Barachias, (ch. xxiii. 35), we find words ascribed to Jesus referring to later circumstances which he never could have spoken. Tradition, too, in this instance is unfavourable to the authenticity of our present "Matthew." The Apostle Matthew is said to have written "The sayings of the Lord" (λόγια) in Hebrew. Traces of an early Hebrew Gospel occur abundantly in the older patristic writings. It is alluded to variously as "the Gospel of Peter," of "the Apostles," of "the Ebionite," of "the Egyptians," of "the Hebrews;" all possible aspects of the early evangelical tradition which circulated among the first Christians as "the Gospel," as yet unfixed to a precise form or a particular name. This substance of tradition is not our "Matthew," but may be regarded as its original. Jerome had translated the "Gospel of the Hebrews" into Greek, a sufficient proof that it differed to no small extent from the present Matthew.

Such is our summary of the "Tübingen results," as Mr. Mackay has been at the pains to draw them out from the mass of publications in which the inquiries and contingent controversy have been carried on. Those readers who wish a fuller review will have recourse to Mr. Mackay's volume, in which they will find a well-selected variety of the chief points of special criticism, as well as honest references to the German sources from which his synopsis has been drawn up. We cannot leave his work without again expressing our sense of the great labour that must have been incurred in preparing such an abridgment. To this we think we may add the praise of fairness. It is true Mr. Mackay [illegible] an avowed convert to the Tübingen method. He not only adopts, but is enthusiastic in his adoption of the results of that method, and that in a number of cases in which future critics will, we believe, reverse his verdicts. But he does this openly. He is a partisan, but he does not disguise the fact. He has made it his business to plead his clients' cause, not as if impartiality consisted in holding the balance even between the Tübingen critics and their opponents of the day. He does not profess to write a statement of the case between the parties, but to give the views of one of the parties. Even those who are most disinclined to side with the historical critics may be grateful to the zealous compiler who has given us the only English compendium of the important views which they have brought forward.

Contemporary Literature.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

THE third Part of Bishop Colenso's work on the Pentateuch[1] is in many respects better adapted for making an impression on the public mind than the two which have preceded it. The conclusion arrived at—that the book of Deuteronomy is attributable to the age of Joshua, is one with which Biblical critics are perfectly familiar, but will be very startling to the ordinary Bible reader. It presents, however, a fact of sufficient magnitude effectually to arrest his attention; and if made apparent to his common sense will effect an entire revolution in the regard which he has been accustomed to pay to the so-called books of Moses. The most cursory comparison of the style of the book of Deuteronomy with that of the rest of the Pentateuch, indicates that it belongs to a later age; even in the English version, the language is perceived to bear a resemblance to that of the prophets Ezekiel and Jeremiah. A closer examination shows a number of words and expressions common in the first four books, to occur nowhere in Deuteronomy. Thus for *mateh*, 'tribe,' the Deuteronomist always uses *shevet*; for *ēdah*, 'congregation,' he employs uniformly *kāhāl*. Then there are expressions occurring freely or frequently in Deuteronomy, which are nowhere met with in the preceding books. Bishop Colenso gives lists of thirty or forty of these. These are 'undesigned differences,' of which the force cannot be evaded. To this internal evidence of style and language, is to be added an external evidence of the circumstances attending the alleged finding in the Temple, in the reign of Josiah, of a book of the Law; on which finding was based the Reformation of Religion which was carried out or attempted by that king. If we read the accounts given in 2 Kings xxii.–xxiii. as we would read any other history, it is impossible to avoid concluding that the whole affair was a matter of contrivance between Hilkiah, Huldah, and others. The narrative certainly obliges us to believe that some written law was supposed to have pre-existed, but that observance of it had fallen into desuetude, and that the contents and details of it were unknown. The question however arises whether it were the whole Pentateuch, or only a portion of it, which was then supposed to have been discovered, but which was, in fact, then or about that time first composed. Now the so-called finding, that is the production, could scarcely have included the book of Genesis, because that book has nothing to do with 'the Law'; and the object of those who produced the book said to have been found was to bring about a stricter observance of the Law: nor could it well have comprised so much as the last four books of the Pentateuch, because all the words of the book of the Covenant were read in the ears of the people in a public assembly convened for that purpose, when all the people stood to the Covenant. But the most important observation is, that there are many observable discrepancies between the historical circumstances related, and the legal provisions laid down in the other books and in Deuteronomy. Of these some of the most striking are connected with the giving of the Ten Commandments. It is difficult to suppose that the author of the book of Deuteronomy could have had actually before his eyes the words of the fourth Commandment, with the reason given for its observance in Ex. xx. 11, when he penned the passage Deut. v. 15. And in other cases, though he was aware of the general character of the older Law, and of the usual tradition concerning the Exodus and the Conquest, yet he was either not so thoroughly acquainted with them, or did not consider them so infallibly perfect and true, as that he might not vary from them, for the advancement of his own immediate objects. Detailed instances of such variations are given by Bishop Colenso, of which it is impossible to evade the force. And it should be remembered that it is sufficient for his purpose to show that the book of Deuteronomy must have had another and a later author than the previous books. Scholars therefore may differ in assigning the book to the latter end of the reign of Manasseh, or to the early part of the reign of Josiah; although it is with the greater probability to be closely connected with the finding the book of the Law in the House of the Lord, already spoken of. But the practical result is, that "the traditional belief that the whole Pentateuch was written by Moses himself can no longer be maintained"; and even if some portions of the other four books be attributable to Moses himself, that the book of Deuteronomy was certainly not written by him, but was composed in a much later age.' Now if this conclusion be inevitable respecting the book of Deuteronomy, we have to remark that miraculous events are related or referred to in it as if by a contemporary witness, which shows how little weight can be attached to similar forms of speech in the other books of the Pentateuch; consequently, in other parts of the Pentateuch likewise, miraculous occurrences, incredible in themselves, do not become credible because they are narrated in form as if by an eye-witness. Nor, again, are we at liberty to infer anything from the employment of such phraseology as 'the Lord spake,' 'the Lord commanded,' and the like. Moreover, the book of Deuteronomy is cited in the New Testament as the genuine Law, and by the name even of Moses; whence it appears that such citation cannot in itself be understood to give an undoubted voucher for the authorship of any books. Perhaps Bishop Colenso has been more harshly treated by his clerical brethren on this point than in any other. His opponents have thought that they could entangle him on his subscriptions, and hold him up to the odium of the Evangelicals as one who detracted from the honour due to the person of the Redeemer. But in these attacks persons in the highest ecclesiastical positions have shown the grossest ignorance of the Trinitarian Creed which they profess, and which, as a mere matter of book learning, they ought to understand. The objection that Bishop Colenso has run into a heresy in supposing that Jesus, in speaking of Moses as the author of the Pentateuch, spoke as sharing the ignorance or prejudices of his contemporaries, could only be sustained upon an assumption which, according to the Athanasian hypothesis, is a heresy itself—namely this, that the Divinity took the place of a Soul in the person of Jesus. The Athanasian doctrine is, that two whole and perfect (*i. e.* complete) natures, the "Godhead and Manhood, were joined together" in one Christ; and that his manhood consisted of "a reasonable soul and human flesh,"—the soul therefore as subject to human infirmities of ignorance and prejudice, as the body to the human infirmity of pain. Now it may be very true that this orthodox doctrine is nothing more, after all, than a clever attempt at devising a formula which shall comprehend the various contradictory assertions to be met with in the New Testament concerning the person of Jesus Christ. It may be open to a variety of objections; but the Archbishops, when they were about to find fault with Dr. Colenso, should have been careful to bear it in mind. We think they must be thoroughly ashamed of themselves when they read the learned and straightforward letter of Mr. Houghton in the Preface to the present part of Bishop Colenso's work. Mr. Houghton, rector of Preston, is well known in the literary and scientific world, and the letter we now refer to does him infinite honour. After disposing thoroughly of the question above referred to, he goes on with a passage which we must allow ourselves the pleasure of quoting:—

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[1] "The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined." By the Right Rev. John William Colenso, D.D., Bishop of Natal. Part III. London: Longmans. 1863.

> "And now, my Lord, with respect to the general character of your recent publications on the Pentateuch, I feel it my positive duty, at whatever cost, to say a few plain and honest words. I have diligently, conscientiously, and prayerfully studied the whole question at issue for the last six months, and am compelled to admit the *general truth* of your arguments, though differing in some particulars. You are aware that I published a pamphlet in reply to your Part I.; I have withdrawn that reply from circulation. Before the appearance of your book, however, I was quite certain that the *Bible* and *Science* were opposed to each other. Four years' examination of almost every word in the Bible relating to its Natural History has convinced me that, in many essential points, the Biblical and Natural records are, to use the words of the learned and candid Kalisch, utterly and irreconcilably at variance. The more I examine the whole question for myself, the more certain I become that in the Bible 'legend is mixed up with history, poetic imaginings with prosaic narrative, that no miraculous power has been exerted to preserve it from omissions, interpolations, and corruptions of the text,' and that the Bible is, therefore, not infallible in the sense in which the popular creed assumes it to be."—*Pref.* pp. xxxix.-xl.

What has been so courageously avowed by the author of the foregoing letter is, we are persuaded, becoming the conviction of an increasing number even among the clergy.

One of the very best pamphlets which have appeared in the course of the present Biblical controversy, is entitled "The Book of the Law; when and how was it written?"[2] It is not a defence of Colenso, nor does it start from the same point as the inquiries set on foot by the Bishop: it is entirely independent and original. The author arrives at the result of the comparatively modern composition of the Pentateuch. He does not separate the book of Deuteronomy from the rest, which he thinks would be shallow criticism, if founded merely on its being said that Hilkiah 'found the book of the Law' in the Temple, in the reign of Josiah: he has not entered on the consideration of its peculiar language and style. He thinks also that the recognition by Amos of the duty of paying tithes every third year (Amos ix. 4) shows that appointment (found only in Deuteronomy xiv. 28; xxvi. 12) to have been known in the Israelitish kingdom in the time of that prophet. Without, therefore, severing the book of Deuteronomy from the rest of the Pentateuch, he thinks that the whole of the Pentateuch was *unwritten* at the division of the kingdom: but that the tradition of the events narrated, with the Mosaic precepts and legal regulations, or the germs of them, had been handed down from the time of Moses. On this supposition the reference by Amos to the tithe in the third year would, we may remark, not imply that Deuteronomy was then written, only that some ordinances were more or less observed which were afterwards written down in that book. The hypothesis of the author seems to be that the Law assumed a written form gradually after the division of the kingdom,—that it received interpolations in the reign of Josiah; but that it was not written in the form we now have it till after the Captivity. This hypothesis, it will be seen, is less conservative than that of Bishop Colenso; either of them is incompatible with the belief that Moses wrote the five books, and either of them fatal to the argument that we must believe the prodigies related in them because they come to us on the evidence of an eye-witness. Our author says:—

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[2] "The Book of the Law; when and how was it written?" London: William Ridgway. 1863.

> "If we are bound to receive as an article of belief that Moses was the actual inspired penman of the Pentateuch, the reasons for our faith must be grounded upon the evidence of the Scriptures alone. Let us be told how we are to reconcile the precept against every altar except of earth or unhewn stone, with the immediate revelation of a golden and a brazen altar. Let it be explained satisfactorily how Moses could have written twice in Numbers that Aaron died in Mount Hor, and in Deuteronomy that he died at Mosera; how he could have brought down an exemplary punishment upon Korah as a warning against any Levite aspiring to the priesthood, which, in his closing address in Deuteronomy, he assigns as the especial prerogative of all the sons of Levi. Let it be shown how the heavier shekel of the Babylonian weight, and the injunction to collect 'the didrachma,' or later Temple tribute, could have been revealed upon Mount Sinai; and how the numbering in which the money was to be collected, could have taken place after every didrachma had been melted down and converted into silver ornaments."—pp. 117, 118.

The "Critical Analysis of the Pentateuch,"[3] we are told, was composed before the appearance of the Bishop of Natal's work on the Pentateuch: it is an analysis of a totally different kind, and much more adapted for popular circulation.

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[3] "Critical Analysis of the Pentateuch, and Theology of the Old Testament." By Presbyter Anglicanus. London: T. W. Grattan. 1863.

We should think Dr. M'Caul must by this time regret that he entered the lists with the Bishop of Natal.[4] He is neither a match for him in his Hebrew, nor in his arithmetic, nor, which is most important to the critic and expounder of religious books, in perception of that which it is becoming to think of the Divine Being.

"The Confessions of a Missionary" is a translation of an article by the distinguished Genevan Professor M. Schérer, which appeared in the "Revue des Deux Mondes," Mar. 15 last.[5] It is a clear, vigorous, and straightforward vindication of the course which Bishop Colenso has pursued in examining for himself and laying open to others the real facts of the so-called Mosaic writings. M. Schérer foresees that the process of peeling off the ecclesiastical, dogmatical, and legendary accretions which have gathered round the teaching of Jesus Christ must be one full of anxiety and alarm; but it is one which must be gone through with. It must even be gone through with in England; whether the clergy, beyond a few who can be counted on one hand, will be engaged in it, is more doubtful. Under one aspect it comes to this: how can a religion be devised which shall clothe itself in forms so as to contain tangible truth for the mass, and yet be pure enough to satisfy the intellect and moral sense of the refined?—so, that is, that we should not see reproduced the state of things which existed in the advanced stage of Greek and Roman culture, when the philosopher had, as to religion, nothing in common with the idolater.

There is prefixed to this article of Schérer's, by an English clergyman, a critique of the position which Mr. Maurice has taken up in reference to this controversy. It is the more valuable, to say nothing of the greater point the writer is thereby able to give it, as being written by a former disciple and admirer of the Preacher of Lincoln's Inn. It is indeed somewhat encouraging to see symptoms of defection from a leader who has certainly done good service heretofore, but who is not willing that others should go further than himself; who affects to be an arbiter in all controversies, though entirely incapable of placing himself at any other point of view than his own. He must meddle with Mansel, with the Essayists, with Colenso, as if his own orthodoxy had never been questioned, and as if he were not the least understandable of all theological writers of the present day.

The French Pastor's "Estimate" gives a very clear summary of the principal portions of Parts I. and II.[6] The author, while fully accepting many of the Bishop's criticisms in detail, reserves himself upon others, as that Ps. lxviii. was written in David's time, and the Song of Deborah, as we now have it, after it: and he justifies him in maintaining his official position in the following spirited words:—

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[4] "Notes by the Bishop of Natal on an Examination of Part I. of his Work on the Pentateuch, by the Rev. Dr. M'Caul, Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis, King's College, London." London: Longmans. 1863.

[5] "The Confessions of a Missionary, being a Defence of Bishop Colenso." By Edmund Schérer. With a Preface, in reply to the Letters of the Rev. F. D. Maurice, on the 'Claims of the Bible and of Science.'" By Presbyter Anglicanus. London: Longmans. 1863.

[6] "A French Pastor's Estimate of Bishop Colenso's work on the Pentateuch, Parts I. and II." By the Rev. Theophilus Bost, Pastor at Verviers. Translated from Le Disciple de Jésus Christ, Revue du Protestantisme au XIX. Siècle. Av. et Mai 1863. London: Longmans. 1863.

> "Bishop Colenso is abundantly justified in not giving in his resignation. It is not for him to suppose that his Church interdicts free inquiry and proscribes truth, if truth should appear at variance with her liturgies. It appears to us that he has a full right to remain where he is until his Church shall have excluded him from her bosom, declaring thus that she considers Christian faith to stand or fall with the authenticity of the Pentateuch. But we do not hesitate to say that, in condemning him, she would condemn herself; in striking him she would aim a mortal blow at herself; for she would be attacking in him a Divine instinct—the need of harmonizing religious faith with the scientific truths which every day reveals to us."

"Christianity and Common Sense"[7] is intended to supply an antidote to the "Neology" now sown broadcast by "Essays and Reviews," Bishop Colenso, and Professor Stanley. The question now pressing for solution is said (as stated by the author) to admit of three alternatives—whether we are to have—

> Christianity with a true Bible, Christianity with a false Bible, or Christianity with no Bible at all. The first of these alternatives is the Christianity of the Protestant, Roman, and Eastern Churches, from the first germs of the faith to the present time. The third is, *in fact*, the deism of Voltaire, the positivism of Comte and his disciples—Bible abstract truth without Bible positive belief. It is the real logical conclusion of much that is now written on the neological side of the question. The second considers itself a *via media*, and is the religion of many Germans and of a few Englishmen.—p. xiii.

The design of the volume is to vindicate the adoption of the first of the three alternatives, and to maintain the *truth* of even the most startling Biblical narratives. The especial indignation of Sir Willoughby seems to fall upon Professor Stanley for the condescending way in which, in his Lectures on the Jewish Church, he takes the Old Testament history under his patronage.

The "Life of Jesus," by Ernest Renan, has been received abroad with all the eager interest which would necessarily attach to a work on that subject from the pen of so distinguished a Biblical critic and Orientalist.[8] In some quarters no doubt it has occasioned a feeling of disappointment, and in this, to a considerable extent, we share; not, however, because we consider the treatment of this part of his undertaking insufficiently destructive, but because of the manner in which it has been dealt with. We think that the calm critical faculty has in this case been blinded by sentiment and imagination. The present volume is in part execution of a larger history of the "Origin of Christianity." This would be distributed into four periods. The first would embrace the life of the Founder himself; the second would include the Apostolic age, and be bounded by about the year 100; the third would describe the obstinate struggle of the rising religion against the power of the empire under the Antonines, and would terminate with the second century. The fourth period would comprise the whole of the third century, and the early portion of the fourth, until the political establishment of Christianity by Constantine. A prime question to one who attempts to describe the life of Jesus concerns the authority which is attributable to the four Gospels. M. Renan admits frankly the legendary character of the miraculous narratives which they contain; but makes the observation which, stated in a general form, is sufficiently true—that legendary decoration is perfectly consistent with a basis of historical fact. With respect to the first three Gospels he considers them to embody floating popular traditions in connexion with actual sayings and doings of Jesus. The fourth Gospel, to our own surprise, he attributes to the authorship of the Apostle John. He thoroughly admits that the speeches attributed to Jesus in that Gospel are irreconcilable with the discourses narrated in the Synoptics; moreover, that a different portraiture of his life is presented to us; and acknowledges the supposition to be plausible enough, of certain notes or memoirs of John himself having been worked up for a controversial purpose by some disciple of that Apostle. The difficulties, however, for a person like M. Renan, who does not admit the miraculous to have really occurred, in supposing the record of miracles by a person who must have been an eye-witness of the events, are extremely great, and we do not think he has surmounted them. All the Gospels, however, according to our author, are traceable to the first century, and are attributable in substance, or in parts at least, to the persons whose names they bear, not as authors so much as authorities. And in the several Gospels are found different strata of material. In the first are first the *Logia*, the actual words of Jesus, which Renan considers to reveal themselvesunmistakeably beneath the legendary histories by which they are overlaid. The first and second chapters he supposes to belong to the second generation of Christians. The second Gospel has retained more than the others of its original impress, and our author is inclined to allow that it is derived originally from St. Peter. The third Gospel stands lower down, is more artificial in its composition, and its object is to incorporate, combine, and reconcile a variety of accounts. The fourth Gospel has the distinct character of its own already spoken of. The relative value and authenticity of the fourth Gospel, compared with the Synoptics, is a capital point in these inquiries: the authority of a credible eye-witness would of course be greatly superior to that of an anonymous tradition; but, on the other hand, the authority of a fictitious or pretended eye-witness would be far below that of a spontaneously generated popular tradition. But again, the relation of things incredible in themselves by a person claiming to have been an eye-witness, would seriously detract from the credit due to him as to things not otherwise incredible: on the other hand, incredible things mixed up in a traditional history do not invalidate other parts of the story; for we can rely on obtaining more truthful evidence from a superstitious, ignorant, and simple witness, than from an intelligent falsifier. Therefore it is more reasonable to suppose a basis of actual fact in a popular tradition of some supernatural event, than in a like narrative deliberately constructed by an educated author. Thus, there is probably some basis of ordinary fact lying under the traditions, so popular and current as to be found in all four Gospels, of Jesus multiplying a few loaves and fishes in the wilderness; but none whatever under the story of turning water into wine, as told in the fourth Gospel only. To the question of the fourth Gospel we shall return presently.

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[7] "Christianity and Common Sense." By Sir Willoughby Jones, Bart., M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Longmans. 1863.

[8] "Vie de Jésus." Par Ernest Renan, Membre de l'Institut. Deuxième Edition. London: D. Nutt. 1863.

The peculiarities of the present volume, both its literary beauties and its critical defects, are due to the opportunities of which M. Renan availed himself, during his mission in the years 1860-1861, to explore the ancient Phœnicia, to visit repeatedly some of the more remarkable places mentioned in the Gospel history. The familiar acquaintance which he thus obtained with the regions of Galilee and the shores of the Lake of Gennesareth, became to him, as he expresses it, a fifth Gospel. Hence the vivid descriptions of the localities consecrated to Christian sentiment as the scenes of the ministry of Jesus; hence also, as it seems to us, much baseless inference as to the influence which those scenes exercised on the development of Jesus himself, and as to the confirmation which they supply to the Gospel accounts of his personal history. False descriptions of localities would undoubtedly imply the fictitious character of transactions alleged to have taken place in them; but true descriptions of localities do not imply the historical truth of events said to have occurred in them. Nor from the impressions made upon moderns by the contemplation of scenes hallowed for ages by the association with them of the greatest historical names, can we infer with what eyes those persons may themselves have regarded them. We must not assume that the contemplation of the contours of the country visible from the hill above Nazareth exercised any appreciable effect on the mental education of Jesus himself. It is sometimes said that there is no trace in Christianity of the patriotic spirit, which is hardly true either of Jesus or of Paul; but we may truly say that there is no trace in the New Testament of any sensibility to the aspects of nature. M. Renan puts aside, of course, the legends connected with the birth of Jesus; he fills up the blank of the history of his youth with suppositions as to what the learning of a young Jew of a remote district in Palestine must have been in those days. There is no probability, for instance, that he spoke Greek, or that he had any knowledge of the writings of Philo. But then the resemblances between his ideas and the Philonian doctrines remain to be accounted for, and they are attributed to the common direction given to the thoughts of all elevated minds by the necessities of the times. We think these resemblances attributable rather to the mind of the author of the fourth Gospel than to the mind of Jesus. They are not found in the Synoptics; and elsewhere M. Renan observes that the discourses of the fourth Gospel are in absolute contradiction with those of the other Gospels, which present the original *Logia;* so that the fourth Gospel discourses ought to be taken as monuments of the Apostolic history rather than as material for the life of Jesus himself. Thus the criticism of the records, and their relative authenticity, comes before all possibility of constructing a life of Jesus himself. It is, in fact, not possible out of such materials to construct anything which could, in the modern sense of the word, be called a life. We think also that, besides the question of truth, the sentiment which has gathered round the shadowy person of the Founder of the Christian religion, will be as much shocked with the positive results at which M. Renan professes to have arrived, as at the more negative issue of the criticisms of Strauss. Let us take, for example, the following, which is thoroughly French :—

> "Toute l'histoire du Christianisme naissant est devenue une délicieuse pastorale. Un Messie aux repas de noces, la courtisane et le bon Zachée appelés à ses festins, les fondateurs du royaume du ciel comme un cortège de paranymphes : voilà ce que la Galilée a osé, ce qu'elle a fait accepter. La Grèce a tracé de la vie humaine par la sculpture et la poésie des tableaux charmants, mais toujours sans fonds fuyants ni horisons lointains. Ici manquent le marbre, les ouvriers excellents, la langue exquise et raffinée. Mais la Galilée a créé à l'etat d'imagination populaire le plus sublime idéal; car derrière son idylle s'agite le sort de l'humanité, et la lumière qui éclaire son tableau est le soleil du royaume de Dieu."—pp. 67, 68.

It is impossible, through such a halo of poetry and sentiment, to distinguish between that which may be taken as historical fact, that which may be assumed in various degrees of probability, that which is attributable to spontaneous myth or to popular legend, and that which is to be set down as, properly speaking, fictitious, according to the different purposes and intentions of the authors. But to do this is the proper office of the critic of the Evangelical histories. This neglect of practically discriminating between his different authorities leads to a great indecision in M. Renan's results,—we say practically discriminating, for in the abstract he does discriminate between the Synoptics and the fourth Gospel. But then after the former are acknowledged to contain the true words of Jesus, while he cannot be supposed to have spoken as he is represented to have done in St. John, if he spoke as recorded in St. Matthew, we are referred to discourses in the fourth Gospel as authentically presenting a psychological phase of the person of Jesus, though they be not genuine historical documents. They cannot really be esteemed as presenting much more than the mind of the writer of the Gospel himself. So again, M. Renan states, in the clearest manner, that the idea of an Incarnation of the Deity was foreign to the Jewish conceptions, and is not met with in the Synoptics,—for we must distinguish carefully between miraculous engendering and birth which is there met with, as it is frequently in the Old Testament also, from that indwelling of the Divine Consciousness in an individual human being which is found in St. John; but then, as we think inconsistently, he attributes to the mind of Jesus himself many things which are said in that Gospel concerning the union of the divine and human in him. Moreover this indecision, if we may so call it, respecting the true value to be assigned to the fourth Gospel, seriously affects the history properly so called; and M. Renan finds himself entangled in the attempt to reconcile the course of events as described in the Synoptics, with that which is indicated in the later production. These difficulties increase, as is well known, as the history approaches the climax of the Passion; and a capital instance of M. Renan's manner of treating the Gospel writings—and, as we venture to think, of its unsoundness—is to be found in his discussion concerning the resuscitation of Lazarus. According to the fourth Gospel this miracle was an immediately exciting cause of the hostility of the priestly party, which ended in the arrest and crucifixion of Jesus. If any such event had really taken place, it is inconceivable that it should not have been mentioned in the three first Gospels, both on account of its striking character, the alleged notoriety of it, and its intimate connexion with the final catastrophe. Now we should remember that M. Renan does not admit any miracle ever to have happened:—not, as he says, because he denies the power of God to perform a miracle, but because in no case that has come before him as a critic has he found evidence sufficient to warrant the belief. So that he is in this position relatively to the narrative connected with Lazarus—he does not place sufficient confidence in the narrator to believe that what is related took place; but he thinks that something else took place upon which that narrative or representation has been founded. Now, on M. Renan's supposition that the author of the fourth Gospel was John himself, who must have witnessed whatever did take place, if he has narrated it otherwise than it happened, we have a wilful falsification, rendering him utterly and entirely unworthy of credit. As we have observed already, tradition popularly embellished is more to be relied on for a contained nucleus of truth, than the testimony of an eye-witness whom we cannot trust. What was then the element of fact which M. Renan finds in the story of Lazarus? He supposes that the friends of Jesus, impatient at the unsatisfactory progress which the doctrine of the coming kingdom of God was making in Jerusalem, were anxious that an impression should be produced upon the people by some striking miracle. The resurrection of a well-known person would be the most convincing of all miracles: and our author inclines to the supposition that the resuscitation of Lazarus was a contrivance; he and the sisters acting a part, and Jesus himself becoming an accomplice in the fraud after if not before the fact. The following passage we extract as a good example of the author's indecisive and vague manner of treatment.

"Dans cette ville impure et pesante de Jérusalem, Jésus n'était plus luimême. Sa conscience, par la faute des hommes et non par la sienne, avait perdu quelque chose de sa limpidité primordiale. Désespéré, poussé à bout, il ne s'appartenait plus. Sa mission s'imposait à lui, et il s'obéissait au torrent. Comme cela arrive toujours dans les grandes carrières divines, il subissait les miracles que l'opinion exigeait de lui bien plus qu'il ne les faisait. A la distance où nous sommes, et en présence d'un seul texte, offrant des traces évidentes d'artifices de composition, il est impossible de décider si, dans le cas présent, tout est fiction ou si un fait réel arrivé à Bethanie servit de base aux bruits répandus. Il faut reconnaître cependant que le tour de la narration de Jean a quelque chose de profondément différent des récits de miracles, éclos de l'imagination populaire, qui remplissent les Synoptiques. Ajontons que Jean est le seul évangéliste qui ait une connaissance précise des relations de Jésus avec la famille de Bethanie, et qu'on ne comprendrait pas qu'une création populaire fût venue prendre sa place dans un cadre de souvenirs aussi personnels. Il est donc vraisemblable que le prodige dont il s'agit ne fut pas un de ces miracles complètement légendaires et dont personne n'est responsable. En d'autres termes, nous pensons qu'il se passa à Béthanie quelque chose qui fut regardé comme une résurrection."—p. 360.

The accounts of the Resurrection of Jesus himself will more properly come to be considered in the Apostolical period. In the meantime a summary is given of the Christian religion in its original purity, as taught by its Founder. Or rather it comes to this—What issued from the Founder himself was certainly not a religion of dogma, but was rather an enunciation of simple truths concerning the Divine Being, the relation of human beings to him, and their relations to each other. But the peculiar force which characterized Jesus, which has constituted him the centre of all history, and which reveals itself from beneath all the legendary matter which has obscured his real life, was the unbounded love and attachment which he inspired in his followers—a love which recognised in him at once a divine superiority and a human equality to themselves. By virtue of this force he became not only the Author of a religion but the Founder of a Church or society which should not only retain but propagate the truths which He taught. Undoubtedly the truths to be found in the words of Jesus have been overlaid with speculations supposed to embody a divine revelation concerning his person; and the Church, instead of being an association for the moral improvement of the human race, organized itself in a hierarchical manner. Since such has been the historical course of Christianity, the causes of that perverse development must have been supplied by the circumstances surrounding it at its first origin, and at the various stages of its subsequent progress. If there had been no Greek or Alexandrian philosophies, the Christian dogma would not have taken its orthodox form; if there had been no Jewish priesthood we should have had no bishops, priests, and deacons; had there been no Imperial Rome, we should have seen no Rome Papal. As in other histories, when individual actors pass before us, we pronounce sentence upon them according to our conceptions of what is right and what is true: but on looking at the whole march of events we neither blame nor praise, for we see that it could not have been otherwise. The future will grow out of the past as the recent past grew out of that which preceded it; but the future is not bound to take the past as its model. One and the same force operating at various distances and under varying conditions will produce varying effects: the influence put forth in Galilee is not yet exhausted for the world: nor would Christianity be destroyed or its Founder cease to be honoured, though the legends which have gathered round his name were confessed to be mere forms in which an ignorant people expressed their love and admiration—though the Athanasian doctrine were acknowledged to have been founded on a baseless Oriental philosophy, and the sacramental system to be due to mediæval superstition. With unsurpassed graces of style, most copious learning, acute and rapid power of combination, we have to regret that M. Renan in this undoubtedly brilliant work has pronounced himself prematurely, as it seems to us, on the details of the Evangelical histories, has allowed somewhat too free scope to his imagination, and has been too anxious to preserve as historical much for which there is no sufficient historical evidence.

M. Renan has been assailed on all sides for his book.[9] M. Disdier, of Geneva, falls upon him with a most trenchant letter pointing out inconsistencies, and endeavouring to thrust his antagonist into conclusions from which his sentiment recoils. He undertakes to show that M. Renan has at one time set his hero too high as the perfect type of humanity, and at another has excused in him tamperings with truth which would be acknowledged as inexcusable in any other. M. Didier's polemic is characterized with great force and some asperity. But the touches of personal attack which we meet with in his brochure are nothing compared to the coarseness exhibited in other quarters. This is the sort of stuff which M. Eugène Potrel prefixes to an antidote "Life,"[10] which is itself nothing but a paraphrase of the Gospel histories:—

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[9] "Lettre adressée à M. Ernest Renan, à l'occasion de sa 'Vie de Jesus.'" Par Henri Disdier, Avocat. London: Trübner and Co. 1863.

> "Les livres de M. Renan et de ses pareils détruisent dans le cœur de l'homme toute charité, toute bonté, toute vertu; ils developpent l'animalité dans l'homme; ils glorifient la gredinerie et la bassesse. La conclusion logique de tous ces discours sans vaillance, ce serait l'abolition du culte, la fermeture des églises, la divinisation des instincts féroces, l'assassinat de la morale, l'apothéose du brigandage civilisé. Ce serait le règne du diable sur la terre, si ces gens là avaient ce qu'ils n'ont pas, l'esprit du diable! Rien n'est si bête que toutes ces momeries philosophiques. Parmi tous ces parleurs, lequel aura l'héroisme de braver les puissants de la terre au point de se faire crucifier? Ce n'est certes pas M. Renan. Il parle et pense comme un pion; Jésus parle et pense comme un Dieu."—pp. 43, 44.

M. Gustave d'Eichthal's work on the Gospels is the result of many years' critical labours.[11] In the absence of any sufficient external evidence as to the authorship of the Gospels, as to the order of their composition, as to the authenticity of the materials out of which they are composed, M. d'Eichthal undertook to sift thoroughly that species of internal evidence which arises from a careful comparison of these documents with each other. The present part of this work is occupied with a detailed examination of the Synoptics. It is generally admitted that the third Gospel was written subsequently to the two first: the order of composition of the two first has been a matter of greater doubt. The brevity in many respects of the second Gospel, and especially the absence from it of any passage or portion corresponding to the two first chapters of St. Matthew, seem to point to the conclusion that as the Gospels at present stand, the second is anterior to the first. A detailed examination, however, will show that this opinion must be subject to considerable modification. For, first, according to the ancient ecclesiastical traditions, St. Matthew composed his Gospel, or rather put together the sayings of the Lord, in the Hebrew or Syro-Phœnician dialect; and if that composition lies at the basis of the present first Gospel it would so far claim the precedence of all others. For all the others, according to the like tradition, were written for the use of other than Palestinian Christians: were written, therefore, when the Gospel had passed beyond the boundaries of its native country. And with respect to the second Gospel as to matters of detail, there are a number of very striking instances brought forward by M. d'Eichthal which show the later hand. Such are the frigid amplifications with which several of the miracles are related, as in the account of the healing the issue of blood (Matt. ix. 20; Mark v. 25, 26); the resuscitation of the daughter of the ruler of the synagogue (Matt. ix. 25; Mark v. 40-43); the directions for the preparation of the passover (Matt. xxvi. 18; Mark xiv. 13-15). Compare, in like manner, the accounts of the storm on the Lake of Gennesareth (Matt. viii. 18-27; Mark iv. 35-40), and a very great number of other examples, showing puerile additions on the part of the compiler of the second Gospel. On the other hand the Sermon on the Mount, which is not found in Mark, is acknowledged universally to be the undoubted kernel of the Gospel history; it is not an addition by Matthew, but an omission by Mark. So that, though the general type of the second Gospel is of a more ancient pattern than the first, especially in the absence of the legendary portions connected with the infancy in the first and third, it shows in many of its details that in its present form it is a later composition. Moreover it appears that some of its omissions have been made with a design of rendering the narrative less Jewish, and therefore more acceptable to the Roman converts for whom it was probably written. Indeed it is remarkable that the ancient, continuous, and thoroughly orthodox tradition that the first Gospel was designed for the Palestinian Jews, the second for Romans, the third for Greeks, the fourth for a theological purpose, contains the germ of all the criticism which is founded upon their several "tendencies." The third Gospel appears not only as designed for Greeks, and to have a Pauline character, but to have been intended as a harmony of preceding compositions. But if this is its tendency, or one of its tendencies, we should observe that the notion of harmonizing present to the mind of its composer was very different from the modern notion of harmonizing the Gospels. It was not the object of St. Luke, if he was the compiler of the third Gospel, to adjust the particulars or the sequence of events as they had been handed down from different sources; but to adjust the statement of his facts and the report of the discourses of Jesus Christ with the doctrinal impression which he desired to produce. Thus the Sermon on the Mount in the first Gospel becomes a Sermon on the Plain in the third; but this discrepancy, which is an immense difficulty to the extreme Scripturalists, is none whatever on the Evangelist's principle of harmony; because the variations in the Sermon on the Plain from the original Sermon on the Mount are referrible to the purpose of rendering it less Jewish, and more adapted to Gentile understandings.

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[10] Eugène Potrel: "Vie de N. S. Jésus Christ: Réponse au Livre de M. Renan." London: D. Nutt. 1863.

[11] "Les Evangiles." Par Gustave d'Eichthal. Première partie, Examen critique et comparatif des Trois Premiers Evangiles. Deux tomes. London: D. Nutt. 1863.

There are, however, important deductions which follow from ascertaining the order in which the Gospels were composed. We have said that the second Gospel is of an ancient type in its general form, although in the details of many events it shows a later hand than the parallel passages in the first. Now, if the first Gospel, such as it now is, had been before the eyes of the writer of the second, it is not explicable that he should have omitted the narrative there contained of the birth and infancy of Jesus. At least we seem tied up to this alternative—either it was before him and he omitted to give it, which looks as if he did not credit it, or it was not before him, that is, did not form part of the original Gospel of St. Matthew. But this complication becomes even more remarkable when we take into account the third Gospel—which was undoubtedly later than the first—and which not only passes over in silence the two first chapters of Matthew, but gives a different and contradictory account of the Nativity, and a different, and notwithstanding all attempts at reconciliation, a contradictory genealogy. The "many who had taken in hand" of Luke i. 1, must have consisted of more than two, while it is not easy to suppose that the authors of the two first Gospels were not among them—yet if they were, how could Luke classify them with the rest, and speak of their "attempt" (ἐπεχείρησαν), and depart from their narratives in many important particulars?

We could only express ourselves with reserve if we were to follow M. Eichthal in his elaborate comparison of the text of the Synoptics and into the reasoning on which he supports—frequently with great force and discrimination—his reconstruction of their interpolated texts: but he has produced a work, the result of great labour and patience, very valuable to those who desire to sift thoroughly the question of the composition of the Gospels.*

There is a second edition of Dr. Ebrard's "Christian Doctrine."[12] It is a systematic exposition of the "Reformed" doctrine, deduced in a thoroughly scholastic manner from the Evangelical assumptions of sin and the necessity of an external Redemption, and of an external Revelation. Dr. Ebrard thinks that the signs of the times indicate a sharper antagonism than ever between true believers and rationalists, or, as he expresses it, between those who are on the side of Christ and those who are against him.

It is sufficiently remarkable that the recent agitations in English Theology have not proceeded in any degree from the Unitarian body.[13] Unitarians, we are inclined to think, have within the last few years been looking out in certain directions for possible recruits; but we have not learned that any accessions have accrued to their denomination. It is, in fact, the denomination which repels; and also the evident incapacity of progress and dulness of life which characterizes the body. However any clergyman of the Church of England in the present day might recoil from the Nicene and Athanasian symbols, he would never follow the steps of a Theophilus Lindsay. Nothing worth speaking of has come of it; nothing, that is, towards an increase of the Unitarian ranks. Mr. Orr observes, as to the shaking which the Established Church is going through, that a few years ago no less than four thousand clergymen, "of every shade of opinion," petitioned for a revision of the Liturgy; but it is well known the object of the petitioners was chiefly for relaxation as to the use of the Baptismal and Burial Services, and other strictly "liturgical" matters, but not touching upon the Articles or Creeds: then again, "Macnaught lays down for a time the Ecclesiastical profession;" we understand that he has resumed or desires to resume it; with what consistency we need not inquire, but in the interval he did not join himself to the Unitarians—we believe declined to undertake a Unitarian ministry. "Heath is cashiered by legal methods," —we are informed he is now pursuing a secular business, but not, that we are aware of, become a Unitarian. "Nevile, Cornish, and others have gone forth into the ranks of dissent." With the case of Mr. Cornish we are not acquainted, but Mr. Nevile's difficulties arose principally upon the Baptismal Service; and he is in intimate relation with Congregationalists, but not, again, with Unitarians. We are persuaded that the real triumph of Unitarianism will be found in the extinction of the "Sect," and in the abolition of the name; when it shall have penetrated the Churches which have a history not of yesterday, an organization comprising all ranks in the social scale, and forms of worship in which the educated may join without disgust and the uneducated without weariness. We are far from saying that in their day men like Theophilus Lindsay have not done *right* individually in making secessions; but for influence upon Christendom, and more especially upon the form of Christianity in England, Unitarianism became powerless when it identified itself as a dissenting congregation. A minority conceiving itself in advance of the mass to which it belongs should endeavour to reform; it confesses itself beaten when it secedes. Mr. Orr, in his very candid work, admits a great deal which goes to like conclusions. But he thinks that the remedy for the present feebleness of Unitarianism, is to be found in the reconcilement of theology with a sound philosophy, and especially from observation of the moral nature of man as he is. The future of Unitarianism he thinks to be hopeful, because its adherents are found among the instructed classes, who are open to new convictions. Unless it can successfully deal with other than the "instructed classes," it will not mould the Church of the Future; for it will lack the essential of all essentials—Catholicity.

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* We avail ourselves of this opportunity for rectifying an inaccuracy occurring in our last number in the Article on *Saint Simon and his Disciples*, which has otherwise been pronounced by those capable of judging as irreproachably accurate in its statements of facts. M. Gustave d'Eichthal, the author of the work above noticed, is there mentioned (p. 137) as among other old St. Simonians connected with the Crédit Mobilier. M. Gustave is here mistaken for his brother, M. Adolphe, who was until last year a director of that establishment, but as we believe a person of unblemished character. M. Gustave, we understand, has for the last fifteen years been entirely devoted to his Biblical studies.

[12] "Christliche Dogmatik." Von Johannes Heinrich August Ebrard, Doctor der Theologie. 2te Auflage. 2 Bände. London: D. Nutt. 1862.

[13] "Unitarianism in the Present Time: its more important Principles, its Tendencies, and its Prospects." By John Orr, author of "Theism," &c. &c. London: Whitfield. 1863.

● The last Charge of the Archbishop of Dublin is of a kind we have been accustomed to in his Grace's compositions—perfectly pellucid in style, but with nothing worth seeing when one has seen to the bottom of it.[14] He touches, among other topics, upon the question of inspiration, and fancies that he solves difficulties in a liberal, far-seeing way, as follows:—

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[14] "Condition of a Church Militant. A Charge delivered at the Annual Visitation of the Diocese of Dublin, in the Cathedral of Christ Church, Dublin, 16th June, 1863." By Richard Whately, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. London: Parker, Son, and Bourn. 1863.

'One of the instances of a dangerous reaction, produced by an error, which some might consider, in itself, trifling, is that which has resulted from the theory of what is called 'plenary inspiration;' meaning by this an inspiration extending to matters quite unconnected with religion, and extending also to the very *words* employed, so as to imply that those whom we call the Sacred Writers, were literally no more than mere *Writers*, putting down the exact words which had been dictated to them, instead of being Men who recorded in their own language the information which had been supernaturally communicated to them; and that only so far as *Religion* is concerned."—pp. 9, 10.

The companion volume to the "Meditations on Death and Eternity," which excited so deep an interest, is entitled "Meditations on Life, and its Religious Duties;"[15] it is published also with Her Majesty's sanction, and dedicated to the Princess Alice, now of Hesse. The selections are taken from the same source as before; they breathe a truly religious and practical spirit, free from dogmatism and superstition. The publication of the former volume drew a renewed attention to the "Stunden der Andacht," generally attributed to Heinrich Zschokke; but it now appears to be understood that the "Stunden" were the production of seven or eight contributors, of whom Zschokke was a principal one; and the associates, which is very remarkable, included Roman Catholics as well as Protestants.

Mr. Greg is one of a band who made some vehement assaults upon traditional religion some years ago. He now publishes a second edition of "The Creed of Christendom."[16] Whether or not the dogmatical fortress is about to fall before its present assailants, those should be remembered who were first in the field against it.

Mr. Sharpe's "Egyptian Mythology"[17] will serve as a very convenient little handbook for those who wish to obtain some acquaintance with the Egyptian Pantheon, enabling them to distinguish the several deities when occurring on monuments, and to understand the purposes for which they are introduced. Mr. Sharpe also points out that Egypt, in various ways, has exercised an influence upon Christianity, which is true not only of the development of its dogma, but also of the forms of its worship.

We must not omit to note the seventh edition of Ewald's "Copious Hebrew Grammar of the Hebrew Language."[18]

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[15] "Meditations on Life and its Religious Duties." Translated from the German by Frederica Rowan. Published by Her Majesty's Gracious Permission. London: Trübner and Co. 1863.

[16] "The Creed of Christendom; its Foundation and Superstructure." By William Rathbone Greg. Second Edition. London: Trübner, and Co. 1863.

[17] "Egyptian Mythology and Egyptian Christianity; with their Influence on the Opinions of Modern Christendom." By Samuel Sharpe, author of "The History of Egypt." London: John Russell Smith. 1863.

[18] "Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Hebraischen Sprache des Alten Bundes." Von Heinrich Ewald. 7te Ausgabe. Göttingen. 1863.

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, AND TRAVELS.

BY the publication of two volumes of the literary remains of her husband,[1] Mrs. Austin has redeemed the promise made in her preface to the late edition of the "Province of Jurisprudence Determined." The greater part of their contents consists of the lectures delivered by Mr. Austin at the Inner Temple and at the London University. These two courses are thrown together from indications left by their author of his intention to amalgamate them. The latter part of the third volume is filled by disconnected memoranda found among his papers, and by those notes on codification and the essay on the study of jurisprudence which have already appeared as a separate pamphlet, to which we drew our readers' attention in our last number. The great value of everything that comes from Mr. Austin's hand is so indisputable, that the fragmentary character of a great part of these volumes will but increase the regret which all must feel that longer life and better health were not granted to the accomplished author for the completion of the vast task he had set himself. He has, however, fully indicated the only method by which a general light can be thrown on the principles of jurisprudence, and pointed out with masterly clearness and precision the road his successors must pursue. All vagaries of deducing a general system from some central principle are reduced to their true worth, and shown indirectly, but unequivocally, to be without foundation. It is difficult to say which is most admirable in these books,—the masterly comprehensiveness of the author's grasp of his subject, or the acute and penetrative analysis displayed in his treatment of its details. To the professional student these volumes are invaluable, while to those who do not pursue the study of the law the clear distinctions between its province and that of morality or ethics which are laid down in them will be a gain which fully recompenses the attention demanded in their perusal.

Mr. McCulloch has just published a third edition of his valuable work on taxation and the funding system,[2] in which he brings the information on the subject up to the present year. It is quite superfluous to praise the industry of the author or the comprehensive character of his book, which is unquestionably the most useful manual on the topic of which it treats. Its chief doctrinal features are, a strong opposition to any taxation which would fall on capital, and a most decided advocacy of indirect as opposed to direct taxation. On both these points his opinions are too absolute. In the first case, the rate at which the capital of the country increases is too little considered by him: that which would have disastrous effects in a poor and thinly-populated country may be resorted to in our own with comparative impunity. In the second case his opinions against direct taxation are the result of his profound conviction that it is, and will remain, impossible to arrive at a just assessment of the tax on the professional and trading classes of the community. A very full account of all the objections to an income-tax will be found in this volume, and an equally complete summary of the difficulties which surround its equitable adjustment. While condemning it as a source of revenue that should only be had recourse to in times of the greatest difficulty, he advocates what may be called the actuary's plan for its assessment; but the same difficulties surround the capitalization of permanent and terminable incomes, which stand at present in the way of an equitable assessment of the latter. The same dishonest desire to escape from the pressure of the tax would still remain in those who by the necessity of the case must be called upon to furnish the information by which the magnitude of their contribution to the national income is to be determined. In direct opposition to the prevalent system of relying on a few articles of general consumption for the purposes of revenue, he contends that its sources cannot be too numerous; that when taxation is indirect, and derived from a great variety of sources, its pressure on the ultimate contributors is hardly felt; that when the tax-gatherer is not seen, his existence is very apt to be forgotten. In this respect he shows throughout the book a reliance on the carelessness and ignorance of taxpayers as great as his distrust of their honesty when any misrepresentation will enable them to elude the payment of their equitable share. He seems to think the legislator should never forget that the taxpayer is either knave or fool. This is not a cheerful conclusion, and is an opinion that is very apt, when fully acted on, to justify itself by inducing the very faults it so confidently assumes. Whatever may be said of the late French Treaty, it cannot be denied that the tendency of most recent legislation has been to lighten the burthens of the working classes. This, in the author's opinion, is very questionable wisdom. A certain burthen of taxation he considers very advantageous to the working classes; that it is a most effective stimulant to their industry, and the only support he recognises for such habits of forethought as exist among them. A more reckless indulgence in their habits of intemperance, and still more thoughtless and improvident marriages, seem to him the only results to be expected from further progress in this direction. This pessimism greatly interferes with the pleasure which would otherwise be derived from the unquestionable merits of comprehensiveness and arrangement by which the book is distinguished. The usefulness and abundance of the statistics of the subject with which it is crowded, must always make the volume one of the most desirable to every politician, of whatever colour. It is only to be regretted that it is an instance of that hard method of treatment with which economists have been so often reproached, and which has contributed more than anything else to the undeserved unpopularity of the science. As there is nothing so conducive to the removal of those faults which so greatly impress the author, as a more general knowledge of the principles of political economy, it is the more to be regretted when they are displayed in so unattractive a form as is here done by Mr. McCulloch.

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[1] "Lectures on Jurisprudence: being the Sequel to the 'Province of Jurisprudence Determined,' to which are added Notes and Fragments now first published from the original Manuscripts." By the late J. Austin, Esq. Vols. II. and III. London: J. Murray. 1863.

[2] "A Treatise on the Principles and Practical Influence of Taxation, and the Funding System." By J. R. McCulloch, Esq. 3rd Edition. Edinburgh: A. and C. Black. 1863.

Mr. Moran's "Essay on Money"[3] is but another added to the heap of such publications as have long since tired all human patience. Writers of his school will never be brought to recognise the difference between currency and credit. Their theory is, that because credit is the basis of all extended commerce, the banking system of a country should be so constituted as to come to the rescue of a credit destroyed by injudicious investments in times of overtrading and speculation. It seems to them a peculiar hardship that any one, who by his enterprise has increased the trade of the country, should at any time be forced to sell at a loss; and that a bank ought to be a sort of insurance society, by which the commercial classes should be secured against the inevitable consequences of carelessness and ignorance, if not of something worse. It is a useless equivocation to call a banker a dealer in credit; what he deals in is capital, his own and so much of the floating capital of his customers as he can safely make use of. The currency of a country cannot be safely founded on credit, however high; this has been sufficiently proved. It must always be capital, fixed capital it is true, and so much material wealth devoted to a very important and necessary purpose. If it were otherwise, the exigencies of a distressed community would soon overwhelm every form of credit, together with their own. It is useless declaiming against the Banking Act of 1844. It has been too fully proved that its provisions are powerless against the clamour of those who tremble at the consequences of their own conduct. The present profits of the joint-stock banks, none of which are banks of issue, are almost enough to show this school of currency-doctors that they are virtually crying out against King Log in utter forgetfulness of who is his successor. The currency of a country is that part only of its commercial system from which the action of credit should be resolutely excluded. This is the great and crowning merit of the Act of 1844, and it is only to be regretted that it has not been allowed to exert its full influence. The separation of the issue and banking departments goes to the very foundation of these questions, and it is not a little anomalous when the Government steps in and virtually supports the trading community with a loan at high interest. These sturdy currency-beggars have so often been relieved, that they now begin to look upon the past concessions of the Government as a natural right, and to claim that their convenience should be set before an adherence to the best-established principles of political economy. The author of the present volume virtually answers his whole argument when he justly observes at page 155, that the conditions requisite for the secure application of his theory are "universal intelligence and universal probity, with the conviction that deception, dishonesty, and idleness are unprofitable;" when these conditions have been complied with, and not till then, can we make credit do the work of currency, and save that amount of capital which is diverted from reproductive purposes by their absence.

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[3] "Money." By C. Moran. New York: D. Appleton and Co. 1863.

"The Institutions of the English Government," by Mr. Cox,[4] is a constitutional history and something more, as it comprises an account of the administrative departments, which are not usually taken notice of in such works. The author adopts a very convenient arrangement, by which the separate divisions of his subject are treated by themselves, which greatly adds to the facility with which the book can be made use of as a manual of reference. In the first part, on the Legislature, he treats of the gradual growth of the power of each of the three estates of the realm under appropriate subdivisions. In the second, on the Judicature, he traces the origin of the different courts of law, and gives an account of the methods of procedure in each. The third part he devotes to the history of the prerogative and title of the Crown, of the distribution of the powers of the Privy Council among the five secretariats, and of the military, naval, and local administrative offices. In going over this great extent of ground all antiquarian and controverted points are disregarded, except where their importance in a constitutional point of view calls for a more extended treatment, which is then given with an admirable absence of all party bias, and in a clear and popular style that ought to recommend this volume to a large circle of readers. The necessary compression of the matter of the text is supplemented by very copious references to the best extant authors, so that the means are offered for a closed study of any particular point, with a convenience that spares much trouble to those who wish for more detailed information. For general purposes, however, the treatment is copious enough, and by a non-professional reader this volume may be accepted as a very adequate compendium of all that is necessary to be known on the subject of which it treats.

"Does the Bible sanction American Slavery?"[5] is the title of a lecture delivered at the Manchester Athenæum, by Professor Goldwin Smith, and is at the same time a challenge which ought to admit of a clearer answer than he is able to give. There is no doubt that the Bible, both in the Old and New Testaments, recognises the existence of slavery without express moral reprobation. It is only the advocates of a slavishly literal view of the inspiration of the Scriptures that can be at all disturbed by this acknowledgment, from which there is no escape for any candid mind. It is greatly to be regretted that Professor Smith should dwell so long on the Hebrew legislature, which tempered slavery when it fell on Hebrews. The advocates of the domestic institution in the Southern States of America would scornfully call him back to the true parallel which they would institute between their *alien* slaves and those of the Jews. But little force is added to the argument by showing that if the Jewish laws are to be appealed to, they would also sanction views of the relation between husband and wife, father and son, king and subject, which would be repudiated by the most frantic advocate of American slavery. It is lamentable to find that in one of the centres of English learning and thought, the last shreds of plenary inspiration are still clung to in morals and politics, with a desperation which their necessary relinquishment in physical science should have long since shown to be futile and radically dangerous to all that is really civilizing and elevating in that book, which would still exert its old power in lifting the minds of men above the petty concerns of their daily life, were it allowed to exert its natural influence without the incumbrance of dogmas which are but the results of forgotten systems of thought and corollaries from theories of the universe no longer tenable. Such a question as the author asks should not be put, unless susceptible of the clearest and most unanswerable reply: he is indeed able to prove that the slavery for which the Bible legislates was in many respects different, and in all points less degrading and brutalizing to those who were subjected to it, than that which is now the cause of so great a conflict in America; but his question in its simple form suggests an answer more complete than is supplied by a mere demonstration of a difference in degree and a comparative mildness of character in the slavery allowed by the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures. In a controversial point of view, we cannot but consider this essay as exceedingly weak, and the more so as it proceeds from one of the most acute controversialists of the day. That there would be found in its pages much curious information on the distinctive features of Jewish, Greek, and Roman slavery, is no more than might be confidently expected at the author's hands, but it will hardly be admitted by any competent authority that his account of its gradual abolition in Europe is by any means sufficiently full and satisfactory. The Church, though contributing greatly at one time to this result, was but one of the influences at work, and can hardly be said to have been universally prompted by exclusively Christian considerations. But whatever exception may be taken to any detail in this lecture, we cannot but welcome it as a contribution to the restoration of a more healthy tone of opinion on the subject of slavery, which has been of late most shamefully lowered by a style of discussion on American affairs which is but little to the credit of a large part of the English press.

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[4] "The Institutions of the English Government." By Homersham Cox, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, &c. London: H. Sweet. 1863.

[5] "Does the Bible sanction American Slavery?" By Goldwin Smith. Oxford and London: J. H. and J. Parker. 1863.

Mr. John Bigelow, American Consul at Paris, has just published a volume on the political history and material resources of the United States,[6] to meet the want in the French language of some comprehensive review of the position of his native country. The first part, which is much the shorter one, rapidly runs over the chief events which have marked the government of each President since Washington. The author very clearly brings out the gradual advance of that difference between the North and the South which has ultimately led to the seceding States adopting as the corner-stone of their social fabric the very system which was denounced by Jefferson as the rock of offence on which, if ever, American institutions would be wrecked. His history is marked by a singular absence of any offensive partizan expressions. A Federal himself, he seems so confident of the justice of his cause, that he nowhere descends to call for sympathy; he contents himself with simply offering the results of the great experiment of American government to the judgment of his readers. As there is now every prospect that among these results success will soon be counted, we may expect that the multitude who worship Fortune will soon begin to recognise those qualities to which Fortune herself usually pays homage. The second and larger part of this volume is devoted to those statistical accounts for which the Americans have so great a predilection. The details on American climate, natural history, population, mineral wealth, crops, manufactures and commerce, on the educational system, railways, and form of government, are as accessible to Englishmen as to the Americans themselves; but this summary will no doubt be very welcome to the public the author had immediately in view, and it is to be hoped will have its natural effect in spreading a more general knowledge of American affairs and resources on the other side of the Channel.

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[6] "Les Etats Unis d'Amerique en 1863." Par J. M. Bigelow. Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1863.

One of the most interesting, and at the same time most instructive books we have ever seen on the subject of New Zealand, is the description of native customs and character by a Pakeha Maori,[7] as the author chooses to call himself. The first of these words means stranger, and when taken together, they signify naturalized New Zealander. This English Maori does not give any date to his stories, but the vague one of the old times, which appears to mean about half a century ago. He adopts, with very considerable ironical liveliness, a sort of Mark Tapley style, and determines to be jolly; but from his account the circumstances under which a European settler had to display this temper were in his times hardly compatible with a constitution that was not as hardy as a horse, and called for a power of self-defence equal to the most trying emergencies. These qualities, however, he fully possessed, and they enabled him to take things easily, and to recognise the jocular features of transactions, which would have shown quite a different face to any one who was less ready with his hands. The book is crowded with characteristic stories, told with great point and skill. It is to be regretted that we cannot give a few of them; but, like most good story-tellers, the author takes his ease, and is not to be abridged. The account of how he became possessed of his land is worth all the blue-books on the New Zealand question; and the manner in which he himself became a possession of one of the contracting parties introduces a most instructive account of the relations between the natives and the first European settlers. The biography of the old chief, who preferred a proprietary right in the Pakeha to any of the coveted things he gave in exchange for his land, is a complete history and emblem of New Zealand life before the English colony was heard of. The native priests or magicians were really masters of their art, and some of their predictions, which were fulfilled under the author's observation, are strange instances, both of good luck in their success, and of ingenuity in the double meaning of the terms in which they were delivered. The different descriptions of tapu, or taboo, have nowhere been so fully illustrated as in these pages, and each variety has its case in point, which always throws fresh light on native life. The author is full of regret for the good old times, when the simple Maori maxim, "Be brave that you may live," filled up the narrow circle of their ethical system. In those times the natives had all the virtues which spring from bravery, though it must be confessed but few others; and it does not seem, however excellent a motto for individual use, to have had much influence in preserving the life of the race. It is abundantly evident, from the number and extent of the abandoned forts and villages, that the population was once vastly more numerous than at the time of the discovery of the island. It can be conclusively shown that they were more destructive to one another than we have proved to them, although in the district described by the author their numbers have decreased one-third since our arrival among them; but he also thinks that the rate of decrease is not so rapid as it has been. They have derived abundant comforts from their intercourse with us, and their means of supporting life have been enormously facilitated by the introduction of European tools. They are far, however, from being content with the new order of things. The author prophesies war, and his prophecy has not long waited for its fulfilment. In his double character of European and Maori, he closes his book with the maxim quoted above, as the only advice which seems to him good for either of the disputants. The introduction of the musket has had the most penetrating influence on the whole mode of native life; they no longer exclusively inhabit hill forts as of old, but have descended to the low swampy grounds, which they can defend with their new weapons, and on which they can grow the flax which enables them to buy them. This change from dry and airy situations to damp and unwholesome houses has cut off many, and in some places has lowered the physical powers and stature of the people. The great question, whether this masculine race will be able to maintain itself in the conflict with Europeans for the good things of their country, is one to which the author is by no means disposed to give an unqualified answer. It is, however, to be feared that in this respect his Maori predilections make him somewhat partial: this question is susceptible of but one answer; and most things that he tells us of the native character are greatly against the chance of a peaceable absorption of the aborigines by their rivals. Altogether this is a capital book, more amusing than a novel, and giving a greater insight into its subject than can be acquired by much laborious reading; it fully deserves all the *mana*, as he would say, that the author can desire for it. If any one wishes to know what that means, let him consult the original source.

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[7] "Old New Zealand: being Incidents of Native Customs and Character in the Old Times." By a Pakeha Maori. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1863.

If this book gives the fullest insight into the character of the inhabitants, Dr. Hochstetter's magnificent volume[8] is a complete cyclopædia of all that is interesting in New Zealand. It is published at the expense of the Austrian Government as a supplementary volume to those already issued describing the voyage of the *Novara.* The author accompanied the expedition as geological reporter, and stayed long enough in New Zealand to collect the material for the fullest description of the island which has ever been published. We are glad to observe from his preface that arrangements have been entered into for an English edition, and hope that at its appearance it may be furnished as amply as the original with maps and illustrations. Some of the chromo-lithographs are beautifully delicate specimens of the progress made in this branch of art by our neighbours, and surpass anything of the kind we have seen. It is impossible here to give an account of the contents of this excellent volume; but it is by far the best book extant on its subject. By the way, Dr. Hochstetter gives a very different account of Pakeha Maori life, which, though quite consistent with the representations of the book just noticed, shows the other side in a manner which is studiously kept out of sight by its author.

In April, 1862, Major Rickard, being then at Valparaiso, accepted an appointment as Inspector-General of Mines to the Argentine Republic. His journey across the Andes[9] by the Cumbre Pass, and the results of his investigations into the metallic wealth of the country, form the substance of a volume he has just published. His account of the richness of the ores in the Tontal Mountains, in the province of San Juan, proved so attractive that he has been commissioned by the Argentine Government to procure in England the machinery which is requisite for its economical extraction. The native methods are in the highest degree primitive and wasteful. The reports which have been made by London assayers on the richness of the specimens submitted by him to their examination are so favourable, that the most amazing profits would be returned to any capital invested in this branch of industry, could it only be ascertained that the specimens were average ones; but in any case the margin is so great that there can be little doubt the author's prognostications are not far from the truth. After crossing the Andes he turned a little southward from his route to visit the site of the city of Mendoza, which, on the 20th March, 1861, was overthrown by an earthquake in the night, burying upwards of 12,000 human beings in its ruins. Some of the survivors with whom he conversed gave him very touching pictures of their sufferings. It hardly enters into our ordinary notions that such frightful catastrophes are occurring in our own time; we are too apt to think that volcanic agency has done its work on the crust of our globe, and that we live in the age of its decrepitude. The country in the immediate neighbourhood of the mines of Tontal, which is a kind of spur from the main chain of the Andes, abounds in wood and water,—most important requisites of successful mining; it also swarms with game, which gave the author considerable amusement. None of the wild animals are dangerous; the puma, the only one which has the power of becoming so, always retreating at the approach of man, unless he be disturbed over his prey. The huanaco, a large kind of lama, affords excellent stalking; but is more usually run down on horseback, and caught by the lasso or the bolas: this latter is formed of three ropes joined together, with a heavy stone tied to their loose ends; in use it is whirled round the head until it has acquired the necessary impetus, and is then launched at the legs of the animal, which become immediately entangled, and the struggles of the captive do but increase its difficulties, so that the hunter can ride down at his leisure and finish him with his knife. There is also excellent shooting, partridges and hares being very abundant. Major Rickard gives full particulars of holidays spent in this way, and boasts of a good bag on every occasion, though he confesses himself very circumstantially to be but a bad shot. His book is amusing and unaffected, and has every internal evidence of good faith in the advice he gives to emigrants to settle in the Argentine Republic.

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[8] "Neu-Seeland." Von Dr. Ferdinand von Hochstetter. Stuttgart: Cotta. 1863.

[9] "A Mining Journey across the Andes." By Major F. J. Rickard, F.G.S., F.R.G.S., &c., Inspector General of Mines, Argentine Republic. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1863.

Miss Carey's lively and interesting account of a winter passed on the Nile[10] gives a picture of Egypt in a new light that is very welcome. Her companions, a cousin past seventy years of age, lame and deaf, but full of life and animation, and his daughter, for whose benefit the warm winter of the south was recommended, rendered all distant excursions from the river out of the question. Confined to their Nile boat, or dahabëeh, which they made as comfortable as possible, the chief objects of interest were their motley crew of twenty persons, including the dragoman and waiter, the scenery of both sides of the river, and such Egyptian lions as were within an easy ride. It might be thought that such a life, confined for four months to a boat 97 feet by 14, would be very monotonous, but this is more often the consequence of character than of circumstances. There was but little monotony on board the *Cairo;* and as every incident of their journey is described in Miss Carey's log in the same cheerful spirit with which it was encountered, there is as little dulness in her book as there was on board their floating home. The second cataract was the farthest point of their journey, which was accomplished without accident or difficulty. The climate, however, did not answer the expectations with which they set out; it proved very changeable, and often so cold as to be far from recommendable to patients who are in search of an uniformly warm air. Those, however, who intend to join this winter fleet on the Nile, which promises to become a fashionable mode of escaping from English frosts, will find Miss Carey's observations of great use, and the volume at the same time a most agreeable addition to their cabin furniture; it abounds in those hints for personal comfort and homelike arrangement in which ladies excel, the want of which often entails an amount of annoyance that spoils the enjoyment of the most interesting localities. The book is undoubtedly slight; but it is fresh, cheerful, and pleasant; merits which are far from general in the numerous accounts of summer and other tours with which the public are too often persecuted, and which can hardly be supposed to gratify any but the writers and their friends.

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[10] "Four Months in a Dahabëeh, or Narrative of a Winter's Cruise on the Nile." By M. L. M. Carey. London: L. Booth. 1863.

The Report of Mr. Hawkshaw on the condition and prospects of the Suez Canal,[11] shows in a conclusive manner that the only obstacles to its completion are political and financial ones. Into the former he does not enter; but after showing that there are no physical obstacles insurmountable by engineering science, he gives, taking the most favourable construction of possible difficulties, an estimate of ten millions sterling as the probable cost of the undertaking. This is an increase of 25 per cent. on the capital asked for by M. Lesseps, although the breadth of the canal itself has been reduced more than one-fourth. If to the estimate of Mr. Hawkshaw another two millions be added—and the shareholders will be exceptionally fortunate if they ever see it completed without a much greater addition to the demand made on them,—it will result that they must clear £2000 per diem, after paying every cost of maintenance and administration, before they can hope for a dividend of 5 per cent. Up to the present time, about a quarter of the original capital has been expended, and a communication between the Mediterranean and Lake Timsah has been effected; but only one-fifth of the earthworks are executed which will be necessary before the canal will be ready for use. Lake Timsah is about half-way between Port Said and Suez. To this point also the fresh-water canal from Rasel Wadé is completed, but has still to be connected with the Nile on one side and carried down to Suez on the other. This canal is an absolute requisite to the progress of the work; without it all the water required by the workpeople has to be brought in tanks, by railway, from Cairo to Suez. Its completion will also greatly facilitate the carriage of the necessary material for the works, as there will then be a water communication between both ends of the proposed ship canal. Most of the objections which have been brought against the port on the Mediterranean are either set aside or greatly diminished in effect by the result of Mr. Hawkshaw's inquiries. He, however, suggests the probability of a new obstacle, in the rocky character of the ground to be traversed by the canal on its approach to the Red Sea. More frequent borings may show that this obstacle is not so formidable as Mr. Hawkshaw supposes; but should they result in the confirmation of his anticipations, a great additional cost will be incurred, and what is of more importance, a delay, which, from the course pursued of paying the shareholders interest during the construction, must, if it be prolonged to any extent, eat fatally into an already inadequate capital. This report is so clear and full, and so lucidly arranged, that the most complete insight into the condition and prospects of the undertaking is now brought home to any one who has access to it.

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[11] "Suez Canal." Report of J. Hawkshaw, F.R.S., to the Egyptian Government. 3rd Feb., 1863.

A better picture of the systematic persecution which is carried out by the Russians in Poland can hardly be found, than in the history by M. Piotrowski of his remarkable escape from Siberia.[12] The greater part of the volume is taken up with an account of his return in 1843 to his native country, which he had left after having partaken in the insurrection of 1830, of his short stay in disguise in Podolia; of his arrest, examination, and final banishment to Siberia. In the course of this preliminary matter, he is able to give a very full insight into the restless activity of the Russian police, who traced him from Paris to Kamieniec, where he was ostensibly supporting himself by giving lessons in French. It is not to be expected that he should give a very clear account of his political aims. It can hardly be supposed that they were so harmless as he represents, or that they were confined to the production of a better understanding between the nobles and peasantry, and to the discouragement of all attempts at resistance until a better feeling between the different classes of Polish society promised them a more successful result than had attended all previous endeavours to throw off the Russian domination. His tale is very circumstantial, and gives a clear view of the system by which it was endeavoured to suppress all political life in Poland during the reign of the late emperor. Though not himself subjected to personal chastisement, no threats or blandishments were spared to induce him to give any information to the Government which would throw light upon attacks which they constantly dreaded and knew not whence to expect. When it was found that absolutely nothing could be extracted from him, he was banished to Ekaterynski Zavod, on the Irtisch, in the province of Omsk. Some idea of the enormous difficulties of an escape on foot may be formed from the distance he had been conveyed; from Kief to Omsk is 2938 miles. On his arrival, he was set to work as a bricklayer's labourer on some buildings that were in course of erection at the station, but was soon promoted to a sort of clerkship. From the first, he resolved on the desperate attempt at escape. After seventeen months spent in Siberia, which he devoted to the acquisition of the languages of the district, and to the collection of the necessary information about his route, he resolved to make the attempt in winter, and by the northern route over the Ural Mountains to Arcangel. For the particulars of his journey we must refer to the book itself; it will be found most interesting, and full of information on the condition of northern Russia. The endurance, ingenuity, and resource displayed by him are something wonderful; with every change of circumstances he had to assume a corresponding change of character, and to keep his true one concealed. On his arrival at Arcangel, where he had hoped to get on board some ship that would take him out of the Russian dominions, he found it impossible to embark without a risk of exposure from which he shrank. Another journey then lay before him; from Arcangel through St. Petersburgh, in which town he remained undiscovered several days, to Riga, Memel, and Konigsburg. In this Prussian city he was arrested by the police, for the offence of sleeping in the open air, and called upon to give an account of himself. After an ineffectual attempt to pass himself off as a French deserter, he at last confessed that he was a Pole, and that he had escaped from Siberia. On his case being referred to Berlin, orders arrived that he should be delivered in chains to the Russian Government. This monstrous cruelty, however, was too much for the Konigsburg authorities; they connived at his escape, if they did not supply him with the means of effecting it; so that he was enabled to return to Paris after an absence of four years, filled with adventures that have seldom been equalled for daring and perseverance.

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[12] "My Escape from Siberia." By Rufin Piotrowski. London: Routledge and Co. 1863.

Though written in a very rambling and desultory manner, Mr. Edwards' two volumes on the Polish question[13] contain, on the whole, more valuable information than can be elsewhere so easily obtained. Personally acquainted with the country, he has the advantage of immediate knowledge, and is able to speak with the confidence of an eye-witness. His sympathies are all in the direction of the party represented by the Czartoryskis and Zamoyskis; indeed, one of the most remarkable things in his volumes is their complete silence on the possible coalescence of the democratic Poles with those Russians who share their opinions. He treats his subject exclusively from a political point of view, which gives a certain clearness to his arguments but seldom found in the productions of those more ambitious writers who affect to appreciate and prophesy the results which may be expected from social forces and tendencies which are as yet but in the region of political ideas. There is too little knowledge in England of the events which have brought Poland to its present condition, to make any but the plainest narrative desirable. On this ground, the account he gives of the different methods which have been pursued by the three partitioning powers to denationalise their share of the country they have seized upon is valuable and useful. A very good general notion of the condition of the Poles in Warsaw, Posen, and Galicia is conveyed by these volumes. The insurgents, however, so clearly aim at the restoration of the territorial limits of 1772, that a much wider question is opened than can be answered by any construction of the treaties of 1815. Whatever else can be extorted from Russia, it is certain that nothing but the most utter exhaustion and defeat would induce any party in that country to consent to the restoration of Lithuania and Podolia to the Poles. An independent Poland is impossible, so long as Russia has a man to defend her acquisitions, which are as dear to the ultra-democratic Russian as to the most fanatical supporter of the imperial system. On the merely legal ground, it is difficult to see how such a concession could be demanded by the Western Powers of Europe. The ground for such a requisition was cut from under their feet by the treaty of Vienna. Yet nothing less than this will satisfy the Poles, and nothing less than this would justify such a war as alone would give a chance of its acquisition. Such a Poland as this is equivalent to the destruction of Russia as an European Power; and whatever may be said of her exhaustion in the Crimean war, she has strength left for the most desperate resistance to such an attack upon her dearest and most cherished policy. The exertions and sacrifices without which Europe could not hope to re-establish a barrier between herself and Russia, are of a magnitude sufficient to appal the most courageous. To rouse the courage, however, by displaying in the strongest light the necessity of such a barrier, is the purpose of an anonymous pamphlet which has appeared in Paris.[14] The author, who belongs to that party in Poland who wish to reconstitute their country on the basis of the constitution of 1791, appeals to Europe for support, relying on the alternative, which he endeavours to display as inevitable, of a Poland conquered, and an instrument in the hands of Russia for further encroachment on Europe, or a Poland free, and an inexpungable barrier against such a consummation, whether by imperial or democraticised Russia.

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[13] "The Polish Captivity: being an Account of the Present Position of the Poles in the Kingdom of Poland, and in the Polish Provinces of Austria, Prussia, and Russia." By Sutherland Edwards. 2 vols. London: W. H. Allen and Co. 1863.

He criticises with all the bitterness of an enemy the social fermentation which is now going on in the empire of the Czar, and while protesting that the Propaganda of Social Democracy has made no converts in Poland, he maintains that in Russia it has undermined every institution of the State, and that, in the event of its leaders once getting the upper hand, nothing but a free and constitutional Poland could save Europe from invasion and convulsions to which those of the first French Revolution would be mere child's play. This argument *in terrorem* he developes with great ingenuity and persistence; but it may be met with the question whether it be not also possible that Europe may conquer Russia by her ideas before that condition of things shall ripen which would throw Russia upon her either in the cause of Panslavonian dominion or of a social and democratic republic. It is so far from impossible for Russia even now to reconcile herself with Poland, that Mr. Edwards maintains the best chance for that unhappy country is still to be found in the realizations by Russia of the ideas of Alexander I. Hitherto the chief obstacle to such a solution of the Polish question has been found in the difficulty of governing Poland constitutionally while Russia was denied similar institutions. There now seems a possibility that the imperial government has determined to cut the knot in this manner; and by granting constitutional institutions to the whole country, including Poland, to find a domestic solution of these difficulties, and thus deprive Europe of the pretext for interference. There are many features of Russian character which will facilitate this stupendous change. The passionate loyalty of the peasants and the strong desire of the nobility to be admitted to some share in the government may enable Russia to pass through a revolution as radical as that of France, with less danger to herself and with incomparably less peril to her neighbours. The emperor has it in his power to reconcile the nobles to the unquestionable sacrifices he demands of them, by admitting them to an influence in the government of the country, from which they have been hitherto excluded; and if he can rally the proprietors to his cause, his difficulties with the peasants, who expect impossibilities, will be so greatly diminished that he may fairly set all anarchical tendencies at defiance. The question taken in its widest shape is simply—Will European civilization conquer Russia in time to prevent that attack of Russia on European civilization, with the fear of which her enemies endeavour to arouse a crusade against her? There is room to hope so; and while such a hope can be entertained it would be folly to cut at its roots by a war of stupendous dimensions, which would only be justified by the absolute certainty that such a hope was utterly unreasonable.

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[14] "La Pologne et la Cause de l'Ordre." Paris: E. Dentu. 1863.

Of course the Polish question has its religious side, which is as violently disputed as the political one. Count Montalembert's[15] spendid rhetorical advocacy of his co-religionists leaves nothing unsaid that the strongest feelings could suggest; but an equally violent partizanship on the other side of the question is to be found in a pamphlet by J. H. Elliot,[16] in which Montalembert's slaughtered saints are treated as a set of conspirators against the peace of Europe.

"The Christians in Turkey,"[17] by the Rev. W. Denton, is a thoroughly onesided statement of the difficulties of the Eastern Question, and does not stop short of a violent attack upon the policy of England in the countries in question. This would be no objection to his pamphlet if the author were ready to suggest a more practicable course, or could point out even the possibility of a peaceful solution of the difficulties in question were the English influence withdrawn. While giving its support to the Turkish government, England has stipulated for every possible freedom for the Eastern Christians. That these stipulations have been utterly without effect is hardly consistent with the great increase in the numbers and prosperity of the Christian subjects of the Porte which Mr. Denton is compelled to admit. The intolerance of the Turks is not greater than that of the Christian communities, and these latter only want the power to be as fierce persecutors; witness the celebrated demand of the Maronite bishops, which outraged their warmest partizans. Mr. Denton's pamphlet ought to be read with great care; he has ransacked every blue book, and all the volumes of Eastern travel, of which we have lately had so many, and brought into a focus facts that are distributed, over many years and gathered from every country under Turkish rule. It is not very pleasant to find the peculiar enormity by which these countries have been disgraced from the most ancient times set down by Mr. Denton as the infamy of the

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[15] "The Insurrection of Poland." By Count Montalembert. London: R. Bentley. 1863.

[16] "Russia, Poland, and the Jesuits: or the Roman Catholic Conspiracy against the Liberty of Europe Examined." By J. H. Elliot. London: G. J. Stevenson.

[17] "The Christians in Turkey." By the Rev. W. Denton, M.A., author of "Servia and the Servians," &c. London: Bell & Dalby. 1863.

Turks alone. In one of the most distressing cases of oppression which he published in his "Servia and the Servians," and here reproduces, the crime was fully shared by the village community, who, in fact, fixed upon their fellow Christian, and delivered him to the Turkish officer by whose authority the cruelty was committed. The result of all these instances brought forward by Mr. Denton is simply that the Porte is not able to suppress the religious dissensions of its subjects, and that the legal rights which the Christians have acquired in consequence of European interference are in many cases frustrated by the local administrators of the laws on which they are founded. Is there, then, no way out of the difficulty except by that crusade against the Turks which Mr. Denton is not far from advocating? It is to be hoped there is; at any rate, those who have the responsibility of action in the matter are forced to ask themselves questions, as to the ultimate result of their conduct, which do not suggest themselves to the advocate who can see nothing but the Christian oppressed and the Turk triumphant.

Another book on the East, much calmer in tone, but equally hostile to English influence, is Madame Dora d'Istria's "Excursions in Roumelia and the Morea."[18] This accomplished lady made a complete tour through the kingdom of Greece in 1860, and has published the result of her observations in each of its provinces. At every stage of her journey all the interesting associations of the spot from ancient times, and those of the War of Independence, are grouped together for the glory of the Greeks; with her the Beotian is still heavy and somewhat stupid; the Arcananian brave, but a little savage; the Mainote maintains the valour of the Spartan, and the modern Athenian the intellectual eminence which characterized the inhabitants of the city in the time of Pericles. If these peculiarities may be still observed in the old localities, how many times may a nation be overrun by barbarians and yet preserve its character! The author's style is not without some trace of Eastern love of ornament and great phrases, but the book contains also a great deal of information on the existing condition of the Greeks which is very valuable. The remarks she makes, while criticising the government of the late king, on the singular unfitness of a German dynasty to enter into the feelings and share the aspirations of their subjects, are very much to the point, and she refers with a justifiable pride to her own country, where a native is not thought unworthy to rule his fellow-countrymen. The Princess Ghika, to give the author her true name, is more occupied with the dread of Austrian encroachment than with existing Turkish oppression; and in this respect she displays, in contrast with Mr. Denton, the insight of a politician as contrasted with the eccentric sympathies of an English clergyman with a branch of the Church which fully partakes of the decay of the countries in which it is professed.

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[18] "Excursions en Roumélie et en Morée." Par Madame Dora D'Istria. Paris: Cherbuliez and Co. 1863.

SCIENCE.

THE fifth and last volume of the "Cosmos" of Alexander von Humboldt,[1] published since the lamented decease of its illustrious author, possesses, in its imperfect state, an interest quite apart from that attaching to the subjects of which it treats. The last effort of a vast intellect, exercised for a period exceeding the ordinary life of man upon the highest and most diversified scientific questions, and retaining nearly all its vigour to the very end, would of itself excite our interest in no ordinary degree, and this is greatly increased by the sudden interruption in the very midst of the subject, which brings home to all of us, as it were visibly, the blow by which modern science has lost one of her ablest investigators.

The first portion of this volume continues the investigation of the volcanic phenomena, to the consideration of which the fourth volume was devoted, and describes those eruptions of mud and water which have so frequently issued from active volcanoes. This is followed by the commencement of the third section of the investigation of telluric phenomena, embracing the geological structure of the earth's crust, the nature of the different rocks, their chronology and fossils. In this section, however, the author was only able to advance through some general considerations upon the origin of plutonic rocks to the special investigation of the formation of granite, when death cut short his labours. Appended to the text of the work are tables by C. Bruhns, of the elements of the numerous small planets occupying the space between Mars and Jupiter, of which no fewer than sixty-two have now been observed, and of those of the interior comets and double stars, together with some notes, communicated by Alexander von Humboldt to General Sabine on the magnetic variation in various parts of both hemispheres.

The index, prepared by Dr. Ed. Buschmann, which occupies by far the greater portion of the volume, is perhaps as remarkable a work of its kind as the wonderful book to which it is intended to facilitate reference. It extends from p. 127 to p. 1,270, and certainly furnishes the most elaborate alphabetical analysis of the contents of a book that it has ever been our fortune to see.

In July, 1861, Mr. Francis Galton put forth in the *Philosophical Magazine* a description, illustrated by a map of England, of a new method proposed by him for registering the chief daily meteorological phenomena, in such a manner as to indicate at once to the eye the comparative meteorology of a considerable extent of country. In his "Meteorographica"[2] just published he has further exemplified his process by a series of small charts, showing the greater part of Central Europe and the British Isles, with the meteorological phenomena presented in the morning, afternoon, and evening, at various stations scattered over the surface, during the month of December, 1861. Each station of observation is indicated by a small oblong space printed by means of type, showing by the differences of its marking the prevalence of rain, snow, or clear blue sky, or the amount of cloudiness at the time represented by the chart. The indications of the barometer and the thermometer are also shown in figures upon each area. The direction of the wind is given by means of a particular symbol, which also admits of modification by the addition of marks in its interior, to indicate the force of the aerial currents. In this way the series of ninety-three charts contained in Mr. Galton's book furnishes a comparative summary of the meteorology of a great part of Europe during the month to which it relates, such as we should in vain attempt to obtain from any inspection of weather tables. Another series of corresponding small maps, divided into squares, gives, by means of symbols, a summary of the barometric indications at each period of observation, and the whole of the results are again brought together in a series of diagrammatic tables at the end of the book. Mr. Galton's work is interesting as a laborious, and to a considerable extent successful endeavour to show in what manner meteorographical charts may be prepared for publication, and it is to be hoped that its production may fulfil the author's wishes by inducing the Meteorological Department of the Board of Trade to take this important matter into consideration.

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[1] "Kosmos." Entwurf einer physischen Weltbeschreibung von Alexander von Humboldt. Fünfter Band. Stuttgart: Cotta. 1862. 8vo. pp. 1297.

[2] "Meteorographica, or Methods of Mapping the Weather." By Francis Galton, F.R.S. Macmillan and Co., London and Cambridge. 1863.

Mühry's "Climatographic Survey of the Earth"[3] forms an excellent and most carefully compiled handbook of a very important subject. It contains a general description of the different countries in regard to those physical features which have an influence on climate, especially the elevation and form of the land and the nature of the soil, an account of the general meteorological phenomena of each district, and of the influence of the climate upon the inhabitants. Under the latter head the prevalent diseases in the different countries of the world are described in considerable detail, often illustrated by statistical tables. The subject is divided into geographical sections.

The lectures of the late distinguished professor, Carl Ritter, of Berlin, on several departments of geographical science, are now in course of publication, apparently from the note-books of some of his pupils. The lectures on "General Geography"[4] now before us, besides giving a general description of the elevations, plains, and depressions, which give their characteristic features to the various regions of the earth, dwells also particularly upon the historical aspect of geographical science.

In our last number we had occasion to notice Professor Huxley's Essays on "Man's Place in Nature," and we have now before us the first part of a work by one of the most illustrious of German naturalists, Carl Vogt, on the same subject.[5] It consists of lectures delivered by the author in various places in the Canton of Nuremburg, and promises to furnish an admirable review of the great questions relating to the position of man upon the earth. The portion of the work now published, does not carry us far enough to give any idea of the precise mode in which the author will treat his subject, and we can therefore only offer a general statement of the contents of the four lectures here printed, deferring a more detailed review until the completion of some great section of the work. In his first lecture Professor Vogt lays down a general outline of his subject, and indicates some of the difficulties which have, as it were, raised hedges of thorns around the purely scientific questions connected with the origin of man and of his different varieties. He also expresses his limited acceptance of the Darwinian hypothesis. The second and third lectures contain chiefly a comparative discussion of the structure and form of the skull in various races of man and in some of the higher animals, and includes a most careful and valuable examination of the diverse methods of craniometry proposed, by different authors. The fourth lecture, devoted to the consideration of the nervous system, and especially of its great centre, the brain, will be found to contain much important information and argument. This is particularly the case in regard to the signification of the convolutions of the brain, which Professor Vogt seems to us to place on a right footing. On the precise coincidence in the structure of the human brain with that of the higher quadrumana, the author fully agrees with Professor Huxley and his followers, and in illustration of this view gives figures (taken from photographs) of the human brain and that of the chimpanzee, which ought to settle the question in the minds of those who still entertain any doubts on the subject.

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[3] "Klimatographische Uebersicht der Erde," in einer Sammlung authentischer Berichte, mit hinzugefügten Anmerkungen zu wissenshaftlichem und zu praktischem Gebrauch. Von A. Mühry, M.D. Winter, Leipzig and Heidelberg. 1862. pp. 744.

[4] "Allgemeine Erdkunde; Vorlesungen an der Universität zu Berlin gehalten von Carl Ritter." Herausgegeben von H. A. Daniel. Berlin: Reimer, 1862. 8vo. pp. 240.

Under the title of "Principes de Zooclassie,"[6] Messrs. Roret have published the introduction, written by the late Professor de Blainville, for the Natural History of Mollusca in the "Suites à Buffon." The chief part of this pamphlet is occupied by a discussion of the question of the existence of a system in nature, which M. de Blainville considers may be demonstrated *a priori*,—1. By the conception of a true system of philosophy: 2. By the knowledge of the nature of man and his intelligence: and 3. By a suitable conception of the nature of God. The endeavour to demonstrate this fact *a posteriori* produces the natural method, and this is attained by means of the principle of subordination of characters. M. de Blainville arranges the various organs of the animal structure as follows, in accordance with the importance which he ascribes to the characters derived from them: 1. The nervous system: 2. The sensorial apparatus: 3. The locomotive apparatus: 4. The generative apparatus: and 5. The apparatus of nutrition. Natural bodies are divided into *Empires* (organic and inorganic):

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[5] "Vorlesungen über den Menschen, seine Stellung in der Schöpfung und in der Geschichte der Erde, von Carl Vogt." Erster Band, Erste Lieferung. Giessen: Ricker. 1863. 8vo. pp. 160.

[6] "Principes de Zooclassie, ou Classification des Animaux." Par M. H. D. de Blainville. Paris: Roret. 1863. 8vo., pp. 64.

and the organic empire into *Kingdoms*, *Types*, *Classes*, *Orders*, *Tribes*, *Families*, *Genera*, and *Species*. The book terminates with a tabular view of the animal kingdom, in accordance with the views of De Blainville, and is interesting rather as the last and posthumous work of the venerable Professor than from any influence it is likely to exert upon science.

Mr. Van Voorst, to whom naturalists are indebted for the publication of so many excellent works on the zoology of the British Islands, has just added to their number the first volume of a treatise on the "British Sessile-eyed Crustacea,"[7] from the joint labours of Mr. Spence Bate and Professor Westwood. Of the three great groups into which the Crustacea may be divided, the Stalk-eyed forms (the crabs, lobsters, shrimps, and prawns), inhabiting our shores, have been well described by Mr. Bell, in a beautiful volume also published by Mr. Van Voorst; and the lower forms, the Entomostraca, including the Cirripedes, are fully described by Dr. Baird and Mr. Darwin in the publications of the Ray Society. The works of Mr. Bell and Dr. Baird are now, perhaps, from the length of time that has elapsed since they made their appearance, and the rapid progress of Carcinological science of late years, somewhat antiquated, but they still offer to the student an excellent guide to the natural history of the groups they treat of. The intermediate group, that of the Sessile-eyed Crustaceans (the Edriophthalma of Latreille), on the contrary, was left almost entirely untouched in English literature, and with the exception of a paper on the Amphipoda, by Mr. Spence Bate, in the Annals of Natural History, and Mr. White's small treatise on the British Crustacea published by Reeve, British zoologists have had no guide to follow in the determination and classification of this rather puzzling group of animals. The joint work of Messrs. Spence Bate and Westwood will therefore be most welcome to our naturalists. It is the result of long continued and earnest investigation, and the descriptions and figures of the species leave nothing to be desired, except perhaps that the authors could have managed to avoid the use of a new terminology. This first volume is devoted to the natural history of the Amphipod Crustacea, of which the common sandhoppers may be taken as the type,—the second will contain some aberrant forms of Amphipoda and the whole of the Isopoda, the latter order including many curious forms, of which the parasitic species are especially interesting.

The important and highly interesting subject of the artificial propagation of salmon and other fish, is ably treated by Mr. Frank Buckland, in his little work on "Fish Hatching,"[8] just published. After describing the process as effected in nature, and indicating the multitude of enemies to whose attacks the spawn and young fry are exposed in their native rivers, Mr. Buckland describes the means by which the spawn is deposited and fecundated by human aid, the construction of the apparatus for its reception and development, and the various stages through which the young fish pass, up to the time of their being able to take care of themselves. Mr. Buckland hardly enters into the subject with so much detail as Mr. Francis, in a work lately noticed by us; but his book, which is founded upon a lecture delivered by him at the Royal Institution, contains all the directions necessary for carrying out the breeding and transport of fish, either on a large or small scale. It is pleasantly and intelligibly written, although exhibiting a little of that tendency, so common in our popular scientific writers, to mistake slang for wit.

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[7] "A History of British Sessile-eyed Crustacea." By C. Spence Bate, F.R.S., F.L.S., &c., and J. O. Westwood, M.A., F.L.S., Hope Professor of Zoology in the University of Oxford. Vol. I. London: Van Voorst. 1863. 8vo., pp. 507.

[8] "Fish Hatching." By Frank T. Buckland. London: Tinsley Brothers. 1863. Sm. 8vo., pp. 268.

A considerable amount of valuable information, bearing upon the subject treated of in Mr. Buckland's book, is to be found in Dr. Davy's "Physiological Researches,"[9] a volume containing reprints of numerous papers published by him in various journals and the transactions of learned societies, together with some essays hitherto unpublished. The ichthyological papers relate chiefly to the fishes of the English lake district, and to the development of the ova of the Salmonidæ; the most important of the other memoirs are those containing observations on the temperature of man and animals under various conditions, and on the influence of temperature upon different animals. These and several of the other papers contain the results of most laborious series of investigations, and will be found of much value to the physiologist.

Dr. Lawson's "Manual of Popular Physiology"[10] is intended as a handbook for the general reader, and the author modestly states that he does not expect "that students proceeding to degrees in medicine will devote much attention to it." Considering that the medical student has already several excellent handbooks of physiology to choose from, we think it by no means improbable that he will not trouble Dr. Lawson's little book at all; but those who wish to obtain a general notion of human physiology may certainly read it with profit. The information contained in it appears to be generally correct; but the style is disfigured by constant clumsy efforts to be funny, with an occasional sprinkling of slang terms, not always accurately appreciated by the author.

Dr. T. Piderit's "Mind and Brain"[11] is an attempt at a strictly materialistic theory of the human mind. The soul (*Seele*), according to the author, is the life-giving principle which governs the development of the organism, and is common to plants and animals; the soul, in the theological sense, seems to be ignored by him; and the mind is simply a function of the brain. By a discussion of the structure and functions of the different parts of the nervous system, Dr. Piderit arrives at the ordinary conclusion, that the seat of mental activity is in the cerebral hemispheres, and he explains the mechanism of its production by the analogy of the action of the spinal cord and its nerves. As the spinal cord consists of a perceptive and a motor portion, so also do the cerebral hemispheres, and thus the latter are to be regarded as composed of two organs,—the organ of perception (*Vorstellungsorgan*) and the organ of the will (*Willensorgan*). These react upon each other in a manner analogous to the reflex action of the spinal cord; the influence of the organ of perception upon that of the will not only inducing the latter to give rise to voluntary motions in other parts of the body, but also being reflected back upon the organ of perception, causing that to retain and dwell upon its perceptions, and thus producing thought. Mental activity is thus the result of a constant reciprocal action between the organs of perception and will.

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[9] "Physiological Researches." By John Davy, M.D., F.R.S. Williams and Norgate, London and Edinburgh. 1863. 8vo., pp. 448.

[10] "A Manual of Popular Physiology: being an attempt to explain the Science of Life in Untechnical Language." By Henry Lawson, M.D., Professor of Physiology in Queen's College, Birmingham. London: Hardwicke. 1863. 12mo., pp. 168.

[11] "Gehirn und Geist; Entwurf einer physiologischen Psychologie.' Von Dr. T. Piderit. Winter, Leipzig and Heidelberg. 1863. 8vo., pp. 86.

With the exception of two volumes, by Dr. Lee,[12] one on the Watering Places of England, and the other on the Baths of Germany, we have no medical literature of importance to notice.

Dr. Lee's works, both of which have reached the fourth edition, are useful books, not only to the medical practitioner, but also to the intelligent frequenter of the various health-resorts of this country and the Continent; whilst the author avoids any elaborate detail of the chemical constitution and physical properties of the different mineral springs, he affords a large amount of useful and valuable information whereby the physician may be guided in the selection of the place most suitable to the condition of his patient, and the invalid may learn much concerning the social and climatic condition of the different watering places,—information of no small value in determining the selection of a locality suited to the mental and physical wants of the patient.

Dr. Lee is also the author of a pamphlet on "The State of the Medical Profession,"[13] in which he sets forth the alleged inefficiency of the Medical Act and the Medical Council, the prevalence of quackery, and the prevalence of undue and extra-professional influences, as conducing to success in the medical profession, &c. &c. The author enumerates a host of grievances, most of which we fear are dependent upon social conditions but little under the influence of legislative enactments. Many will be disposed to concur with Dr. Lee in his strictures on the shortcomings of the Medical Council, and agree with him that they ought to have done more for the elevation of the profession than they have done.

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[12] "The Watering Places of England considered with reference to their Medical Topography and Remedial Resources." By Edwin Lee, M.D. Fourth edition. London: J. Churchill and Sons. 1863. pp. 339. "The Principal Baths of Germany, France, and Switzerland, considered with reference to their Remedial Efficacy in Chronic Disease. By Edwin Lee, M.D. Fourth Edition. Volume I. Germany.—London: Churchill and Sons. 1863. pp. 308.

[13] "The State of the Medical Profession further Exemplified in a Fourth Series of Notes Supplementary to the Medical Profession in Great Britain and Ireland. By Edwin Lee, M.D. London: W. J. Johnson, Fleet-street. 1863. pp. 87.

"A Safe, Speedy, and Certain Cure for Smallpox,"[14] is the title of a pamphlet, in which the author, not a medical man, asserts that three thousand cases treated with cream of tartar, have but recovered without one exception; men of experience, we fear, will think the success too great to be trusted.

A pamphlet by Mr. Perry, entitled "Magneopathy, the Philosophy of Health,"[15] seems to be a sort of herald to proclaim the advent of some great book that is to come; beyond the fact that some undescribed form of magnetism is the agent whereby all the ills to which frail mortality is subject are to be expelled, the theory of the author is beyond our comprehension.

Two Papers read before the Society for the Promotion of Social Science,[16] on Infant Mortality and the practice of hiring Wet Nurses, in its relation to Public Health and Morals, introduce us to topics of considerable importance; the author briefly but clearly sets forth the causes of excessive infant mortality, one great source of which he believes to be improper feeding. In the paper on the hiring of wet nurses he shows forcibly the evils, physical and moral, likely to spring from the prevalence of this practice, and the stimulus it gives to the growth of our great "social evil."

The last pamphlet we have to notice is, "An Address on the Progress of Ophthalmic Surgery,"[17] during the past ten years. The author sets forth briefly the satisfactory progress made in this department of the healing art, more especially since the introduction of the ophthalmoscope.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

CHRONOLOGICAL priority gives Mr. James Murray's little volume on Ancient History[1] a claim to precedence in the present section of Contemporary Literature. Of no importance to the scholar, and not intended for a manual or book of reference, it may be said fairly enough to answer the end for which it has been written,—"to arrange the leading facts of ancient history in such a manner as to excite the attention of the ordinary reader, and to furnish him with the means of forming an intelligent opinion regarding historical problems which are now so generally discussed." Commencing as he does with primæval history, Mr. Murray finds himself very soon called upon to pass some judgment on the Bible as an historical record. He does not allow the question to give him much trouble, but decides off-hand that the discovery of errors in the Sacred Volume "does not affect its Divine authority, but only our fancies as to what inspiration is, or ought to be." We should like to know what is Mr. Murray's test or definition of inspiration, or on what principle he imagines himself justified in asserting that the grand truths revealed in the first chapter of Genesis are, "that nothing was self-produced, that before time God was," &c., and that, "beyond this nothing more is to be learned from the Mosaic narrative!" Such free-and-easy criticism threatens to become fashionable: it enables a man to believe and disbelieve at the same time; to select what he thinks "grand truths," and do homage to his own discriminating intellect, while repudiating all belief in such "portions of the narrative" as "seem absolutely incredible," or the acceptance of which would jeopardize his reputation for general enlightenment. We must not, however, be too hard on compromises which are sometimes ingenious and often sincere. After a peep into the annals of the Jews, Mr. Murray glances at Phœnicia, India, and China; devotes a whole chapter to Egypt (in which he notes with a praiseworthy caution that a monument of Thothmes III. *seems* to represent the Israelites in bondage), another to Assyria and Babylonia, and a fourth to the Medes and Persians. The remaining chapters, which make up more than half the book, present us with an intelligible account of the principal events of Grecian and Roman History. Mr. Murray frequently refers us to the original sources of his narrative, sources which he appears to have examined for himself; his style is clear and unaffected, and his survey of ancient civilization is conducted in a candid and appreciative spirit.

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[14] "A Safe, Speedy, and Certain Cure for Small Pox." By C. Rose. Hertford: J. Rose. London: Kent and Co. 1863.

[15] "Magneopathy, the Philosophy of Health." By Hilbert Perry. London: R. Bentley. 1863.

[16] "Excessive Infant Mortality; how can it be Stayed? and Infant Alimentation." By M. A. Baines. London: Churchill and Sons. "The Practice of Hiring Wet Nurses (especially those from the 'Fallen') considered as it affects Public Health and Public Morals." By M. A. Baines. London: Churchill and Sons. 1863.

[17] "The Progress of Ophthalmic Surgery, from the Invention of the Ophthalmoscope to the Present Time." By John Z. Lawrence, F.R.C.S. London: Churchill and Sons.

[1] "Sketches of Ancient History until the Death of Augustus." By James Murray, author of "French Finance and Financiers under Louis XV." London: T. F. A. Day. 1863.

From the glorious memories of Greece and Rome to the quarrels of an irate and garrulous mediæval Welsh Bishop, is a harsh transition. Giraldus Cambrensis, however, next awaits our notice.[2] Besides the Life of St. David, and a *Dialogue*, valuable for its recital of the leading incidents in Giraldus's own life, the third volume of his works contains the earlier portions of his treatise *De Invectionibus*—portions, which, when the fifth and sixth books were prepared for the press, the learned editor supposed to have been irretrievably lost. The four books, now happily recovered, exist only in an abridged or contracted form; whereas, in the preceding instalment, the transcriber has scrupulously adhered to the original. The title of this treatise, as Mr. Brewer observes, indicates its purpose. "It is a merciless attack on the real or supposed enemies of Giraldus, upon such of them more especially as had taken an active part, at Rome or in England, in hindering or contest-ing his advancement to the See of St. David. What anger can dwell in celestial bosoms may be learned from the mutual animosity of the two theological spitfires of Canterbury and St. David's. In justice, however, to Giraldus, it should be remembered that Hubert Walter, the Archbishop, was doubly an enemy. An Englishman, he desired to crush the ecclesiastical independence of the Welsh See, and a personal opponent, he endeavoured to ruin the suit of Giraldus in the Court of Rome. Thinking everything fair in war, Giraldus employs the weapons of ridicule and abuse without the least hesitation, adopting, it would seem, any calumnies that happened to be current. This want of discrimination the satirist himself acknowledged after the Archbishop's career was closed. Indeed, while repeating his charges of worldliness and ambition, Giraldus does justice to his adversary's unparalleled munificence, as well as to his courage and activity, declaring that "he was a bridle to the King (John), and a bulwark against tyranny; the peace and comfort of the people: a refuge, in his own days, for great and small alike, against the oppression of the Government." Hubert was, in fact, a man of undoubted merit. His valour, his prudence, his aptitude for business were conspicuous in the disastrous Crusade of 1190. It was Hubert, Professor Brewer tells us, who made provision for the starving host; Hubert who saved the Franks from discomfiture by the Turks; Hubert whose animating presence during Richard's illness prevented the entire break-up of the army, compelling the rapidly decreasing forces to remain, and eventually obtaining an honourable truce from the illustrious Saladin. Nor was the warlike prelate's tact less remarkable than his energy; for "when Saladin demanded what sort of a person was his great rival, Richard, and what did the Christians think of the Saracens? Hubert had the art of the courtier to say, that Richard was the bravest, the manliest, the most magnificent prince in the world; and that the only difference between him and Saladin consisted in the difference of their religion." Such traits of character are well brought out in Mr. Brewer's pleasing preface. In the present volume the original Latin of the writings already specified is printed, without an English translation, and with but very few notes, unless we consider as notes the textual variations given at the bottom of each page.

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[2] "Giraldi Cambrensis Opera." Edited by J. S. Brewer, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London, and Reader at the Rolls. Published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, &c. Vol. III. London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green. 1863.

English readers who are desirous to know more of the life and writings of Giraldus Cambrensis may satisfy this thirst for knowledge by the perusal of "The Historical Works" of the Welsh Bishop, contained in a volume recently published by Mr. Bohn.[3] The "Topography of Ireland," and the "History of the Conquest" of that country, translated by Mr. Thomas Forester, are followed by the "Itinerary through Wales," and the Description of Wales as rendered into English by Sir Richard Hoare in 1806. Notes have been added by the editor, Mr. T. Wright, who professes to have carefully revised all the translations. Though the writings contained in this volume are called the historical works of Giraldus, it may be well to state, that after deducting the descriptive portions, there remains but a small constituent that can by any stretch of courtesy be termed history. More than fifty pages are occupied with an account of the wonders and miracles of Ireland. Those who care for such marvels will find in these veridical pages the true story of the Willow-tree that bore apples at the intercession of St. Keiwin, of the Fleas which St. Ninnan drove out of a village in Connaught into a neighbouring meadow, of the Speaking Cross, the Leaping Penny, and the Wandering Bell.

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[3] "The Historical Works of Giraldus Cambrensis," &c. Revised and edited, with additional notes, by Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., &c. London: H. G. Bohn. 1863.

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"Veneration for authority and love of precedent," remarks Mr. Horwood in the sensible and informing preface which introduces the "Year Books of Edward the First,"[4] "are characteristics of our nation;" and among the illustrations of this attachment to old use and wont, he adduces the retention of an irregular and unsymmetrical mass of written laws, "a collection of writings in Latin, Norman-French, and English, running over a period of six hundred years." This alleged preference for a chaos-like jurisprudence, Mr. Horwood, whether rightly or wrongly, justifies by certain considerations, such as the extreme difficulty of framing formulas to meet every possible combination of circumstances in a progressive community, the non-finality and incompleteness of a code, and the ready acquiescence which the magic halo of antiquity secures for a judgment founded on an early legal interpretation. A standing evidence of the people's respect for law is found in the matchless series of our national records. "The volumes known as the 'Year Books' contain reports in Norman-French of cases argued and decided in the courts of common law. The printed volumes extend from the beginning of Edward II. to nearly the end of the reign of Henry VIII., a period of about 220 years; but in this series there are many omissions," the chief of which is that of the whole of the reign of Richard II. "But whatever may be their defects, these books are first in the long line of legal reports in which England is so rich, and in comparison with which (as Bentham remarks) the wealth of other nations is penury." Of the decisions of judges in the reign of Edward I., some have been transmitted to our own time; notably those of Ralph de Hengham, who sat on the Bench during the last few years of Henry III., and, with some intermission, during the whole of the reign of Edward I. The documents contained in Mr. Horwood's volume consist mainly of reports of cases in the Court of Common Pleas, and in the *Cornish Iter*. The Norman-French original is accompanied by an English rendering, the former occupying the right and the latter the left-hand page, so that both texts are simultaneously presented to the eye. Though the "Year Books" are consulted chiefly by lawyers, Mr. Horwood expresses a conviction that they will reward the unprofessional student for the trouble he may have in reading them, by the historical information which they offer, the personal notices scattered through these pages, and by "the light which they throw on ancient manners and customs."

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[4] "Year Books of the Reign of King Edward the First." Edited and translated by Alfred J. Horwood, of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. Published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners, &c. London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green. 1863.

A second edition of Dr. Rudolf Gneist's meritorious history of English municipal government testifies to the favourable reception accorded to such studies by his countrymen.[5] The first volume only of this new and revised impression is before us; the second and concluding volume is promised in October. In tracing the development of English law and government, the learned writer carries us back to the days of Egbert, Alfred, Athelstane, and Edward, to the Old English or Anglo-Saxon period. To the Norman period (1066—1272) he devotes an entire chapter, discussing Norman jurisprudence, the Norman Church and State, and feudal service, and finishing this portion of his subject with a comprehensive survey of the principal provisions of Magna Charta. The third period, closing in Richard III. (1485), receives even more consideration, the author regarding the century commencing with Edward I. as the pre-eminently fruitful season of English history in relation to the inner life of the constitution. The awakening spirit of national unity then began to modify the conflicting elements of baronial opposition and ecclesiastical pretension. The truly royal idea which presented itself to the minds of the first and third Edwards, was the combination of the various antagonistic social forces into one self-acting power in the service of the state. The fourth and fifth epochs of national development include the times of the Tudors and Stuarts, of the Reformation and the Revolution. The sixth period closes with the end of the reign of George III. The general appreciation of the bearing and results of the great political events which distinguished these periods which the author introduces into his remarks, attests the sobriety and sagacity of his judgment, while his industry and research appear in almost every page of his book. In the second great division of the present volume we find an account of the municipal or local government now existing in England and Wales. The *personnel* of this local government is described with some fulness: the functions of sheriff, churchwarden, overseer; rates, warrants, commitments, regulations relating to wages, combinations, landlords and tenants, game-laws, and the penalties attached to the commission of various offences and misdemeanours—all find a place in Dr. Gneist's pages. The extensive reading and unwearied patience exhibited in the composition of a work recording the successive phases of the political development of a foreign people excite our admiration, and entitle the accomplished writer to the grateful approval of Englishmen.

The history of England's magnificent rival, France, is continued in a third volume of Mr. Crowe's comprehensive work, to the Peace of Nimeguen, which in 1678 terminated the war waged by Europe against Louis XIV.[6] The author resumes his narrative with an account of the

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[5] "Geschichte und heutige Gestalt der Englischen Communalverfassung oder des Selfgovernment." Von Dr. Rudolf Gneist. Erster Band. London: Williams and Norgate. 1863.

[6] "The History of France." By Eyre Evans Crowe. In five volumes. Vol. iii. London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green. 1863.

Protestant movement in France in the sixteenth century, describing the principal actors in the great drama of events belonging to the two opposing parties, and characterizing the abortive French reformation, the failure of which he imputes not to royal resistance, but to the supineness of the middle class and the depression of the labouring population. The Huguenots, he remarks, "never raised their thoughts to war and resistance on their own account, nor to organization after their own fashion: they trusted to princes to lead, to German or Swiss infantry to fight for them. In fact they wanted, what the middle class in France has always wanted, the perspicacity, energy, skill, and courage to divine and maintain their true interests, and carry their cause through triumphantly." In 1562 Protestantism overran Normandy, but no sooner was it seen in its true light than it was resisted. The fact seems to be that French Protestantism took an "extreme and abrupt form," not only proscribing the ancient hierarchy and ceremonial, but substituting, or desiring to substitute for the existing ecclesiastical rule, "the complete supremacy of the middle orders, and not even the most wealthy and enlightened of those orders." Thus what the Reformed tenets won under the Catholic Valois, they lost under the Huguenot Bourbon. The character of this prince is drawn with skill and truth by the reflecting historian. He fully acknowledges the imperfections of Henry IV., while doing justice to his genius, his wit, his good sense, his bravery, and generosity. His abjuration of Protestantism he ascribes to religious indifference and political expediency. The war between Catholic and anti-Catholic had degenerated into faction and anarchy; and the restoration of government authority being the great want of the age, Henry embraced the creed "most conducive to his worldly interests, and to the peace of the kingdom," showing himself herein more politic than moral. The real work that Henry had to do, was to restore and establish the monarchic principle, and not to introduce a theological reform, or, as our author pithily expresses it, "Henry the Fourth came to bury the religious struggle, not continue it." This restoration of royal power, little as Henry desired such a result, issued in a complete despotism. To render the power of the Crown absolute was one of the great objects that Richelieu proposed to himself, and to attain this end he determined on the humiliation of the feudal nobility of France. Mr. Crowe's judgment of this able statesman's career is not very favourable to him. He contends that 'authority' alone supplied Richelieu's type of government, and that his action tended to compression and the destruction of liberty. It might, however, be answered, without denying the Cardinal's harsh and tyrannical sway, that the coercion of the upper aristocracy was a necessary preliminary to the establishment of a lawful and orderly government. Mr. Crowe thinks, indeed, that the estates and nobles in 1561 might easily have been induced to abate their exorbitant pretensions, and that a word of Richelieu's might have declared all classes subject alike to the *taille.* If this opinion be well founded, the Cardinal must be allowed to have lost a glorious opportunity for promoting the true interests of his country, and of diminishing, by such social modifications, the accumulated debt of injustice which was so rashly and cruelly settled in the Revolution of 1789. Besides sketching the career and character of Cardinal Richelieu, Mr. Crowe introduces us to Mazarin and Colbert, whose abilities he admits, while indicating their errors or deficiencies. In the present volume he scarcely recognises the great merits of Colbert, whose political economy was often in fault, but who is generally admitted to have stimulated French industry, and to have developed the commerce and manufactures of his country. In the next instalment of this valuable history, we hope to find a few pages setting forth the merits and demerits of the French ministers in finance, in legislation, and in general administration. Hitherto Colbert appears in our historian's delineation as a sort of financial Draco, whose success was attributable to "the reckless dishonesty of the sovereign and the pusillanimous character of the people." As a rapid estimate of this third volume of the *History of France*, we may say that it is often interesting, that it exhibits research and independent reflection, that it aims at impartial treatment, and that, if it seldom appeals to our feelings or excites our imagination, it is characteristically distinguished by good sense and clear expression.

To the free movement of the sixteenth century Philip II. of Spain opposed the force of his rigid will and royal power, siding with the Catholic party in France, attacking Protestantism in Holland, and seeking to conquer it in England by armed invasion. This honest ultra-Tory of Catholic Europe must always occupy a conspicuous position on the historical canvas. The poet and the romantic annalist have given him a factitious fame by attributing to him the death of his son Don Carlos. In the XLVIth number of this Review we noticed M. de Mouy's attempt to produce a true version of the Don Carlos tragedy. Simultaneously, or nearly so, with the publication of his essay, appears a more elaborate, though not perhaps so readable a disquisition, with a precisely similar title ("Don Carlos et Philippe II."), by M. Gachard.[7] After what seems to be a laborious, not to say exhaustive examination of the documents that illustrate the subject, the author comes to the same general conclusion as M. de Mouy; that is, he entirely acquits the king of having directly caused the death of his son; differing, however, if we rightly remember M. de Mouy's recorded impression, from that inquirer in regarding Philip's conduct as harsh and unfeeling during the imprisonment of Don Carlos, and in considering him as in some degree responsible for his untimely end. The immediate cause of the death of this wretched, crazy, unmanageable youth was, it appears, a violent indigestion, superinduced by an ogre-like voracity, and the determination of the prince to take none of the prescribed remedies. While M. Gachard condemns the king for his unfatherly rigour and his cruel treatment of his prisoner, he in general corroborates M. de Mouy's account of the ill-starred prince, and admits that Philip was justified in placing him under restraint. This romance of Don Carlos has, we trust, received its *coup de grâce*

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[7] "Don Carlos et Philippe II." Par M. Gachard, de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, &c. In two volumes. London: David Nutt. 1863.

It is one of those historical lies which, from their poetic availability, secure themselves a far longer existence than they would otherwise enjoy. Schiller's play, which it will now be impossible for any instructed mind to read with patience, has given this romantic falsehood a wide circulation and unnatural longevity. As to destroy any error connected with it is a pleasure, we may state, on the authority of M. Gachard, that the French poem pretended to be addressed by Don Carlos to Elizabeth is a fabrication. Carlos did not write verses, and did not speak French.

About ninety years since occurred another mysterious transaction, which has been likewise misrepresented by half-informed chroniclers and romance writers, but which, according to the verdict of Jenssen-Tusch, is at length fully elucidated and faithfully related. The arrest and execution of Count Struensee and his friend Brandt, and the divorce and exile of the unhappy Caroline Matilda, the wife of Christian VII. of Denmark and the sister of our George III., are pronounced by the author of the historical inquiry before us[8] to have been the sad consequences of a wicked conspiracy. A reforming statesman, Struensee had offended all parties by the political changes which he had introduced. Blind to his danger, he allowed the various factions to find appropriate leaders in the queen-dowager Juliana Maria, the hereditary prince, the dismissed minister Rantzau Ascheberg, Eickstedt Köller, Guldberg, and Beringskjold. In the January Number of the *Westminster Review* for 1859 will be found an abstract of the tragical story, as told by Reverdil, himself an enlightened servant of the State, and if not an ardent friend, yet not an absolute enemy to Struensee. According to Reverdil's version of this miserable business, it would seem that the friendship of the queen and Struensee was something more than Platonic, though he recognises the noble instincts of the minister, and refuses to admit the validity of many of the charges brought against him. Jenssen-Tusch goes much further than this. He considers that the documents which, since the Copenhagen revolution of 1848, have been magnanimously given to the world by the reigning sovereign, a descendant of the plotting Juliana Maria, thoroughly establish the innocence of the young, lovely, and gifted queen who was the unhappy victim of this atrocious conspiracy. From these documents, published by L. J. Flamand, a Danish author, the vindicator of the poor young queen has constructed his complete and interesting narrative of the conspiracy. The book contains an account of the trial, of the indictment, and the speeches for the defence and prosecution, with other illustrative papers.

It is pleasant to turn from the grisly butchery of Count Struensee to the welcome act of legislation with which, through his Minister of State, Cocceji, Frederick II. inaugurated his reign. This act was an order for the abolition of torture in his dominions, serving to indicate the spirit in which he proposed to rule. The great minister whose name has just been mentioned, was the agent of the law reform introduced into Prussia. Writing of him in after years, Frederick says, that as England is proud of her Newtons, and Germany of her Leibnitzes, so Prussia honours the name of her Grand Chancellor Cocceji, who exhibited such wisdom in the amelioration of her laws. It is the purpose of these quarto volumes, written by Adolf Trendelenburg, to furnish a contribution towards a history of this first Reform of Justice and the so-called Law of Nature. In prosecuting this task he gives us a rapid biographical sketch of the German law reformer, and reviews his studies, labours, and achievements. Born at Heidelberg in 1679, Samuel Von Cocceji early turned his attention to the subject on which his father, the distinguished jurisconsult Henry Von Cocceji was engaged. Travel succeeded study. In 1702 he became a professor of law at Frankfort; in 1727, minister of state and war, and about eleven years after, minister of justice. The death of the *Grosskanzler* took place on the fourth of October, 1755. His rationale of the Law of Nature, his views of Roman Law, and his labours and merits as a philosophical and practical legist, appear to be adequately set forth in an essay which will prove attractive to the special student.[9]

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[8] "Die Verschwörung gegen die Königen Caroline Mathilde von Dänemark geb. Prinzessin von Grossbritannien und Irland, und die Grafen Struensee und Brandt." Von G. F. von Jenssen-Tusch, Oberstlieutenant, a.D., &c. London: David Nutt. 1864.

George Forster, the companion of Cook in his world-renowned voyage, the translator into German of the English version of the *Sacontala*, the author of the *Herbarium Australe* and various other works, was born on the 26th November, 1754, at the village of Nassenhaben, in Polish Prussia, an hour's distance from Dantzic. As he left his birthplace before it came under Prussian rule, he regarded himself, so far, as no Prussian subject. His moral and intellectual characteristics, as well as the incidents of his outward life, are portrayed in an article written in the *Westminster Review*, October, 1856. The accuracy of the sketch by G. G. Gervinus, on which that article is in part founded, is questioned by Karl Klein, a Professor at Mayence, who, in his patriotic zeal, has done his best to gibbet the memory of George Forster, or rather to re-gibbet it, "the peculiarities of his political adventures [having] exposed him to an ill-will which blasted his name so, that nearly forty years after his death his wife did not dare to publish his letters without prefixing an apology."[10] On leaving Wilna, where he held the professorship of natural history, Forster returned to Germany; and his old friend Johannes von Müller, having just vacated the librarianship in the city of Mayence, he was presented to the Elector by Müller, and appointed his successor. Soon after the French took Mayence. It has been stated, whether correctly or not, that Müller, during a hasty visit to Mayence, told the citizens who applied to him for advice, "that under the circumstances they would do best to rally round the republican government. Forster, who had never desired that any violent change should take place in Germany, but who speedily determined, when the moment for decision arrived, that the people of Mayence had better be free with the French than keep their old outrages, was drawn gradually into a thorough union with the new administration, till at last he became one of the nine members of the provisional government, and one of the three citizens who were sent to bear to the Convention the decree by which Mayence was incorporated with the French republic. The progress of events proved that this was a political error. The Prussians re-took Mayence. Defeated and forlorn, Forster contemplated a residence of some years in India, where he meant to gather new experience, and make his fortune by practising as a physician. Death, however, forestalled all his projects. On the 31st of January, 1794, old Heyne wrote, "I cannot console myself for the loss of my Forster. . . Truly was he *my Forster*. . . His worth—ah! he will never be replaced for the world. The knowledge that was gathered in him will not soon again be found in man. The noblest nature, the noblest heart, and for me ever the object of sorrow—of pity." Professor Klein, while denying that Forster could properly be characterized as noble, does not dispute his excellence till within a short period of his death. Then he appears to be of opinion that Forster's fanatical enthusiasm for freedom, conjoined with motives of self-interest, sullied with the blackest infamy his earlier reputation for honourable conduct. He denounces him as the basest of traitors, and holds him up as a horrid example for the warning of any degenerate son of Germany who should dare to betray his fatherland. Most men will probably be of opinion that Forster committed an error. The point really at issue is, whether he is to be condemned as a selfish traitor, or pardoned as an honest enthusiast. Gervinus commends Forster for his noble rejection of Prussian gold. When Voss wrote to him for Herzberg, the old minister of Frederick the Great, expressing a hope that he would continue a well-intentioned Prussian, Klein contends that the praise is undeserved; that Forster did indeed decline at first, but afterwards accepted, pecuniary aid from Berlin. That we have seen no proof of this averment in Herr Klein's citations, is perhaps our own fault; but we are not as yet convinced that the loan there referred to was not an advance from another quarter. Klein, however, is positive in his assertions, and is very severe upon Gervinus, whom he accuses of having kept back a transaction which would be adverse to Forster's reputation. We are quite content to leave the Professor to try conclusions with the historian and Forster's friends and admirers to vindicate his character; but we may observe that in no sense can he be said to have betrayed his country, and that his acceptance of office under the French while they occupied the town, gave him the means, of which even Herr Klein allows he availed himself, to lighten to many of the citizens the burdens incident to the inhabitants of a conquered city. This is a miserable book, as far as its *animus* is concerned, but it is also a collection of materials for the later years of G. Forster's life, that cannot be neglected by any one who wishes for full information on the period in question. The hateful watchfulness with which the author waits upon every expression of one of the most open and careless of men, defeats its own purpose, and does but arouse a feeling of indignation in any impartial reader. The sad story of his domestic relations is told with a visible effort to insinuate more against his wife than the author dares expressly to assert. Indeed, although his industry is unquestionable and his style clear and good, this book will, we fancy, but little disturb that more charitable judgment of which it is written in arrest. It is not so much an impartial biography as a *VerKLEINerung* of George Forster, and we have little doubt that it will be so considered in Germany, although the question of the Rhine boundary fills a greater part than usual in their minds at the present moment, and the author addresses his book to this prevailing sentiment.

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[9] "Friedrich der Grosse und sein Grosskanzler Samuel von Cocceji." Von Adolf Trendelenburg. Aus den Abhandlungen der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. 1863.

[10] "Georg Forster in Mainz, 1788 bis 1793." Von Karl Klein, Professor ai Gymnasium zu Mainz. Nebst Nachträgen zu seinen Werken. London: Williams and Norgate. 1863.

Mr. John George Phillimore is almost as indignant with the people, the kings, the judges, the lawyers, the bishops, and the governing and educating classes of England, as Klein is with Forster.[11] His favourite aversion is perhaps George the Third; but there are few persons who do not incur his displeasure. Among his numerous dislikes are Ruskin, Assheton Smith or the author of his "Life," the *Essayists*, Mr. Smiles, engineers in general, and entomologists in particular. In fact his hand is against every man, and with a truly Irish pugnacity he follows the advice given to the faction-fighter, and wherever he sees a head he hits out. Prejudiced, one-sided, and indiscriminating as he is, Mr. Phillimore has yet a strong sympathy with what is noble in life, genuine in character, and just in politics. Indeed, there is an element of truth even in his exaggerations; and in reading his book you feel that it is the production of an earnest, ardent, and capable mind. His capacity, however, is not of the highest; his penetration is acute, but not profound; his judgment is disturbed by passion; his assertions are not always proven. His history, so far as the first volume is concerned, is a disquisition rather than a narrative. Commencing with a preliminary view of the constitution, church, law and literature of England, the author reviews the reigns of the First and Second Georges, finishing the introductory book with a sketch of Ireland, in which he asserts in his sweeping way "the singular incapacity of the English for the government of other races and of foreign countries." The second book contains eight chapters, beginning with the position of affairs on the accession of George the Third, and ending with the Great Commoner's acceptance of a peerage, and what Mr. Phillimore calls the consummation of "the traitorous purpose of the Sovereign against the Commonwealth." Perhaps the best, or at least the most brilliant portion of the present volume, are the two chapters on India. In spite of the protracted and not always lucid periods in which Mr. Phillimore sometimes indulges, his general style deserves commendation. Characteristically forcible, it has a fire and feeling in it which make you respect the writer and be often pleased with his book. Mr.

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[11] "History of England during the Reign of George the Third." By John George Phillimore. Vol. I. London: Virtue Brothers and Co. 1863.

Phillimore appears to be a well-read and scholarly man. His literary criticism is usually if not always sound, and even liberal and courageous. We hope that he will continue his projected work, and trust that the continuation will be free from the faults of exaggeration which detract from the value of the earlier instalment.

Dr. Brewer's Political, Social, and Literary History of France, designed for schools, private families, and examination candidates, is a closely packed volume.[12] As a cram-book, it is probably as good as it is possible for such a *caput mortuum* to be. The author has evidently done his best to realize his ideal of "a panorama in a pill-box." His phonetic French is intended to assist those who are unacquainted with the language. *Varn-cenn* does duty for Vincennes, *Larn-clos* for l'Enclos, and *Charn-Mar* for Champ-de-Mars, a pronunciation which strikes us as not quite Parisian.

Under Louis XV. an Egyptian expedition was planned by his minister the Duc de Choiseul. The project, it is hardly necessary to say, was not executed during his reign. It was reserved for Bonaparte, after his brilliant Italian campaign, to carry out the project conceived by the Duke. The history of this expedition has often been written. Mr. Paton, "persuaded that it was possible to invest it with a fresh interest by a new method of treatment," has retold the story, and retold it, as we think, extremely well. His present object, indeed, was not to narrate this episodical tale, but to furnish a history of the Egyptian revolution from the period of the Mamelukes to the death of Mohammed Ali.[13] In so doing, he has laid under contribution various Arab and European memoirs, he has consulted oral tradition, and has profited by local research. In some respects the author is specially qualified for his literary task. In the year 1839 he accompanied Colonel, now Sir George Lloyd Hodges, her Majesty's diplomatic agent and consul-general to Egypt, as private secretary. In Syria he fulfilled similar functions on the British staff under Sir Hugh Rose during the civil war on Mount Lebanon. After the battle of Nezib his leisure time was devoted to the study of the modern history of Egypt and the antecedents of Mohammed Ali. The result of these labours and experiences is an agreeable, lively, informing, and sensible work. Mr. Paton, it is true, is fond of dogmatizing, and we do not always find ourselves in accordance with his views; as when in rather magniloquent language he declares that Christianity is the highest exposition of the laws of the universe. The reflections in which our author indulges are, however, always interesting. He writes with an honest and impartial pen, doing justice to Mahomet, to Bonaparte, to East and West, according to his lights; without any excess of hero-worship, but also without any ungenerous bias. An introductory sketch of Egypt and the Arab Conquest, and of the Mameluke Sultans, precedes the narrative of the French campaign. The first volume closes with the evacuation of Egypt by the French. In the second, the rise of Mohammed Ali and the steps by which he acquired dictatorial and hereditary power are described. This volume also comprises a retrospect of Turkish history, an account of the Wahaby religion and of the Wahaby war, of the Convention and blockade of 1840, and of the great Pasha's government after the termination of hostilities. It contains further much information on the geography, commerce, and population of Egypt; of the educational institutions and the social life of the people. To Mohammed Ali Mr. Paton ascribes a masculine intelligence and will for the government of Orientals; under him Egypt grew to compactness, symmetry, and power, though at the expense of individual opulence and liberty. An improved police, the overland transit to India, protection to Franks residing in towns from native insolence and fanaticism, the security of roads and of the great highway of the Nile, and the transformation of wild marauding Bedouins into "auxiliaries of civilization," constitute the favourable side of Mohammed Ali's rule; the ambition which led to rebellion and war, and the terroristic and inhuman systematic pressure on personal labour and resources which he established, constitute its dark aspect.

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[12] "The Political, Social, and Literary History of France, brought down to the Year 1863." By the Rev. Dr. Cobham Brewer, Trinity Hall, Cambridge. London: Jarrold and Sons.

[13] "A History of the Egyptian Revolution from the Period of the Mamelukes to the Death of Mohammed, &c." By A. A. Paton, F.R.G.S., author of "Researches on the Danube and Adriatic." In two vols. London: Trübner and Co. 1863.

In indicating the vices of foreign civilization Mr. Paton does not omit to point out faults of home growth. One of the two which he particularizes is "the Sabbatarian shackle on the rational liberty of the Lord's Day," which he rightly stigmatizes as a violation of the principles and practice of the earliest and most illustrious of the leaders of the Reformation and of the letter and spirit of Christianity. The author of "Ministerial Experiences" seems to be of a different opinion.[14] He talks of the stringency of God's Word, and the literal sense of the Commandments. He tells also an edifying story of an old minister, who whenever he went through the village on Sunday evenings, always carried a riding-whip in his pocket, and who once had whipped the bailiff's eldest son, who had been impertinent to his mother, till the lad was glad to get off by repeating the fourth commandment on his knees before him. Dr. Büchsel, who mentions Luther in the same page of his "Experiences" in which we find this pleasing anecdote, should remember the great Reformer's declaration that the Sabbath had been abolished by the Christians, and that he recommended all who wish to make a Divine commandment of the Sabbath as an institution ordained by God to keep the Saturday and not the Sunday. But, in truth, Dr. Büchsel, in common with many of his profession, does not understand his own trade. In treating of the third commandment he regards it as especially directed against profane swearing, whereas it is in reality directed against perjury, and should be translated "Thou shalt not take the name of Jehovah thy God for falsehood," etc. But sound exegesis is not to be looked for in the roturiers of the pulpit. The little volume before us (dedicated to Professor Hengstenberg) is a strictly pietistic production. The sketches which it contains have already appeared in the *Evangelical Ecclesiastical Journal.* Some details in it on the Prussian Union or State Church are worth noting: some of the passages descriptive of manners and the state of society as regards religion are readable. But the book is suited mainly to those who in the language of a brilliant contemporary can "talk nicely about Jesus."

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[14] "My Ministerial Experiences." By the Rev. Dr. Büchsel, Berlin. London: Alexander Strahan. 1863.

In a book that bears the romantic title of "The Poor Gentlemen of Liége," we have, in the shape which it now assumes, a work of a doubly partisan character: a vindication by the original author, M. Cretineau Joly, of the Jesuits, and a condemnation by the editor and annotator, the Rev. R. J. M'Ghee.[15] The present volume is only a portion of the entire "History of the Company of Jesus," containing, in fact, but two of the eight chapters of the original work. The footnotes and the supplemental commentary for which we are indebted to the editor's anxiety to assist his readers in testing the veracity and credibility of the historian, somewhat exceed in length the translated text. Should the instalment now offered to the public be favourably received, it is proposed that one of the remaining parts shall be published every quarter, so that the whole may be completed within the year. Mr. M'Ghee's object in giving to the world this edition of a "partial transcript of the past progress and present position of the Society of Jesus," is to defeat in some measure its treacherous designs. As decided opponents of Romanism, we trust that the organs of its diffusion will be defeated by the growing good sense of the British people. The thesis of M. Cretineau that Europe now tends towards a dissolution of all faith in Christianity, or to a Catholic reconstruction, is plausible enough. In the conflict of creed which has already commenced there will doubtless be many who, too ignorant or too weak to accept the conclusions of reason, will succumb to what appears to them the least challengeable authority, and we are quite willing that English men and women should be honourably guarded against Jesuitical influence. Of Mr. M'Ghee's qualifications for exercising this guardianship we shall say little. His notes show the violent exasperated antagonist. The history of Jesuitism, he conceives, is the explanation of the difficulty which statesmen experience in governing Ireland. "Every phase of sedition and rebellion," he continues, "from 1641 to 1799, and from that to 1848, whether Peep-o'-day Boys, Caravats, Shanavests, Defenders, Whitefeet, Blackfeet, Rockites, Ribbonmen, or Phœnix conspirators—these have all been alike the disciples, and the Jesuits have been the apostles and missionaries, of their religion and their morals." In another passage (p. cxxv.) he insinuates that Dr. Doyle and Dr. Kirwan were the victims of a mysterious conspiracy, and puts the startling question, "Would the holy fathers give us a sample of their drink—the 'Beatificato'—to be analyzed by Professor Faraday?" While we desire the frustration of all Jesuit attempts, in or out of Great Britain, we have not the slightest sympathy with the blatant Protestant-parson type of antagonism adopted by the commentator on "The History of the Jesuits in England and Ireland for the Last Sixty Years."

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[15] "The Poor Gentlemen of Liége: being the History of the Jesuits in England and Ireland for the last Sixty Years." Translated from their own historian, M. Cretineau Joly. Edited, with preface and supplemental notes and comments, by the Rev. R. J. M'Ghee, M.A., Rector of Holywell-cum-Needingworth. London: John F. Shaw and Co. 1863.

Gustav Kühne, in compliance with his publisher's request, that he would vary the collection of his novels and romances now issuing from the press, by including in it essays and sketches of character, has prepared a compact little volume of political gossip and reflection on prominent events and persons in the troubled period of 1848—1852,[16] which he calls his Diary. A member of the first Frankfort Parliament, Kühne early noted the preparations for a new national existence. The Baden *programme* of reform put an end, he asserts, to every well-grounded hope of successful action. Germany refuted, without hesitation, the French ideal of republican government, and perplexity ensued, to be succeeded by present failure. Yet a *Respublica Germanorum* (in the sense in which England, with her monarchical constitution and her parliamentary self-government, is a republic), has nothing terrific or impracticable about it. The exclusion of Austria, by the party of Von Gagern, was another rock on which the scheme of political renovation foundered. Austria no less than Prussia must be included in every project of German unity. Such is the leading idea of Gustav Kühne, as regards the future of Germany. His volume is distributed into various portions, with titles which illustrate these cardinal positions. It discusses a multitude of subjects, and judges or describes a great variety of persons. From the Reform banquets in France to Lola Montez on the Lake of Geneva; from the outbreak of the cholera to the restoration of Poland; from the speech of Lord John Russell in favour of the Jews to the six *Volksreden* by D. F. Strauss in favour of popular rights and imperial unity—all topics connected with the period are comprised in Herr Gustav Kühne's political sketches.

Captain Gronow's second series of *Reminiscences*, is a work of a lighter and more amusing class than that last noticed.[17] It is a lively and pleasant volume of anecdote, intermixed with occasional comment, reflecting the lineaments of the fashionable and literary life of the last generation, with at least a proximate fidelity to the original. Perhaps the second is a less spontaneous production than the first series, but we think it fairly worth the hour which may be consumed in turning over its pages. Recollections of Waterloo, electioneering experiences, military talk, and witty story, succeed with a movement so rapid, that the reader is constantly amused, and sometimes instructed. Among the portraits sketched are those of Lady Aldborough, Count d'Orsay,

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[16] "Mein Tagebuch in bewegter Zeit." Von Gustav Kühne. London: Williams and Norgate. 1863.

[17] "Recollections and Anecdotes: being a second series of Reminiscences of the Camp, the Court, and the Clubs." By Captain R. H. Gronow, formerly of the Grenadier Guards, and M.P. for Stafford. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1863.

Lord Dudley, and Lord Alvanley. Though the gallant portrait-painter says, "everybody knows the story of Gunter, the pastrycook," we venture to repeat it here. He was mounted on a runaway horse with the King's hounds, and excused himself for riding against Alvanley by saying, "Oh, my lord, I can't hold him, he's so hot." "Ice him, Gunter, ice him," was the consoling reply.

From the Ice of the West we turn to "The Lights and Shades of the East." The volume so named is also entitled, "A Study of the Life of Baboo Harrischander, and Passing Thoughts on India and its People, their Present and Future."[18] Baboo Harrischander, in the opinion of the author, Framji Bomanji, approaches to a just conception of what an educated young native should be. Harris, born in 1824, was the second son of a Koolin Bramin, an absolute beggar, or only a shade or two removed from the strict professional standard of mendicancy. Installed as a charity boy at a village seminary, Harris mastered every subject of his curriculum to the extent of his tutor's capacity, and leaving school at the early age of thirteen, commenced life as a common clerk on ten rupees a month, "and culminated as an assistant military auditor." In process of time he became a journalist, denounced the annexation policy, and "triumphantly cried out for justice to India." As the single-handed editor of the *Hindoo Patriot*, he appears to have acquired some influence, extorting the good opinion of Mr. Russell, the *Times* correspondent, who, "after some acquaintance but much hesitation," vouchsafed to style him in his graphic pages "the Lucullus of India." To Harris's energy and exertions his admiring biographer ascribes the success of the *British India Association*, which, he adds, promises at no distant date to be the glorious *House of Commons in India*. The subject of this panegyric seems to have died in or about June 1861. Besides the biographical sketch contained in this volume, we have a good deal of didactic and speculative matter, and this embodiment of opinion on the part of an educated native of India, is surely not without interest. The volume, made up in part of desultory lectures and undelivered sketches, shows some literary skill, and evinces considerable reading. In two of the thirteen chapters into which it is divided, the author discusses the question of India's regeneration. While asserting the derelictions of Anglo-Indian government, the author allows that the policy of England, in spite of its little anomalies, has ever continued to be just; and, believing that during the century of India's subjugation, freedom of person, property, and conscience have been secured her, such as she never before enjoyed, he desiderates the continuance of that subjection till after she has attained to the position of self-management. The one great measure which is requisite for the permanent establishment of British supremacy in India is, our author maintains, British colonization to resist the future aggression of France and Russia, and introduce our northern energy and intelligence among the dull and torpid millions of India, so as to develop the rich resources of the soil, at present almost entirely neglected. Assuming a prophetic strain, Framji Bomanji does not hesitate to announce a splendid future for India, conditional on England's fulfilment of her threefold mission—of mental elevation, material development, and commercial expansion. We trust the sanguine vaticination may in some degree be realized.

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[18] "Lights and Shades of the East; or a Study of the Life of Baboo Harrischander, &c." By Framji Bomanji, late of the Elphinstone College. Bombay: Chesson and Woodhall, printers. 1863.

In Alexander Wilson we have another instance of the triumph of patient endeavour over the depressing influences of poverty.[19] A curious literary partnership is that of the prince and the pedlar, Charles Lucien Bonaparte and Alexander Wilson, one of whom began and the other completed the well-known classical work on American Ornithology. Born at Paisley on the 6th of July, 1766, Alexander Wilson, after his brief school-time was brought to a close, was bound apprentice at the age of thirteen to his brother-in-law, who, like our hero's father, was a weaver. During a four-years' journeymanship Alexander wrote most of his poems, some of which were attributed to Burns, with whom Wilson afterwards became acquainted. In his twentieth year the young handloom weaver "rebelled, stored and strapped a green pack on his back, took a hazel staff in his hand, and started as a pedlar—" the prototype, in point of fact, of the Wanderer in "The Excursion." After three years' travel the new Autolycus found that his career as packman and poet was by no means successful. Reluctantly returning to his former trade, but indulging a satirical turn, and so coming to grief, the ex-pedlar soon resolved to emigrate, and on the 14th of July, 1794, found himself within the Capes of the Delawares. Here a complete forest of trees presented itself to his view, and in that forest he was destined to be a solitary student for many years. His pursuits as schoolmaster, poet, and ornithologist are briefly indicated in Mr. Paton's agreeable pamphlet-biography, which, in addition to the hasty narrative of incident, embodies several letters never before published. Wilson died on the 23rd of August, 1813, during the publication of "his nine noble volumes." His dust lies in the Cemetery of the Swedish Church in Southwark, Philadelphia.

From Wilson's peaceful triumphs on American soil, we pass to the consideration of certain phases of the great contest now waging there. In "A Military View of Recent Campaigns in Virginia and Maryland," Captain C. C. Chesney has, so far as we can judge, contributed an admirable essay towards the elucidation of his theme.[20] Written in a lucid, graphic, and perfectly simple style, he appears to have quite attained his object, "to collect from existing sources such a narrative as shall put before the general reader all the really important matter, without wearying him with unnecessary details." In entering on this narrative, Captain Chesney undertakes to show why, in their attempt to drive the Southern Government from its chosen seat at Richmond, the Federals had, up to the end of 1862, made no more progress than on the unlucky day of July 1861, when, under the command of M'Dowell, they first advanced against the position of Manassas. In his estimate of the opposing armies and their leaders, he has tried to do justice to both sides. The army of the North (130,000 volunteers) was, in March 1862, well equipped, had a formidable artillery, an inadequate staff, and few and bad cavalry. The Southern army, scarcely half its strength, was also very inferior in equipment; but the South had from the first "the special advantage, derived from her aristocratically composed society, of a class of men accustomed to command and lead others." Nearly all the generals too were distinguished pupils of Westpoint Academy, always more frequented by Southerners than the sons of the more commercial North. In cavalry, the Confederates were superior to their opponents, having preserved the practice of horsemanship; they had also an improved military organization, and the spirit of the men was excellent. On the other hand, a defective organization, a democratic spirit, and cabinet interference were elements of disaster existing, from the commencement, in the army of the North. Turning to the generals, we find M'Clellan, who had "enjoyed a full theoretical training at Westpoint," commended for previous knowledge, for organizing talent, and personal ascendancy, but frustrated, from the beginning, by Government intermeddling. It was this intermeddling that rendered futile M'Clellan's success at Hanover Courthouse, and which, by enforcing the recall of M'Dowell, and the destruction of the railway bridges between the two generals, proved so fatal to all the hopes which M'Clellan had formed. M'Clellan, indeed, perhaps threw away a reasonable chance, after the battle of Fair Oaks, of advancing against Richmond; but when he urged on the Washington Cabinet the feasibility of attacking that place, by way of the James, his suggestions were disregarded and reinforcements were refused. Aided by these errors of omission and commission, the brilliant operations of Jackson, comparable to "the more famous week of victories of Napoleon in 1814," soon turned a "doubtful struggle into one long series of triumphs for the South." The very day of Hooker's advance, Jackson's corps, flushed with their late successes, approached, while M'Clellan still imagined them fully occupied in the North; and the attack of the Confederates on the afternoon of the 26th of June ended in the retreat of the Federal army, with enormous loss. Of the great Southern chief our author has a high opinion. To him he ascribes "the genius which enables a general to throw over at the right time the methodical rules of war." Known at Westpoint for his reserved manner, and distinguished in later years in the Mexican war, Jackson's popularity at the College of Virginia, where he was afterwards employed, had been impeded by a disposition to eccentricity and hypochondria. Captain Chesney describes him in an earlier page of his book as simple, abstemious, and devout, "dividing his spare hours between his Bible and his field-map," "a leader, who seems to combine the habits of Suwarrow with the self-discipline of Cromwell, and to be trusted by his soldiery as though he were prophet as well as general;" and in the supplementary section, he says that a great cause has seldom suffered more by a single death. 'Courage, nobleness, and genius always deserve the tribute of human sympathy and admiration; but the greatness of the cause in which this renowned soldier fell is what it is very difficult to see. In fighting for Independence, the South are fighting for liberty to *found a Slave Power.* Should it prove successful, truer devil's work, if we may use the metaphor, will rarely have been done. In fighting for the Union, the North fought, primarily, for the *non-extension,* and is now fighting, as we trust, for the eventual extinction of slavery,—work surely not without some sparkle of Divine justice in it. We only regret that such a cause has not the good wishes of the able, temperate, and impartial reviewer of "Recent Campaigns in Virginia and Maryland." But we must leave our readers to follow his progress through Pope's campaign, to the Fall of Harper's Ferry, the Battle of Antietam, Fredericksburg, and Chancellorsville, not without expressing a final confidence that they will approve of their guide.

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[19] "Wilson the Ornithologist. A New Chapter in his Life (embodying many letters hitherto unpublished)." By Allan Park Paton. London: Longman, Green, and Company. 1863.

[20] "A Military View of Recent Campaigns in Virginia and Maryland." By Capt. C. C. Chesney, R.E., Professor of Military History, Sandhurst College. With Maps. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1863.

BELLES LETTRES.

"IT is one of the best results of modern studies," remarks the author of a book[1] which illustrates the truth of the observation, "that if in some departments of knowledge there is less learning, there is in general a truer discernment of the spirit of the past, and of the points of resemblance and difference between ancient and modern civilization. In many provinces of inquiry it may be seen that criticism is striving with a genuine sympathy to penetrate to the heart of earlier times, and to separate the treasures of lasting worth from the materials of trivial value, which have been borne down casually among the accumulated spoils of time." And it is in such a spirit of discerning sympathy that Mr. Sellar has entered upon his task, and has traced the growth of Roman poetry from the small original germ which, in spite of the overwhelming influence of Greek literature and culture, did nevertheless take firm root in its native soil, and produced fruit which was strictly and essentially Roman. Rejecting the theory so boldly advanced by Niebuhr, that there had been a golden age of national poetry long before the time of Ennius, Mr. Sellar considers Nævius to have been the first native poet. Of his writings only a few fragments have been preserved, but many of his expressions became proverbial, and one of them, "Laudari a laudato viri," is so still.

Mr. Sellar divides the history of Roman poetry into four periods:—

1. The age of Nævius, Ennius, Lucilius, &c., extending from about B.C. 240 till about B.C. 100.

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[1] "The Roman Poets of the Republic." By W. Y. Sellar, M.A. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas. 1863.

2. The age of Lucretius and Catullus, immediately before the fall of the Republic; from about B.C. 60 to about B.C. 46.

3. The Augustan age.

4. The whole period of the Empire after the time of Augustus.

These divisions appear to us somewhat arbitrary, nor can we think that Mr. Sellar has altogether made good his assertion that "each is distinctly marked in form, style, and character," however obvious may be the enormous interval that separates the rude simplicity of Ennius from the polished grace of Virgil. This volume embraces two of the periods above named, and the early chapters on the origin and peculiarities of Roman poetry give the results of careful study and sound criticism in a very complete form. Equally valuable are the elaborate notice of Ennius, and the various traits of personal character which set the old self-confident Calabrian before us in the stir and tumult of the greatest days of the Republic, and show the peculiar influences under which his rare genius was developed. But the most able and the most important portion of this work is that which treats of Lucretius. More than a third of the volume is devoted to him, and the result is the most complete and searching analysis we possess of the great work of one of the most courageous thinkers of antiquity. As we read his grave and weighty lines, we think more of the disciple of Epicurus, of the eager searcher into the hidden laws of nature, and of the bold assailant of effete superstitions, than of the poet; although, as our author has well shown, there is a grandeur, a pathos, and at times a sublimity, of thought and expression, which amply entitle him to the rank which modern rather than ancient critics assign him. The following admirable passage is a fair example of the wise, philosophical spirit in which he has been studied:—

> "The full light in which ancient poetry, politics, and mental philosophy are read, make us apt to forget that a great part even of the intellectual life of antiquity is only revealed to us in uncertain twilight or in rare gleams of sunshine. In no other ancient writer is this light so full and clear as in Lucretius. If for nothing else, his poem would thus be valuable as a witness to the ardent and disinterested curiosity, felt long ago, to penetrate the secrets of nature, and as affording examples of the clear, varied, and minute power of observation which ministered to this curiosity. The Greek masters, whom he followed, are preserved only in fragments. It is something to realize, by the lights of this poem, the impression which they produced on the mind of one who tried to follow in their footsteps. The genius of Plato and Aristotle may be estimated perhaps as justly in modern as in ancient times. But the great intellectual life of Democritus, Empedocles, or Anaxagoras, escapes our notice in the more familiar studies of classical literature. The work of Lucretius is especially valuable on this ground, that we are reminded in it of the amount of thought and feeling that was lavished upon the earliest inquiries into nature. In some respects the general ignorance of the times enhances our sense of the greatness of individual philosophers. Each new attempt to understand the world was an original act of creative power. The intellectual strength of the poet himself must also be taken into account as some measure of the strength of his masters, whose opinion he adopted, and who filled his mind with affection and astonishment. The history of the physical science of the ancients is not, indeed, so interesting or important as that of their metaphysical philosophy. And this is so, not only on account of the comparative scantiness of their real acquisitions

in the one as compared with the great ideas which they have contributed to the other, and with the masterpieces which they have added to its literature; but still more on this account, that in physical knowledge new discovery supplants the place of previous error or ignorance, and can be understood without reference to what has been supplanted: whereas the power and meaning of philosophical ideas are unintelligible apart from the knowledge of their origin and development. The history of physical science in ancient times affords satisfaction to a natural curiosity, but is not an indispensable branch of scientific study. The history of ancient mental philosophy, on the other hand,—the source not only of most of our metaphysical ideas and terms, but of many of the most familiar thoughts and words in daily use,—is the basis of our highest speculation. Yet among the various kinds of interest which this poem has for different classes of modern readers, this is not to be forgotten, that it enables a student of science to estimate the actual discoveries, and, still more, the prognostications of discovery attained by the irregular methods of early inquiry. . . . . Thus, for instance, the doctrines concerning the elemental atoms and their ceaseless motion, explained in the first two books, and of the 'simulacra' or images reflected from all objects, in the fourth book, although in themselves arbitrary assumptions, and fancifully and erroneously applied to the explanation of phenomena, yet have a real relation to the more substantial theories of modern times, and imply some finer and subtler gifts than even the clear and vivid observation which belonged to the ancient mind." (pp. 251-3.)

The remarks upon Catullus, with which the volume concludes, are distinguished by the same discriminating appreciation and power of entering into the spirit of the times as well as of the individual poet, but they will not be read with the same interest as is awakened by the masterly chapters upon Lucretius. The only drawback to the pleasure and profit afforded by this valuable and scholarly work is an occasional redundance and laboured amplification, which render the style heavy and weaken its force. The author promises a continuation of his subject to the close of the Augustan age at some future time.

From the poets of declining Rome, enfeebled by the corruption of a dying civilization, Mr. Clarke[2] invites us to the study of our own Shakespeare, in whose joyous and plenteous spirit we trace the poet of an heroic age, fired with new thoughts, and rich in great deeds. The title of Mr. Clarke's book is a little misleading. Some years ago he gave a course of lectures upon the subordinate characters of Shakespeare, and when urged to publish them, he found that the form in which they had been delivered was not well adapted for perusal. He therefore remodelled them, and the present volume of essays is the result. But these are not by any means devoted to the "subordinate characters;" they consist of fluent gossiping remarks upon twenty of Shakespeare's plays, by an untiring and enthusiastic student, who tells us that in pondering and repondering them for the chief part of his life, his admiration has increased with his study, and whose deep appreciation of "the greatest and most loveable genius that was ever vouchsafed to humanity" has enabled him to discover some beauties and excellences, both of thought and treatment, which have escaped his many fellow labourers in the same fruitful field. It is true that the thought will at times suggest itself that it might surprise Shakespeare himself to hear of profound meanings and subtleties of expression which are detected in passages, where, to the naked eye of the uninitiated, something more obvious and common seems to be intended; but many of Mr. Clarke's observations are both ingenious and instructive, and he is especially happy in his analysis of some of the more striking female characters. Here we detect—as indeed he leads us to do—the hand of the authoress of "World-noted Women," to whose constant aid in his Shakespearian researches her husband pays a graceful tribute. It detracts somewhat from the pleasure this volume affords, to come across so many Germanized words, such as "heart-homely," "heart-friend," "murder-tale," and passages of such oppressive splendour as "amid the glittering firmament of beauties with which this amazing drama is studded," and "that lusty season of life when the luscious honey-dew of youth has not yet dried up or evaporated, and when the sinews of genius have consolidated into the firm maturity of luxuriantly developed manhood." But neither faults of style nor occasional offences against good taste will prevent this pleasant volume from being well received by the few whom it will remind of treasures they know full well, and by the many whom it may serve to guide to the golden mine from which it is too much the tendency of the modern worship of whatsoever is new to decoy them. Neither class of readers will, we think, be much attracted by a new German work,[3] of which the first volume only has yet appeared. An elaborate examination of all the conclusions of the "deutsche Ästhetik" on our great dramatist will hardly interest the English Shakespearians, and the dissertation on *Hamlet* goes over ground which they are weary of traversing. More of novelty will, at any rate, be found in the volume by Mr. Hackett,[4] the American actor, whose appearance in the character of Falstaff at Drury Lane in 1839, and at Covent Garden in 1845, will be remembered by the playgoing public. Mr. Hackett's book contains a good deal about Shakespeare, and a good deal also about Mr. Hackett. His portrait graces the beginning, and a florid sketch of his life, by Charles J. Foster, at the end of the volume, assures us that "when he, and you, and I, and sixty years have gone, old gentlemen will say to the playgoer of the day, 'I saw Hackett in Falstaff, sir. He was the finest Sir John that ever enacted the character!' And when sixty times sixty years have elapsed, I have little doubt that the dramatic critic and antiquary will declare, 'the real Falstaff died with Hackett, and one of Shakespeare's masterpieces is, as yet, no more!'" Remarks upon different actors of Hamlet (including the author himself), with descriptions of their style and personal appearance, occupy a considerable portion of this book, and Part V[illegible] on "Shakespearian Subjects" contains letters from Lord Carlisle, Washington Irving, &c., addressed to the author. Among these, one of the most curious is a study of "the character of Desdemona," by John Quincy Adams, which propounds a view of Shakespeare's purpose in the tragedy which could hardly have suggested itself to any one whose notions upon race and colour had been formed on Shakespeare's side of the Atlantic. Mr. Adams has a very low opinion of poor Desdemona's morals; hints hard things of a young woman who could be fascinated by "the tale of a rude unbleached African soldier;" and sums up his charges in the following indignant passage:—

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[2] "Shakespeare-Characters; chiefly those subordinate." By Charles Cowden Clarke. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1863.

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[3] "Shakspeare in seiner Wirklichkeit." Von J. L. F. Flathe. Erster Theil. Leipzig: Dyk'sche Buchhandlung. London: Williams and Norgate. 1863.

[4] "Notes and Comments upon certain Plays and Actors of Shakespeare, with Criticisms and Correspondence." By James Henry Hackett. New York: Carleton. 1863.

> "My objections to the character of Desdemona arise not from what Iago, or Roderigo, or Brabantio, or Othello says of her; but from what she herself *does*. She absconds from her father's house, in the dead of night, to marry a blackamoor. She breaks her father's heart, and covers his noble house with shame, to gratify—what? Pure love, like that of Juliet or Miranda? No! unnatural passion; it cannot be named with delicacy. Her admirers now say, this is criticism of 1835; that the colour of Othello has nothing to do with the passion of Desdemona. No? Why, if Othello had been white, what need would there have been for her running away with him? Her father could have made no reasonable objection to it; and there could have been no tragedy. If the colour of Othello is not as vital to the whole tragedy as the age of Juliet is to her character and destiny, then have I read Shakespeare in vain. The father of Desdemona charges Othello with magic arts in obtaining the affections of his daughter. Why, because her passion for him is *unnatural;* and why is it unnatural, but because of his colour?"—p. 235.

Mr. Adams admits that the moral lesson to be learnt from the story could be of no "practical utility" in England, but considers nevertheless that the play was written as a warning against ill-assorted marriages. The grandest picture of the despair of love betrayed ever traced by human hand, reduced to a protest against elopements! Scarcely less remarkable, and we believe purely transatlantic, is the attempt of Mr. Hackett to prove from certain phrases, and from the fact that "blood" is mentioned five hundred times, and "heart" a thousand, that Shakespeare was acquainted with Harvey's theory of the circulation, and also that his knowledge of the law of gravitation fifty years before Newton is established by the following speech of Cressida:—

> "But the strong base and building of my love
> Is as the very centre of the earth,
> *Drawing all things to it!*"

But even discourses such as these, betraying true love and veneration for our great poet, are better than the cold, self-satisfied criticisms of the last century, when Goldsmith complained of the "inconsistent and incongruous" reasoning of Hamlet.

The essay which prefaces Mr. Monier Williams's analysis[5] of the two great Indian epic poems—the Rámáyana, or adventures of Rama, and the Mahá-bhárata, or story of the descendants of Bharata,—though clear, well written, and worthy of so distinguished a Sans[illegible]t scholar, will hardly tend to lessen the involuntary shrinking which that easily-cowed personage, the general reader, experiences when he occasionally makes an effort to arrive at something like a clear view of Hindú mythology. The increased attention which has of late years been directed to the study of Oriental literature has hardly done more than show us the extent of our ignorance, and the great, seemingly impassable, gulf which separates the mind of the West — exact, logical, and progressive — from that of the vague, stagnant, brooding Hindú. The more we know and understand of the ancient and popular tales which still form their all-sufficing intellectual food, the more broad and deep does this gulf appear, and the more hopeless the attempt to bridge it over from our side. The very size and length of their favourite poems are disheartening; the Odyssey and the Iliad together do not contain much more than 30,000 lines, whereas these two Indian poems contain 270,000, and everything else on the same gigantic scale; King Sagara has 60,000 sons, and there are at least twenty-one different hells for the wicked; time is counted by millions of years, and space by millions of miles. There is one singular resemblance between the Iliad and the Rámáyana; the subject of both is a war undertaken to recover the wife of one warrior carried off by a hero on the other side, but Sítá and Ráma are both paragons of virtue, and the beautiful devotion of the former to her husband contrasts strongly with the character of the fickle Helen. These poems, in fact, bear witness to a state of society in many ways less barbarous than that described in the Homeric poems; there is more refinement and luxury, less cruelty, and in general a higher moral tone, and a deep religious meaning underlying the narrative. This is especially the case with the Rámáyana, which Mr. Williams assigns to the fifth century B.C. The Mahá-bhárata is of later date, and "is rather a cyclopædia of Hindú mythology, legendary history, and philosophy, than a poem with a single subject. It is divided into eighteen books, nearly every one of which would form a large volume, and the whole is a vast thesaurus of national legends, said to have been collected and arranged by Vyása (the Hindú Pisistratus, or supposed compiler of the Vedas and Puránas)." But in spite of their prolixity, childish exaggerations, and redundancy of metaphor, many and great beauties both of feeling and description are to be found in these voluminous epics; and some of the episodes, such as the "Story of Nala," which has been so admirably translated by Dean Milman, evince true poetic sentiment, while in others the higher strains of religious adoration are finely and eloquently given. Of this the following address of the gods to Vishnu is an example:—

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[5] "Indian Epic Poetry: being the substance of Lectures recently given at Oxford." By Monier Williams, M.A., Boden Prof. of Sanscrit. London: Williams and Norgate. 1863.

"O Thou, whom threefold might and splendour veil,
Maker, Preserver, and Destroyer—hail!
Thy gaze surveys this world from clime to clime,
Thyself immeasurable in space and time:
To no corrupt desires, no passions prone:
Unconquered Conqueror, Infinite Unknown:
Though in one form Thou veilst Thy might divine,
Still at Thy pleasure every form is Thine:

Pure crystals thus prismatic hues assume,
As varying lights and varying tints illume:
Men think Thee absent—Thou art ever near:
Pitying those sorrows which Thou ne'er canst fear:
Unsordid penance Thou alone canst pay:
Unchanged—unchanging—old without decay:—
Thou knowest all things:—who thy praise can state?
Createdst all things, Thyself uncreate."—p. 5.

The long-expected correspondence of Goethe with the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar[6] has at length appeared. In one of the early letters of the series, Goethe writes from Rome, "Burn my letters at once, in order that they may be seen by no one else; in this hope I can write all the more freely;" and he elsewhere mentions having burnt the letters he received, from a strong dislike to the publication of matters only intended for the eye of friendship. These clearly expressed wishes on the part of their illustrious relative made the Goethe family unwilling to give his correspondence to the world; but their natural and honourable scruples have given way, for no better reason, that we can discover, than that, as Goethe had *not* burnt all his friend's letters, he may have changed his mind in his latter days. A correspondence more thoroughly unreserved and confidential, and yet containing so little which the most discreet literary executor would wish to conceal, it would be hard to find. It spreads over half a century, having continued without interruption until within a few weeks of the Grand Duke's death, and exhibits both prince and poet in the most amiable light; sharing each other's pursuits, entering cordially into each other's occupations, and each turning to his friend at all times and under all circumstances with the most complete confidence in his affection and sympathy. There is no trace in these letters of the cold-blooded selfishness which characterized Goethe's conduct in other relations; outspoken and frank, he at the same time nevers forgets the tone of self-respecting deference due to the rank of his friend, although the friend constantly addresses him as "old fellow," and writes with all the playful *abandon* of the closest friendship, now in an agony to know where to get bell-glasses for his plants, now eager for information on the sugar-producing qualities of different kinds of potatoes, and now enthusiastic about a new book for his library or a new shrub for his garden. The letters are upon all subjects, but mostly upon those which were the great business of the Grand Duke's life—his theatre and his manifold collections, numismatic, botanical, anatomical, and artistic. Not that the material interests of his people are by any means neglected; there is a long State-paper-like document by Goethe on the expediency of curbing the liberty of the press; nor are politics altogether overlooked, although it is evident that they both took a more lively interest in a model of the battle-field of Jena than in the battle itself or its issues. When the Grand Duke came to England with all the princes and potentates in 1814, he thus recorded his chief impressions from that memorable visit, in a letter dated Aix-la-Cha[illegible]e, August 6th, 1814:—

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[6] "Briefwechsel des Grossherzogs Carl August von Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach mit Goethe in den Jahren von 1775 bis 1828." Weimar: Landes-Industrie-Comptoir. London: Nutt. 1863.

> "I have taken eight baths, and I hope that fifteen will sufficiently cleanse me. Some purification was very needful after swallowing so many English toasts and hurrahs. . . I have much to tell you in praise of the famous island. What one sees there surpasses all expectation, but life is not enjoyable unless one has been there for some time and can speak English readily. The climate is at once the most fruitful and the most disagreeable in the world. The cedar of Lebanon, the Portuguese laurel, and *the gout*, all thrive there in an astonishing way. The latter began to attack me in good earnest. One of the most singular things I saw was in the British Museum—a fossil female skeleton in limestone of a close formation unknown to us, white as chalk and fine-grained as sandstone. It comes from Guadaloupe. I have ordered a copy of it. The number and magnificence of the art-treasures in London and in private country houses surpasses all belief, but they take a great deal of finding out. England is truly the paradise of mechanical art. Some miles north of Birmingham Mr. Watt brought me to some mines of coal and ironstone, near to which were forges and foundries. Further on were 250 fire-engines, all covering a space of one square mile, and all belonging to *one* manufactory. Many more such manufactories were near at hand, so that I am not overshooting the mark when I say that I saw a thousand chimneys all smoking at once. The sun was darkened for miles, and the whole district is covered with the black dust this smoke deposits."—vol. ii. p. 51.

Goethe's letters from Rome are full of details about matters of art, but he complains (in 1787) of the dearness of articles, which only Russians and English, who think nothing of ten thousand scudi, can afford to buy; nevertheless he has the happiness of describing a cast of Raphael's skull, which he says he is bringing home with other evidences that he has been in Paradise. A great number of the letters in this collection are short scraps of no literary value whatever, sometimes containing only a "How are you, old fellow?" or the information that the writer has recovered from his cold. But they form, on the whole, a very interesting contribution to the letters of eminent persons, and set before us in vivid colours the earnest trifling and refined materialism of a phase of society strangely unlike our own.

Two thick volumes on Christian names[7] contain much curious information well put together. In her modest preface, the authoress says: "I have only had recourse to original authorities when their modern interpreters have failed me, secure that their conclusions are more trustworthy than my own could be with my limited knowledge;" her work therefore does not aspire to be more than a compilation, and as such it appears to be well and carefully done, and treats of a branch of etymological inquiry which has not hitherto received the attention due to its importance and to the light it throws on many questions of philology. The first volume contains the history of names of Hebrew, Persian, Greek, and Latin derivation: the second is devoted to those of Celtic, Teutonic, and Slavonic origin, and concludes with a very clear summary of the distinguishing features of modern European nomenclature. Wherever Christianity spread, Scripture names and the names of saints soon took root; at the present day it is compulsory in Russia that every child shall receive at baptism the name of some saint chosen from the orthodox calendar. The chances and accidents which have regulated the introduction and prevalence of certain Christian names to the exclusion of others, would in itself be an amusing subject of investigation. Thus the name of Joseph was scarcely used in Europe before 1621, when the Pope fixed a day for the festival of St. Joseph, the husband of the Virgin: forthwith we have Giuseppes, Beppos, and Josefas in abundance. A popular book has sometimes been the means of introducing new names, in proof of which there is still a village in Picardy where "exist living specimens of Oriane, Philosène, Célamen, Arsinoe, Calvandre, all derived from vassals named by their enthusiastic seigneurs in honour of the heroines of Madlle. de Scudery's 'Artaban, ou le Grand Cyrus,' and still inherited by their posterity long after the seigneurs and the heroines are alike forgotten." The present century has produced and canonized a saint in every way as remarkable as the first Saint Veronica:—

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[7] "History of Christian Names." By the Author of "The Heir of Redclyffe," &c. &c. London: Parker, Son, and Bourn. 1863.

> "In 1802 an inscription with the first and last letter destroyed was found in the catacombs which stood thus, *lumena pax tecum fi.* A Jesuit suggested that *Fi* should be put at the beginning of the sentence instead of the end, and by this remarkable trick produced *Filumena.* Thereupon a devout artizan, a priest, and a nun were all severally visited by visions of a virgin martyr, who told them the story of Diocletian's love for her, of her refusal, and subsequent martyrdom; and explained that, having once been called Lumena, she was baptized Filumena, which she explained as a daughter of light. Some human remains near the stone being dignified as relics of St. Filomena, she was presented to Mugnano; and on the way not only worked many miracles on her adorers, but actually repaired her own skeleton, and made her hair grow. So many wonders are said to have been worked by this phantom saint, the mere produce of a blundered inscription, that a book printed at Paris in the year 1847 calls her 'La Thaumaturge du 19me Siècle,' and she is by far the most fashionable patroness in the Romish Church. Filomena abounds in Rome, encouraged by the example of a little Filomena whose mosquito-net was every night removed by the saint who herself kept off the gnats. She is making her way in Spain; and it will not be the fault of the author of 'La Thaumaturge' if Philomene is not as common in France. The likeness to Philomela farther inspired Longfellow with the fancy of writing a poem on Florence Nightingale as St. Philomena, whence it is possible that the antiquaries of New Zealand, in the twenty-ninth century, will imagine St. Philomena or Philomela to be the heroine of the Crimean war."—vol. i. p. 425.

The writer has, for the most part, kept clear of the tempting snares which lead to fanciful and far-fetched derivations (why does she give "lion-fame" as the equivalent of "Androcles"?), and while she has thrown the results of her reading into a form sufficiently popular to be read with pleasure by those unversed in her special study, she has collected a mass of trustworthy, well-arranged information, which will give her book a substantial and lasting value to all who are engaged in philological researches.

Complaints against droning preachers are as common as abuse of the street musicians, but among all the professors of elocution who have tried to lay down a system of rules by which the art of public speaking may be learnt, we have never seen so much good sense and sound practical knowledge brought together on this subject as in the volume before us by the well-known Editor of the *Law Times*.[8] Mr. Cox is modest in his expectations; all that he ventures to hope from his lessons is to enable a man to speak so as to be heard without pain, and to read so as to be understood without difficulty,—achievements which, as he too truly observes, are as rare as they should be universal among educated men. The advice given to the student in these pages is excellent because it is the result of long experience, but the gist of it is contained in a very few words:—"The first qualification of an Orator is *to have something to say*. The second is *to sit down when he has said it*." How is this "something" to be got? "Two words convey the whole lesson—*Read* and *think*. What should you read? Everything. What think about? All subjects that present themselves." "I can proffer to you no rules for learning to understand what you read." "I can give you no instructions for obtaining thought." A well-stored mind, well-drilled faculties, and a cultivated taste are the qualifications without which the mere technicalities of delivery, manner, and style are in vain, although a sufficient attention to these is strenuously insisted on. The remarks on reading are as admirable as the chapters devoted to oratory, and are of such universal application that we trust they will recommend this clever and instructive book to other than professional readers. Many of its precepts have yet to be learnt by some of our public speakers, according to Mr. Moon, who publishes a second "Defence"[9] in reply to the second "Plea" of the Dean of Canterbury, and fulminates with growing wrath against the Dean's as distinguished from the Queen's English. The second part of the Dean's "Plea" appeared in the June Number of *Good Words*, and is chiefly devoted to answering the strictures of Mr. Moon on the first part, though, as it appears to us, with very indifferent success. Many of the questions at issue are not worth discussion, and are of a nature to admit of no decisive conclusions: the Dean's style of writing is awkward and slovenly, that of his antagonist remarkably terse and clear, and bearing witness to a sensitiveness of ear and taste which are glaringly deficient in his opponent. Dean Alford's articles were originally lectures, and he has not avoided the common snare of lecturers, who, distrusting the inherent interest of their subject, become vulgar and jocose in their endeavour to be lively, and he has laid himself open to criticism as much for bad taste as for questionable syntax. Still Mr. Moon's indignant rhetoric is almost too strong for his theme, and his castigation of the Dean's mistakes more severe than they are worth, however great may be the temptation to handle a self-confident and careless antagonist in this fashion:—

> "You speak of my demolishing your character for accuracy. I do not know what character you have for accuracy; but this I know, that whenever I see

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[8] "The Art of Writing, Reading, and Speaking. In Letters to a Law Student." By Edward W. Cox, Recorder of Falmouth. London: John Crockford. 1863.

[9] "A Second Defence of the Queen's English." By G. Washington Moon, F.R.S.L. London: Hatchard and Co. 1863.

a man sensitively jealous of any one point in his character in particular, I am not often wrong in taking that jealousy to be a sure indication of conscious weakness in that very point. Now, what are the facts of the case with regard to yourself? I have given several instances of your gross *in*accuracy. I take no notice of unimportant misquotations of my own sentences and of the Scriptures, though I could mention several of each in your second essay; but what are we to say to the following? It is, if intentional, which I cannot believe, the boldest instance of misquotation of Scripture to suit a particular purpose that I ever met with; and yet by what strange chance it can have happened that this singular misquotation is simply an error is quite incomprehensible. Still, I am sure it *must* have been unintentional; but it is such an error, that to have fallen into it will, I hope, serve so to convince you that you, like other mortals, are liable to err, that the remembrance of it will be a powerful restraint on your indignation, if others should venture, as I have done, to call in question your accuracy. The singular instance of misquotation to which I refer is the following: Speaking of the adverb '*only,*' and of its proper position in a sentence, you say 'The adverb *only*, in many instances where strictly speaking it ought to follow its verb, and to limit the objects of the verb, is in good English placed before the verb. Let us take some examples of this from the great storehouse of good English, our Authorized Version of the Bible. In Numbers xii. 2, we read, "Hath the Lord *only spoken* by Moses? hath He not spoken also by us?" According to some of my correspondents, and to Mr. Moon's pamphlet (p. 12), this ought to be, "Hath the Lord *spoken only* by Moses?" I venture to prefer very much the words as they stand.' Now, strange as it may appear after your assertion, it is nevertheless a fact that the words, as you quote them, do *not* occur either in the Authorized Version, known as King James's Bible of 1611, or in our present version, *or in any other version that I have ever seen;* and the words in which you say I and your other correspondents would have written them, *do* occur *in every copy of the Scriptures to which I have referred!* So you very much prefer the words as they stand, do you? Ha! ha! ha! *So do I.* When next you write about the adverb '*only,*' be sure you quote *only* the right passage of Scripture to suit your purpose; and on no account be guilty of perverting the sacred text; for these are not the days when the laity will accept without proof, where proof is possible, the statements of even the Dean of Canterbury." —p. 37.

Here is rather an ugly dilemma, Mr. Moon being unquestionably right. Will the Dean say of this pamphlet as he did of the first, that it reminds him of the old story of the attorney who endorsed the brief: —"No case: abuse the plaintiff!"

Three Essays[10] on the distinction between learning and science, on language as an instrument of thought, and on the nature of poetry, contain some ingenious remarks on certain questions of mental science, on the difference between speculative and practical knowledge, and on the inadequacy of language to interpret ideas. The author indulges in long digressions, scattering suggestions rather than establishing principles, and leaving the reader with a sense of disappointment and unsatisfied expectation. The last essay consists in great measure of quotations, and of the definitions of poetry which have been given by other writers. The author adds one more to the number, which is a fair example of his grave and colourless style:—

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[10] "Three Essays: I. Learning and Science; II. Science and Language; III. Language and Poetry." London: Smith and Elder. 1863.

"To sum up our conclusions then:—Poetry may be, and often is, taken to mean merely metrical composition; but this is not the sense in which the word is employed when we speak of a passage, often of prose, as being full of poetry. Poetry, again, is in another sense that sort of composition, generally in verse, which is calculated to call forth the contemplative emotions; its object being simply to please by producing the emotion, or sometimes to prepare by such feelings for the reception of more active emotions. Amongst such of these compositions as are directed merely to the quieter feelings, there are some which we consider pre-eminently poetical; and these we find agree in calling forth a peculiar emotion: an emotion which is not exclusively called forth by such compositions, but which, when called forth otherwise, we recognise as the same that is called forth by such compositions. It is the emotion of poetry."—p. 181.

What the emotion of poetry is, our author does not attempt to define; but the impression left by his essay is that it tells us no more than we had learnt long ago from Ebenezer Elliot,—Poetry is impassioned truth.

A pretty little volume of poetical prose, by Alexander Smith,[11] has the great merit of being written in very pure English, and in a style of unaffected and graceful simplicity, in which we can find no trace of the violent mannerism which has marked his poetical works. "Dreamthorp" is the first of twelve essays on subjects which have been so often handled, and about which so little that is new can be said, that i is high praise to say that Mr. Smith is neither trite, nor commonplac nor dull; his descriptions of pastoral tranquillity and rural life are musically soothing as a lullaby, and his remarks on men and books token a fine and delicate perception. According to his canon, essayist must possess "a quick ear and eye, an ability to discern infinite suggestiveness of common things, a brooding and meditati spirit;" and "Dreamthorp" could not have been written by any o in whom these special qualifications were not in a considerable degree united. A conspicuous example of the absence of each and all of them is before us, in a deplorable volume bearing the alliterative title of "Life, Law, and Literature,"[12] and treating of matters sacred and profane, lofty and trivial, social, political, and literary, in a style of grating, self-satisfied presumption seldom equalled even in these days of crude authorship. There is one use, however, to which this irritating book may be usefully applied. The opening sentence of the Essays is generally of the uncontrovertible kind employed in copybooks; thus:—"Reading is excellent for mental culture, but it must be with measure." "Punning as a habit is a nuisance to others and a mischief to the punster." "Moralists of all ages have lamented the liability of our race to error." "The lyrical parts of Horace can never be properly translated." We confidently recommend these valuable truths to the attention of writing masters, while the inexperienced penny-a-liner, perplexed as to the opening sentence of his paragraph, may take a hint from this elegant and original mode of beginning an essay:—"Bile getting the better of me, I resolved on an appeal to the sea." It is sad to reflect that the writer of this book has translated the Iliad, and written an original poem in six books.

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[11] "Dreamthorp. A book of Essays written in the country." By Alexander Smith. London: Strahan and Co. 1863.

[12] "Life, Law, and Literature; Essays on various subjects." By William G. T. Barter, Esq., Barrister-at-law. London: Bell and Daldy. 1863.

The authoress of "Mademoiselle Mori" has produced a second work,[13] which more than justifies the expectations raised by that clever but incomplete story. "Denise" is a delightful book to read, but a most difficult one to analyze; we are conscious of great enjoyment as we peruse it, but it is hardly possible to reduce to rigid words the sense of charm and fascination that it inspires. The scene is laid on the southern coast of France, and the plot unfolds itself in one of those little towns, perched upon limestone crags and surrounded by pale tea-green olives, whose dirt and squalor we forget and forgive for the sake of the sun and the blue Mediterranean. The family of the old Provençal lords of Farnoux, with the tragic memories of their persecuted Huguenot creed and their pride of race and blood, play the important part due to their consequence as De Farnoux, inhabiting the ruinous old château, which is nearly all that exile and confiscation have left of their ancient inheritance. Denise La Marchand, the heroine, is the daughter of a De Farnoux who had committed the unpardonable crime of escaping from a miserable home by marrying her brother's secretary; and before the story ends Denise exchanges her plebeian name for the family title by becoming the wife of her cousin Gaston. It is not, however, in the story, nor in the characters—admirable as they are—nor yet in the vivid descriptions, that the peculiar and subtle excellence of "Denise" lies; it is in a certain indefinable atmosphere of harmony and repose which pervades it, a kind of mellow transparency which glorifies like the auriole round a saint's head, and gives to common things and to ordinary people an ideal significance and beauty. Whether we listen to the lively gossip of a Farnoux whist party, or enjoy the gay merrymaking of a fête day, or watch the grotesque figure of old Madlle. La Marchand, with a duster on her head, drawing a planisphere and talking of Gérard's studio, we never lose the consciousness that we are viewing them all through the beautifying medium of a rich but disciplined imagination. The character of the aunt, Madlle. La Marchand, with its queer angularities and noble self-forgetfulness, is as well conceived as it is throughout well sustained; we are not simply *told* that she is an artist, a genius, a rebel against conventional bondage, we *feel* it and know it in everything she says and does. When her heart's desire has been fulfilled in the marriage of her niece, she retires to her little property in Normandy, and soliloquizes as follows as she sits looking over the sea, preparing to paint a picture that has long haunted her thoughts:—

"'There are not many people that I respect; and I always think they stand upright, because they have not yet got into a slippery place; but I do believe in Denise. I should mightily like to see her again, and have a tilt with her husband; but young married people should be left alone to learn each other,

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[13] "Denise." By the Author of "Mademoiselle Mori." London: Bell and Daldy. 1863.

Poor creatures! it's often sad rubbish that they have to learn. The child was always asking me to come, in her first letters; but lately she has said nothing about it, and there's a tone I don't make out.' Madlle. Le Marchand took a letter from her pocket, and read it through. 'I don't like it, I can't make it out. Her letters used to be full of her *pressoirs* and *lavoirs*, and all the different kinds of olives, and what sort of grape did best on their ground, and so on. And Gaston's book, that which she expected to be a *chef-d'œuvre*, and his correspondence about it with this man and that in Paris, and Berne, and Berlin, and I don't know where. Then she must needs go off to nurse that poor Lucile Gautier.—Ah! pretty creature! I little thought when I was so huffed with you, at Château Farnoux, for patronizing Denise, that she would smooth your deathbed within a year. I wonder whether those blue eyes of yours ever knew tears! They looked as if such things were altogether strangers to them!' And, perhaps without knowing it, she hummed an old song of a neighbouring district:—

" 'La beauté à quoi sert elle,
Légèrement, belle hirondelle,
Légèrement!
Elle sert à porter en bière,
Légèrement, blanche bergère,
Légèrement.'

" 'And then she has had Madlle. De Farnoux on her hands ill—Very sad, I dare say; but still I can't understand the tone of this letter. 'I think I did not know how happy I was with you at Farnoux; it was like dwelling by the waters of Siloam, that go softly.' People never begin to be grateful for past happiness while they are well contented with the present. And then again: Ah! there are those little vagabonds coming here; they see me. I can see you grinning, you young rogues! I wonder if I should be a happier woman if I had one of them for my own! Bah! if a niece is so much anxiety, what would a son be! Besides, he would grow up, and I should lose the child-face that was all mine. It's only the dead faces that keep the child-look; and after all, when we meet them again, who knows how even they will be changed! Come, this wont do! I'm getting sentimental. What's that you are saying, you little *polisson*, there? Planning to go down to the *grèves* and catch crabs? Oh, you little reprobate, I'll report you to your schoolmaster, and ask him to give you a *pensum*.' 'Then you shall have nothing of what we should have caught!' laughed the boys. 'Much obliged. I see you are caricaturing me on that blank leaf; you, sir! Two can play at that. Look here'—and her pencil was in her hand directly. 'Give me the book—there—that's your likeness!'—and she threw back so great a resemblance to the lad, only that the head was set on the body of a cray fish, that all the boys burst into a shout of delight. 'Listen to me,' said she, with unmoved gravity, 'especially you, M. l'Ecrevisse. Do you know that on the 2nd of November, every year, there rises from the sands——' 'A fog!' 'Ay, a great white fog; but you don't know of what it is composed, *hein?* Of all the souls of all the people who ever were *ensablés*, and there are so many, so many, that all the *grève* is covered as far as Mont St. Michel. And there you would find the spirits of a great many little boys who went on half-holidays to fish without leave.' She departed with a solemn gesture, but turned before she left the gardens to look back at the laughing boys, and observed to herself, 'Now I know that if I had a son he would be the very first to go crab-catching, and I should be in constant terror about his precious life; and yet I never can see a pack of rosy children without a pain at my heart. Empty things ought to feel light; but it's not thus with hearts, I find. Well, if I had had a child of my own it would have been grown up by this time, and I should have been a grandmother. Anyhow, I've escaped that dispensation. Grandmothers are always simpletons; I've lived too long to give in to such nonsense. There's no denying, however, that a grandchild is the natural consolation of old age. Perhaps Denise may have a child—bah! I'm fancying her my daughter now! It's decreed that I shall only know life's best feelings in a second-hand sort of way. I don't suppose I really feel for her as a mother would.'"—vol. ii. p. 185.

But this is not a book to be judged of by any number of extracts; it must be studied as a whole, for it is a finished picture, well composed, delicately shaded, full of expression, and warmed by the bright colouring and golden sunlight of the South.

In "Austin Elliot,"[14] we have a fresh group of those high-minded, hot-headed young men, and thorough-bred all-accomplished dogs which Mr. Henry Kingsley draws with so much spirit and hearty good will. The story is a very good one of the muscular school, and is told in the bold, imperative Kingsley manner. The hero goes through the usual routine of the fine young English gentleman; falls in love at first sight, goes to Bangor with a reading party, and takes a respectable second, to the delight and astonishment of his admiring father. But his career is suddenly and frightfully checked. He finds himself compelled to act as second in a quarrel which should have been his own, and, refusing to fly, is sentenced to a year's imprisonment at Milbank; but he is released at the end of three months in consequence of his gallant conduct in a prison riot, and lives to become the owner and saviour of the Isle of Ronaldsay, and to marry the most amiable of women and the most single-minded of heiresses. Mr. Henry Kingsley possesses a little of his brother's gift of sermonizing, and indulges it on occasion, but not obtrusively; he has the better gift also of conveying vivid impressions in few words, and of keeping up the spirit and interest of his tale to the end.

It is to be regretted that the same praise cannot be awarded to a story in one volume,[15] which begins so well and indicates so much power, that it is disappointing to find its hold upon the attention slackening as the tragedy of the plot deepens. Nothing can be better of its kind than the first portion of "Twice Lost." It describes the victory of honesty and gentleness over a wild passionate nature which has been driven nearly to madness by a system of coercion and deceit, and which gradually surrenders to the irresistible force of kindness and sincerity. But the authoress has encumbered herself with a machinery too complex for her management and too large for her stage, and there is consequently an air of confusion and hurry which spoils the effect. Diabolical plots and startling improbabilities we expect, and indeed reckon upon, in story-books, but there may be too much of them; and with all our admiration for Marco Rossetti and his wonderful talents, we must question the ability of a flashing-eyed Sicilian hero to take the situation of gamekeeper to a shrewd English sportsman, and to be out all day with his master without exciting any suspicion of his being a foreigner or a gentleman. This, however, we are required to believe, though the rustic Welsh people among whom the scene is laid knew better. The young lady who has been brought to a remote village in Wales to be tamed and broken in, disappears; so also does Colonel Seyton's new gamekeeper; and the only inhabitants that can speak English thus expresses the popular view of the case:—

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[14] "Austin Elliot." By Henry Kingsley. London and Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 1863.

[15] "Twice Lost." A Novel. By the Author of "Queen Isabel," "Nina," &c. London: Virtue Brothers and Co. 1863.

"'It's a pity for Miss Maude, too,' she continued, after a pause, 'and I'd never have told upon her if I'd felt sure that Jervis was trustworthy. Bu I never know'd a first-rate shot in my life as made a first-rate husband. The get so used to overreaching and triumphing—and poor triumph it is, too, circumventing the dumb things that might be a lesson to 'em, for they nev goes beyond the duties they was born to. Wife and child have but a shab chance with a fellow that's used to shortening happy, helpless lives for f and taking as much pains about it as might have made him Lord Chancello he'd gone in an honest direction.' I was surprised at her evident knowledg of 'Jervis' as Maude's lover, and could not help asking her how she ha found it out. *She* could not help laughing at the simplicity of the question. 'Ladies is the most innocent things in creation!' cried she. 'They shuts their eyes and feels sure nobody else sees 'em. Why, there isn't a child in the village but knows it better than his catechiz! My little James—near upon ten years old—he come home from school a fortnight since, and 'Mother,' says he, 'there's Jervis gone down to Miss Langley's again.' I gave him a clout on the cheek out of mere formality, for I never could understand myself why scandal should be thought so sacred that it's only allowed to be used by them as is well stricken in years. But I couldn't but laugh to think how well he know'd. And you be sure of this, Miss, there isn't a servant in the house but knows a deal more than ever happened.' 'I wish,' said I, 'there was one to be found who knew the only thing I care to discover, and that is, what has become of Miss Langley . . . I may ask you to speak a good word for her and try to check any ill-natured talk you may hear.' 'Bless your heart, Miss!' she replied, 'all the ill-nature goes the opposite way. It's for you and for Miss Langley's father the good word should be spoken. The working classes always takes kindly to a pair of lovers, and it's a real glory to 'em to think they're hardly dealt by. I'd take a pretty wager, now, that every man, woman, and child in Clytha that's talking the matter over at this moment, thinks of you and Mr. Langley as if you was a couple of Cæsar Barjees keeping the poor young thing shut up in a regular Blue Beard's temple of your own, and grinding your teeth over her for scorn, whenever her back's turned.'"—p. 174.

The caustic humour and strong common sense which mark the sketches of character in this book, betray a keenness of observation and aptitude for producing a telling likeness with a few strokes which needs only a wider cultivation to secure a more complete success than has been attained in "Twice Lost."

Lest any unsuspicious reader, attracted by the name of Edmond About, should flatter himself that he will find a wholesome and entertaining story in "Madelon,"[16] we warn him of his error. M. About has been busily occupied in studying the nature and habits of eels, and it would seem to have imparted a taste for groping in the mire both materially and morally. "Madelon" is a "créature à la mode," and her story is told with little reserve, and in a e of cheerful satisfaction as painful as it is revolting. Why an ior capable of so much better things should choose such a heroine, question involving many others, to which the answer may yet in to be read in some future and terrible page of French history. something more than an unsoundness of taste which secures not oleration but popularity to these perpetual attempts to invest kind of romantic interest "cet éternel produit de la corruption ise, que Paris ne manque pas d'envoyer par chargements complets xpositions universelles, parcequ'il n'y a jamais rien fabriqué de i, de plus curieux, de plus inimitable, ni de plus cher." And "la on française" has no more ominous symptom than a book like which the unutterable degradation of systematic vice is treated e same gay vivacity and easy good humour as the surface oddid harmless eccentricities of a provincial town aristocracy.

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[16] "Madelon." Par Edmond About. Paris: Hachette. London: Williams and Norgate. 1863.

glish novel-writers do not often offend in this direction, but T." has made some progress towards it. If the [illegible]le "Forn Fruit"[17] be intended to whet a pernicious curiosity and to st something not altogether proper and just a little immoral, it een well chosen, and those who take the trouble to read this unant story will find their reward in a badly-drawn and coarselyred picture of folly and passion seasoned with vapid reflections, amentations over the consequences of what it indulgently calls placed affection." We are introduced to two heroines equally y, charming, and well dressed. One of them, Maud Hazeldean, ring a false report that her lover is married, forthwith without y bestows her hand on a cross, disagreeable old baronet whom she sts. The lover comes home and at once renews his vows, receivsuch response as "Oh, Guy! you do love me! what have I done that you should leave me! Ah, stay!" Fortunately for this discreet matron her husband dies suddenly in a fit of apoplexy, and everything goes right; Guy has only one request to make—that she will not wear her widow's cap in his presence; she immediately takes it off, and, of course, all her "pretty hair" tumbles "in shining waves down her shoulders," and a moving scene follows. Here the author fears he may have gone a little too far, and thinks it needful to apostrophize the "rigid moralist," and implore him not to be too severe "on reading of a widow of less than a year listening to the words of love!" He is all admiration of the lady who had been listening to them at every convenient opportunity when her husband was not by, but though her disloyalty to him while living is mentioned as almost a virtue, it is thought necessary to apologize for her because she is not quite hypocrite enough to pretend to mourn for him when dead. It is a serious fault in a charming woman if she cannot feign a lie for one twelvemonth, but it is rather meritorious to hate a dull but honest man who talks about turnips. The other captivating creature, Lady Helen, has also married an elderly man because he asked her, and has also given her heart to a certain George Paget, a high-souled gifted being, the history of whose liaison with a notorious French a parenthetically detailed at great length. The impetuous Lady conceives the wish to make George Paget into a religious man, eagerly sets about educating him; but soon, in spite of her exalted vi and her "bearing, so innocent, and so pre-eminently truthful, contrast to the weary, worn-out women of society," she ap "throwing herself into the arms" of her pupil, and the revenge actress gets hold of her letters, which are sent to the husband and o his eyes. But he does not die of apoplexy; and to avoid unpleas consequences, Lady Helèn expires and the story ends. A m worthless novel we have seldom read.

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[17] "Forbidden Fruit." By J. T. London: Smith and Elder. 1863.

"Chesterford,"[18] and "Adrian L'Estrange,"[19] are stories of love courtship, the one in high the other in low life. The former we th is the best—at any rate, it is the shortest; it is written in more eleg English, and is a better constructed story than "Chesterford," wh contains a good deal of flirting, a faithful chronicle of the sayings doings of a country village, and a streak of drollery which relieves monotony of such commonplace materials.

A smart thin quarto with "The Lord's Prayer"[20] elaborate printed in gilt letters on its bright red cover, is one of the many i genious devices which the desire to do honour to the Princess of Wal and at the same time to make capital of her [illegible]e, have produce The etchings are somewhat feeble and lacking [illegible]ression, thoug graceful in outline and carefully executed. B[illegible] were their merits o a much higher order, they would fail to commend themselves to the "profoundly and eminently Christian" public, either as an appeal to its devotional sentiments or as a gratification of its taste, now that the time is a little gone by when a dedication to the Princess Alexandra was in itself sufficient to attract customers. No one desires to have a *smart* devotional book for his private use, nor for the decoration of our tables should we choose the Illustrated Lord's Prayer.

A third edition of Mr. Lodge's translation of "The Bride of Messina"[21] is prefaced by some interesting critical remarks, and by the Essay on the Tragic Chorus in which Schiller vindicated its use on the [illegible]ern stage. There are a few translations of short pieces by different hands at the end of the volume.

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[18] "Chesterford; and some of its People." By the Author of "A Bad Beginning," &c. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1863.

[19] "Adrian L'Estrange; or, Moulded out of Faults." London: Smith and Elder. 1863.

[20] "The Lord's Prayer; illustrated by a Series of Etchings." By Lo Frölich. London: Trübner and Co. 1863.

[21] "The Bride of Messina: a Tragedy with Choruses." By Schiller. Trans by Adam Lodge, Esq., M.A. With other Poems. London: T. F. A. Day.